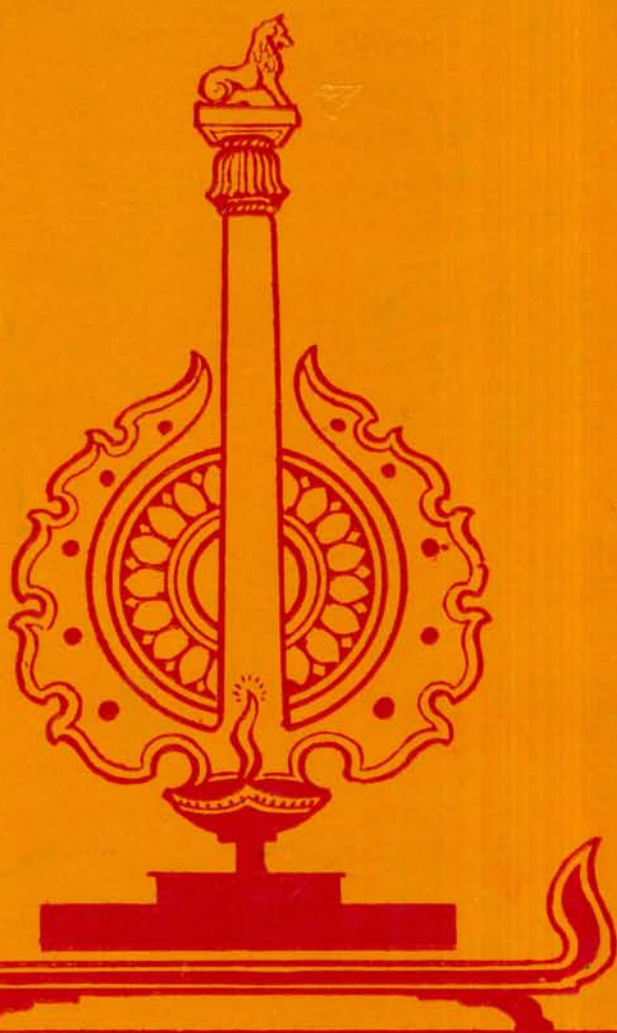




HOMAGE TO VAISĀLĪ

वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ



वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ

HOMAGE TO VAISĀLĪ



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WITH A FOREWORD BY

DR. A. R. KIDWAI

GOVERNOR OF BIHAR

**RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF
PRAKRIT, JAINOLOGY AND AHIMSĀ**

VAISHALI, BIHAR (INDIA)

1985

Published by

DR. DEVA NARAYAN SHARMA

Acting Director

**Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa
Vaishali—844128 (Bihar)**

1000 Copies

PRICE : Rs. 125.00

SECOND REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

MARCH 1985

Printed at

TARA PRINTING WORKS

Varanasi

*The First Edition edited by Jagadish Chandra Mathur and Yogendra Mishra
was brought out by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha in April 1985*



The Government of Bihar established the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa at Vaishali (Muzaffarpur) in 1955 with the object *inter alia*, to promote advanced studies and research in Prakrit and Jainology and publish works of permanent value to scholars. This Institute is one of the six institutes established by the Government of Bihar as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. The other five institutes are : Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, K. P. Jayasawal Research Institute at Patna, Bihar Rashtra-bhasa Parishad for Research and Advanced Studies in Hindi at Patna, Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian at Patna and Nava-Nalanda Mahavihar for Post-graduate Studies and Research in Buddhist Learning and Pali at Nalanda.

(This is a revised and enlarged edition of *Homage to Vaiśālī (Vaiśālī-Abhinandana-Grantha)* first published by the Vaisali Saṅgha in 1948) and now brought out as part of the research publication programme of this Institute.

The Government of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time.

FOREWORD

The history of Vaiśālī is so glorious and captivating that whatever literature has been produced on it during the last four decades by the historians, archaeologists and writers may not be treated as adequate. The part played by Vaiśālī in the political and socio-cultural history was submerged in the geopolitics of Āryāvarta during the later Vedic period and in the constant moves of larger kingdoms in their efforts for the expansion of their territories. Shortly before the rise of Buddhism, we find sixteen important states occupying the region from the Kabul Valley to the banks of the Godāvarī listed in an early Buddhist text (the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*). This list mentions Vajji (Vṛjji) as a state with its capital at Vaiśālī and formed by the union of several clans.

Vaiśālī's claim to fame rests on the fact that it was perhaps one of the earliest republics (*gaṇas*) following a democratic system of government over an area much larger than the Greek city-state or a Swiss Canton. Vaiśālī had no monarch, but a popular assembly and an elders' council who carried on the business of the state. Obviously, clans of the Vṛjji confederacy sent their representatives to these assemblies. This was a significant contribution to the evolution of the Indian polity.

That this republican confederacy was a strong, well-administered state is undoubted, because Vaiśālī was the cynosure of the kingdoms that emerged in the later Vedic period. A fierce struggle ensued involving Magadha, Kosala and Vaiśālī, and mainly foisted by Ajātaśatru of Magadha having visions of an empire. To repel the Vṛjjis, Magadhan statesmen fortified the village of Pāṭaligrāma which stood near the confluence of the rivers the Gaṅgā and the Sonē. Thanks to his own tenacity and the Machiavellian policy of his ministers, Ajātaśatru defeated all his adversaries. The Vṛjji territory was annexed to the Magadhan kingdom (c. 484 B. C.). The main element of the confederacy, the tribe of the Lichchhavis, however, succeeded in preserving its identity, and survived at least until the fourth century A.D. when it was again influential in the politics of eastern India.

Vaiśālī was the cradle of Buddhism and Jainism. The Buddha gave his sermons in the territories of Kosala, Vaiśālī and Magadha. He spent the last rainy season of his life near Vaiśālī city, and then journeyed towards the north. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, to whom the world owes

Jainism, was virtually a product of the Vaiśālī confederacy. He was born at Kuṇḍagāma, near Vaiśālī, in 599 B. C. He was the son of Siddhārtha, a chief of the clan of the Jhāṭṭikas, the associates of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, and his mother, Trisālā, was the sister of the Lichchhavi chief, Cheṭaka. For thirty years Mahāvira taught in the Gangetic areas. It will be seen that Vaiśālī is the region from where the concepts of truth, non-violence (Ahimsā), peace, right conduct, honesty and frugality radiated to all directions about six hundred years before the birth of Christ.

It may be an interesting point of study whether the institutional approach to proselytizing efforts of the Buddhists and Jainas, especially of the former, was due to Vaiśālī's democratic and republican form of government and administration. The issues of the day, whether doctrinal or organisational, were sought to be resolved by Councils. Here, at Vaiśālī, the second Buddhist General Council was held one hundred years after the death of the Buddha. Schism raised its head over small points of monastic discipline, and the Order broke into two sections, "Believers in the Teaching of the Elders" and "Members of the Great Community". The great Maurya emperor, Aśoka, visited the place and got the stūpa already built there over the remains of Lord Buddha enlarged. Fortunately, the urn containing the relics was recovered (1958) from the archaeological excavations carried out by Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. Sita Ram Roy, scholars of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

Vaiśālī was truly a place of religious and cultural synthesis. It also attracted a number of Sufī saints during the medieval period; and one of them, Shaikh Muhammad Qazin Faizullah Shuttari, lived and worked here. The 'Urs' at the Dargah, and the Rāmanavami fair which commemorates the birthday of Lord Rāma, are even now celebrated the same day with great enthusiasm.

Vaiśālī remained in comparative obscurity for a long time. In March 1945, as a result of the initiative and dedicated efforts of some scholars and government officials, the Vaiśālī Saṅgha was set up with the object, mainly of restoring the glory of the place by getting scientific, historical researches and excavations conducted, bringing out publications on various aspects of the history of the place, and organising a museum to preserve and display the antiquities of the place and the region. In 1963 the Vaiśālī Saṅgha was constituted as a Trust. Since its very inception this institution has been organising a big celebration every year

on the birthday of Lord Mahāvira, and it has eminently succeeded in re-discovering this historical place.

The development of Vaiśālī in a systematic form owes much to Dr. Zakir Hussain, the then Governor of Bihar, who, after a detailed inspection of the entire region on 2nd April, 1958, and especially the Annual Vaiśālī Mahotsava, wrote to the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and acquainted him with the wealth of material brought out by the excavations and need to preserve and protect them. All the monuments of Vaiśālī and discoveries were later brought within the purview of the Protection of Ancient Monuments Act. The Department of Archaeology of the Government of India set up a Museum near Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī to preserve statues, relics and other finds obtained during excavations in Vaiśālī.

It is entirely due to the sacred nature of the Vaiśālī area that the people donated, in the year 1954-55, thirteen acres of land for setting up a research institute to conduct advanced studies and research in Jaina religion and philosophy, and the tenets of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras including Bhagavān Mahāvira. The building was constructed out of funds collected by the members of the Jaina community and its institutional shape given by the State Government. Christened in the year 1955 as Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, it has attracted many scholars from different parts of the country and brought out a number of original publications and done credit to the field of scholarship. This present volume was also conceived by the Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa.

Raising of a memorial at the hallowed birthplace of Lord Mahāvira has been under consideration for some time. In March 1956, people of village Basokund, Police Thana Paroo, of district Mazaffarpur donated land, identified as the birthplace of Lord Mahāvira, to the Governor of Bihar with the specific purpose of construction of Mahāvira Memorial, temple, school, dispensary and tourist lodge; otherwise the land would be returned to the donors if the specific purpose was not fulfilled. The Governor accepted the donation of land and the conditions laid down for the construction of the Memorial and its maintenance under his overall supervision and guidance. The next month, in April 1956, the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, unveiled a memorial plaque set up at this site by the Government of Bihar.

The then Governor, Shri Jagannath Kaul, had set up a committee—Bhagavān Mahāvira Smarak Committee—to aid and advise him in

this regard. It was decided by this Committee to construct Smārak for which money would be contributed by the members of the Jaina community and the Government on 50-50 percent basis with the stipulation that the amount in excess of it would be raised by the members of the Jaina Samāj. Later, in the year 1982-83, the hard core Committee was registered under the Registration of Societies Act, 1860 to perform the task of construction of Smārak whereas the parent Committee of which the Governor is the President would continue to address itself to the overall policy matters regarding development of the Vaiśālī region as a centre of international tourists.

Vaiśālī is well-known for its close association with Lord Buddha. After leaving Kapilavāstu for renunciation, he came to Vaiśālī first and had his spiritual training from Rāmaputra Udraka and Ālāra Kālāma. After the Enlightenment the Buddha frequently visited Vaiśālī. He organised his Bhikshu Saṅgha on the pattern of democracy prevailing in Vaiśālī. It was here that he established the Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha, initiating his maternal aunt Mahāprajāvatī Gautamī into the Order. His last Varshāvāsa (rainy season resort) was here and he announced his approaching Mahāparinirvāṇa (the final departure from the world) here just three months in advance. Before leaving for Kuśinagara, he left his alms-bowl (Bhikṣhā-Pātra) here with the people of Vaiśālī for a keepsake. The people of Vaiśālī received one-eighth of the Buddha's relic ashes which they reverentially deposited in a stūpa.

Naturally, Vaiśālī is a place of reverence to the Buddhists. The Most Ven. Nichidatsu Fujii Guruji and his religious Order, Nipponzan Myōhoji, felt that the revival of the ancient glory of a place like Vaiśālī would add to the prosperity of India, and the restoration of Vaiśālī, for the Buddhists, would indeed be a major homage to Lord Buddha. This organisation had decided to renovate Vaiśālī within the life-time of Fujii Guruji and in October 1983 the Guruji, in the 99th year of his life, himself came to Vaiśālī for the foundationstone-laying ceremony presided over by the Governor of Bihar for the construction of the Vishva Shānti Stūpa which, incidentally, would be the highest of all Stūpas built so far, being 160 feet in height. Clearly, the purpose is to disseminate love and peace in mankind, a mission which Emperor Aśoka had undertaken more than 2000 years ago after the Kālīṅga war by building Stūpas and erecting pillars and engraving thereupon his message of universal love and peaceful co-existence.

Since the very early days Vaiśālī stood as a symbol of India's cultural tradition and India's genius for assimilation, absorption and synthesis. It was a meeting point of socio-cultural currents enriching India's cultural tradition. Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Islam, found here in an inspiring amalgam, had their effect on the people. Āmrāpālī, the court dancer's renunciation of the world and following in the footsteps of Lord Buddha and Saṅgha was not an accident; it was the spirit both of the age and also of the place. The Indian tradition replicates itself in many forms in this modern age as well. The development of Jaina temples, Bhagavān Mahāvīra Smārak, the Research Institute of Prakrit Jainology and Ahimsa, the tradition of offering Pūjā at the Abhisheka-Pushkarinī and other temples and the Buddhist relics and stūpas are not merely monuments but in effect they mark the renaissance of Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist religions and philosophies. At the same time, the Dargah and the Sufi saints of Vaiśālī add to the richness of the philosophical discourses and speculations that have been going on since the sixth century B. C.

I am happy that a revised and enlarged edition of the *(Vaiśālī-Abhinandana-Grantha (Homage to Vaiśālī))* has been brought out. It is the result of painstaking work and exemplary scholarship of many learned men, scholars and historians. I have no doubt (this volume will arouse considerable interest not only in the world of scholars but also among the enlightened public who wants to study India's past for pleasure, for self-education, and for drawing strength and inspiration.)

Raj Bhavan

Patna

February 25, 1985

A. R. KIDWAI

GOVERNOR OF BIHAR

EDITORIAL NOTE

The idea of the Vaiśālī Festival was first mooted towards the end of 1944 when a meeting of the important people of the Hajipur subdivision was held on December 31, 1944 at Hajipur with a view to organising a function to commemorate the glories of Vaiśālī. The move was initiated by Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., who was Subdivisional Officer at Hajipur at that time, and it was enthusiastically taken up by a large body of non-official workers all over the subdivision and the Muzaffarpur district of the time. Consequently, the first Vaiśālī Festival was celebrated on the ruins of Vaiśālī on March 31-April 1, 1945. The response from amongst common people of the Province was overwhelming. Hence, on the first day of this Festival came into being the Vaiśālī Saṅgha in order to bring into light and prominence the ruins of Vaiśālī and to redeem it from the neglect in which it lay for a long time, and secondly, to stimulate a new cultural and social awareness among the village people in general and the inhabitants of the Vaiśālī area in particular and thus to initiate a movement for a culture of the people drawing its inspiration from the democratic ideals of Vaiśālī. Many steps have been taken by the Saṅgha in pursuance of these objects, and it has achieved remarkable success on several fronts by making the memories of a great civilization as the rallying point for a new awakening among the people.

One of the main activities of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha has been the publication of both standard and popular books on the history, culture and archaeology of North Bihar, particularly the Vaiśālī Region. During the very first three years of its existence the Saṅgha was responsible for three publications on Vaiśālī; the first, a compilation of articles and information regarding Vaiśālī in Hindi published in March 1945, the second a pamphlet on Vaiśālī, the birthplace of Mahāvira, brought out in November 1947, and the third is a symposium known as *Homage to Vaiśālī* (वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ). This was followed by two reports, one in English and the other in Hindi, on the excavations at Vaiśālī carried out in 1950 at the initiative of, and with the money collected by, the Vaiśālī Saṅgha. It also published *A Guide to Vaiśālī and the Vaiśālī Museum* in English, a popular guide in Hindi and also a set of picture-postcards of antiquities for the benefit of the tourists. Annual addresses of some prominent scholars and personalities were also brought out during 1948-1963. Recently it has published *Vaiśālī Digdarśana* (वैशाली-दिग्दर्शन) in

Hindi containing chapters on the history and archaeology of Vaiśālī, a long play based on the glimpses of ancient Vaiśālī and the history of the recent Vaiśālī Movement entitled 'the new awakening at Vaiśālī'. The above-noted play has been published separately as well.

By far, the most prestigious among the publications of the Saṅgha was *Homage to Vaiśālī* (*Vaiśālī-Abhinandana-Grantha* वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ, lit. Vaiśālī Commemoration Volume) brought out in 1948. It contained a set of learned articles on Vaiśālī from various scholars and points of view. Paper, printing and get-up were also excellent. The book was well received by the press and the public alike. Soon all the copies were sold out and need was felt for a second edition. This, however, could not materialise earlier, because of shortage of funds on the part of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha. Happily, the Vaishali Prakrit Jain Research Institute took up the idea; and at a meeting of the General Council of the Institute held on January 5, 1981 at Raj Bhavan, Patna, a resolution to this effect was formally and unanimously passed, and the work started in right earnest. At last, we are now able to present the fruits of our labour to the reading public.

The original edition had altogether 38 pieces, the last being a brief account of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha and the annual Vaiśālī Festivals (down to 1948). The account of the Saṅgha and the Festivals having become obsolete due to the Saṅgha's being constituted as a Trust in 1963, has been omitted, and the entire remaining material has been retained here. These 37 pieces appear as nos. 1-7, 22-46, 48-51 and 55 in the current edition and include six learned addresses delivered at the Vaiśālī Festivals during 1945-1948 and seventeen scholarly articles (22-30, 32-35, 40-42, 50) prepared by the experts on the special request of the Editors. As many as twenty-six articles have been added to this edition which are nos. 8-21, 47, 52-54 and 56-63. Of these, fifteen are learned addresses or scholarly lectures delivered at the Vaiśālī Festivals between 1949 and 1963 (both years inclusive). The remaining ones have been received by us mostly on our request; they also include those that have been prepared by us especially for the current edition.

No change has been effected in the matter or address (including academic qualifications) of its writer of the original edition, and the same has been faithfully reproduced in this edition. As a result of this, writers of nos. 31, 41, 42 and 50 who have since obtained doctorate are shown here as without it, because they were so in 1948; their positions also have since been elevated. The writers of nos. 26 and 40, both (the Sarkars)

lecturers at that time, retired from Calcutta and Jadavpur Universities after serving there as Professors and Heads of Ancient History and History Departments respectively. The joint author of no. 35 (the second of the two) also later rose to a similar position in the Bihar University. The piece (no. 51) entitled 'Vaiśālī awaits further excavation' prepared by the editors and meant to serve as the epilogue of the volume (1948) has been allowed to appear unaltered, although considerable excavations have been carried out in the Vaiśālī area (Basarh-Chakramdas-Kolhua and adjoining villages) during 1950, 1958-62 and 1976-78. We had recourse to this in order to avoid anachronistic situations.

The long delay in the publication of the second edition has robbed us of many of our valued contributors. We are sorry they could not see the present edition with their own eyes.

Coming to the subject of illustrations, the original edition had eight plates, viz., Aśoka column of Kolhua, Image of Kārtikeya kept at Hari Katora temple; Tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Qazin Shuttari at Basarh, three images of Pāla period kept at the old Bauna Pokhar Temple; a stone tablet with spiral ornament belonging to the Gupta period; Map of the Vaiśālī and adjoining villages (based on one given in the *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04) (these six plates were numbered as I to VI); some Vaiśālī seals (6 seals on one page); and the Buddha's last look on Vaiśālī (a painting by Dinesh Baxi). They faced pp. 161, 176, 177, 81 and inner title page. Of these, six (first four and last two) have been retained. Nos. 1-4 and 8 appear here as plates XII, XX, XXI, XIX and VII respectively; no. 7 ('Some Vaiśālī Seals') has been given along with the relevant article (no. 30) without bearing any plate no. The remaining two (stone tablet and map) have been omitted. The current edition has as many as 31 illustrations including 8 paintings. 29 of them constitute plates I-XXIX; the two unnumbered illustrations are 'Some Vaiśālī Seals' and 'Inscription on the alms-bowl of Buddha' (given along with the article no. 47). Much water has flowed down the Gaṅgā and the Gaṇḍaka, from the time the first edition saw the light of the day; and that is reflected not only in the subject-matter of the articles, but also in the illustrations.

Dr. A. R. Kidwai, the Governor of Bihar, has honoured us by contributing the foreword to this volume in spite of his numerous engagements. Besides, his constant interest in Vaiśālī and our activities has been a source of inspiration and encouragement to us. Indeed, the present shape of the volume owes much to him. We must say we do not have adequate words to express our sense of gratitude to him. We have been considerably helped by some officers of the Raj Bhavan also like Shri A. K. Basak, I. A. S. (Commissioner and Secretary to the Governor),

Shri S. M. Shafiuddin (till recently Press Secretary to the Governor) and Shri Panchanan Jha (Under-Secretary to the Governor) in many ways in the matter of publication. We are thankful to all of them.

Thanks are also due to Shri Laliteshwar Prasad Shahi (Member of Parliament and a Trustee of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha) and Shri Jagannath Prasad Sah of Laiganj (the Executive Secretary of the Saṅgha and another Trustee of this organisation) who have helped us in some way or the other in the collection of materials for the present edition. It was Shri Laliteshwar Prasad Shahi who took the laudable step for preserving the valuable materials obtained in the shape of learned addresses at the annual Festivals by publishing in 1960 a book entitled *Vaiśālī-Mahimā* that *inter alia* collects speeches delivered at Vaiśālī so far. Shri Jagannath Prasad Sah is the custodian of the Saṅgha archives in the real sense of the term and we have received most of the printed individual addresses through his courtesies. The collection of materials such as reference books and several photographs including those of important antiquities of Vaiśālī has been facilitated by Dr. Sita Ram Roy, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar; Shri Tara Sharan Sinha, Director, Bihar State Archives and Dr. Hari Kishore Prasad, Director, Patna Museum, Patna. Besides these Government agencies, we have got help from Shri Nagendra Prasad Singh (ex-M.L.A.) of village Vaiśālī in the collection of materials including some coloured photographs obtained through the good offices of Shri Mikiyori Narimatsu of Japan. They, too, deserve our thanks.

The decision of bringing out a fresh edition of the *Vaiśālī-Abhinandana-Grantha* (*Homage to Vaiśālī*) was taken by the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa when Dr. Nagendra Prasad was its Director. His successor in office Dr. Ram Prakash Poddar took keen interest in its publication and quite a good part was printed during his time. The present Director Dr. Deva Narayan Sharma maintained the spirit and brought it to a successful completion. Envisaging the huge work-load caused by the preparation of fresh materials for the Volume, collection of photographs including coloured ones, and the work of coordination which becomes inevitable in the last phase of any big undertaking, the Chairman of the General Council of the Institute placed Shri Yugal Kishore Mishra, Lecturer, on deputation under the Editor of the Volume from July 1984. We are happy to note that Shri Mishra gave us ungrudging and most sincere help on all fronts; and we are now in a position to say that had he not been spared for this volume, the work would not have been ready by this time in any way. Thanking them, however, would be merely a matter of formality because they served not only the cause of Vaiśālī but also their Institute itself.

Shri Sanat Kumar Chaturvedi, I. A. S., the then Commissioner of Tirhut Division, who happened to be the ex-officio Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Institute, was an officer of high intellectual taste and did much for advancing the cause of the Institute sincerely. He actively associated himself with the publication of this volume. We offer him our sincere thanks. We would also like to extend our thanks to Shri Durga Shankar Mukhopadhyaya, I. A. S., who came later and continued Shri Chaturvedi's work, and the present Commissioner, Smt. Malati Sunila Sinha, I. A. S., who is also evincing genuine interest in the activities of the Institute including the present publication.

We take this opportunity to thank Shri Mukhtiar Singh, I. A. S., the then District Magistrate of Vaishali and ex-officio General Secretary of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha, whose door was always open to us for any kind of help required in connection with this publication or in any other context. He showed readiness in sponsoring and helping cultural and intellectual causes and also promptness in the matter of acquisition of land for the Vaiśālī Shānti Stūpa and construction of the road on the two remaining sides of the rectangular *Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī* (the "Coronation Tank" of the Lichchhavi days) at (the village of) Vaishali. We would be failing in our duty if we do not thank the present District Magistrates of Muzaffarpur and Vaishali, Shri Rahul Sarin, I. A. S., and Shri B. B. Shrivastava, I. A. S., respectively who are also showing special interest in the work of development of the Vaishali area.

Last but not the least, we would like to thank Shri Rama Shankar Pandya, Proprietor of Tara Printing Works, Varanasi, for undertaking the work and doing his best for completing it in time, and Shri Ram Naresh Sharma, my son-in-law, who volunteered himself for proof-correction and thus enabled us to avoid some big pitfalls.

Shri J. C. Mathur (1917-1978), who mooted the idea of presenting a commemoration volume as a people's homage to the memory of the unique city and all that it stood for, is no more; he left us on May 14, 1978. In the original edition we were fortunate in having the services of Shri Upendra Maharathi (1910-1981) as *Kalākāra* (Artist). His name had appeared on the inner title page in this capacity. He breathed his last on February 11, 1981 and we are so impoverished. We miss both of them sadly especially at every Vaiśālī-Mahotsava (Chait sudi 13). If we can

keep the lamp burning in spite of storms and stress, we would be keeping their memories alive and our cultural progress undiminished.

There is a popular saying : think of the Devil and the Devil is there. But the Printer's Devils are there even if we do not think of them. They simply wipe out our best efforts to make this work free from faults or mistakes. For this we may only crave the indulgence of our kind readers.

Vaishali Bhavan
Mahendru
Patna-800 006
February 28, 1985

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THE MEMORABLE LETTER
ON
THE DISCOVERY OF THE BUDDHA RELICS
AT VAISĀLI¹

By
DR. ZAKIR HUSSAIN

I paid a one-day visit to Vaishali on the 2nd April, 1958 to attend the Fourteenth Annual Vaishali Mahotsava. I visited the surroundings associated with the memories of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahāvira. I was very much impressed with the excellent work done at Vaishali by Dr. A. S. Altekar, formerly Patna University Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture and at present Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. As a result of his research work among the *Records*² left by Yuan Chwang, he has been able to locate the exact spot where the sacred relics of Lord Buddha had been kept in a casket in a stūpa which must be as old as 500 B. C.-200 B. C. The stūpa, built entirely in earth rammed with *kankar*, was later enlarged and renovated four times. Archaeological evidence appears conclusively to prove that the first stūpa was built early in the fifth century B. C. and the second one about 250 years later. In 637 A. D. when Yuan Chwang visited Vaishali, he was shown a stūpa as built over the relics of the Buddha, and the stūpa recently discovered occupies exactly the same position. Yuan Chwang had heard the tradition that the stūpa of the Lichchhavis had been once opened by Aśoka, who removed nine-tenths of its precious content for distribution over the whole empire, and that it was again opened by a later king, who, terrified by a terrific noise, desisted from the attempt. It is interesting to note that the earliest stūpa as well as the second one shows clear traces of having been opened. In the earliest stūpa, 21 feet below the lowest concrete layer, was

1. Extract from F. D. O. letter No. CB 85, dated the 9th April, 1958 from Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, addressed to the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Dr. Zakir Hussain was Governor of Bihar from the 6th July, 1957 to the 11th May, 1962. [Ed.]
2. *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (English translation of the Travel of Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century A. D.). [Ed.]

discovered a beautiful soapstone casket, three-fourths empty and one-fourth filled with earth and ashes. Along with the ashes, it contains a thin gold leaf, a conch, a glass bead and a copper punchmarked coin. The archaeological and circumstantial evidence thus appears overwhelmingly to prove that the earliest stūpa discovered here is contemporaneous with the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, and its casket most probably contains part of his relics brought here from Kushinagar. The site of the excavation has become very important and needs to be declared a 'preserved area' by the State Government as the bricks of the relics might be removed by the pious.

I also inaugurated the Vikas Mela at Vaishali where a number of stalls were put up by the State Government demonstrating scientific methods about poultry farming, fisheries, Five-Year Plan publicity, etc. These could have been made more effective.

Later I inaugurated the Vaishali Mahotsava and Cultural Programme. About 60,000 people assembled at the place. Shri Laliteshwar Prasad Shahi, Deputy Minister for Information, Industries and Community Development, Bihar, delivered the address of welcome and Dr. S. Mookerjee, Director, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, delivered the presidential address. During the fourteen years, since its beginning, this festival seems to have caught the imagination of the people; it should, however, be organised to suit the tastes of the vast assemblage. Learned discourses are quite out of place—even mine, I confess, was not the right thing for the occasion. Historical *tableaux* and good programmes of music, dance and drama would attract even a larger number. I am taking up the matter with the Vaishali Sangha.

प्रथम संस्करण की

भूमिका

(FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION)

वैशाली का स्थान हमारे प्राचीन इतिहास में महत्वपूर्ण है। हम उसे भूल-से गये थे। विद्वानों ने—विशेष करके स्वर्गीय काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल ने—हमारी आँखें खोलीं और उस अतीत के गौरव की एक झाँकी दिखलायी। तब से लोगों की अभिरुचि उसे जानने की बढ़ती गयी और वैशाली-महोत्सव उसका एक परिणाम हुआ। 'वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ' उस पिपासा को, जो वैशाली-सम्बन्धी ज्ञान के लिए है, दूर करने का एक प्रयत्न है। इसमें देश-विदेश के विद्वानों का सहयोग प्राप्त हुआ है और एक छोटा, पर विद्वत्तापूर्ण ग्रन्थ पाठकों की सेवा में भेंट है।

आज इस इतिहास के जानने की अधिक आवश्यकता प्रतीत होती है। बहुत दिनों के बाद आज स्वतंत्र प्रजातंत्र हम स्थापित कर रहे हैं। वह भारत के किसी एक छोटे-से-कोने में नहीं, पर इसके सारे विशाल विस्तृत क्षेत्र में। हमारे सामने कठिनाइयों के पहाड़ दीख पड़ते हैं। उनको हमें लाँघना है। अपने विधान के निर्माण में हम बहुत करके पश्चिमीय देशों से—विशेष करके इंग्लैण्ड और योरोप के दूसरे देशों तथा अमेरिका के इतिहास और विधानों से—ही बहुत-कुछ लेना चाहते हैं। उसका एकमात्र कारण उन देशों के इतिहास और विधानों से अधिक परिचय है। वैशाली के इतिहास और वैधानिक कार्य-प्रणाली से हम बहुत सीख सकते हैं; पर हमारी जानकारी इतनी कम है कि उस ओर ध्यान तक नहीं जाता। अगर हमारा प्रजातंत्र स्थायी, सुव्यवस्थित, सुखी और दृढ़ होना चाहता है, तो उसे भी बुद्ध भगवान् के बतलाये वृजियों के “सत्त अपरिहाणि-धम्म” अर्थात् हानि न होने देनेवाले सात धर्मों की व्यवस्था रखनी होगी। उन्हीं में प्रजातंत्र के मूलमंत्र मिलते हैं।

वैशाली का इतिहास केवल राजनीतिक दृष्टि से ही महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। यह चौबीसवें तीर्थंकर वर्धमान महावीर का जन्मस्थान भी है और यहाँ पर ही बौद्धसंघ की प्रसिद्ध द्वितीय संगीति हुई थी। स्वयं बुद्ध भगवान् ने इस स्थान को बार-बार अपनी चरणरज देकर पवित्र और पावन बनाया था। इसकी बार-बार श्रीमुख से उन्हींने प्रशंसा की है और इसकी सभा की देवताओं की सभा से तुलना की है। यह ग्रन्थ इस गौरवपूर्ण प्रजातंत्र की स्मृति एक बार फिर से जाग्रत करे, यही मेरी आशा और अभिलाषा है।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

EDITORIAL NOTE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Commemoration volumes as a token of admiration or gratitude towards scholars or leaders of ~~men~~ are fairly common. The present volume strikes a new line; it endeavours to convey through its pages, pictures, and spirit, a people's homage to the memory of a unique city and all that it stood for. Vaiśālī, the metropolis of a fearless and illustrious republic in North Bihar, 2500 years ago, stands out as a landmark in the history of ancient India. Her glory is no more, but her memory, though dimmed through the ages, needs to be cherished as an inspiration, every time a new chapter of our history is opened. Little wonder, then, that when in 1945 the Vaisalian glories were sought to be recaptured through an organized cultural festival on the site of the old ruins, the response from the people was overwhelming and spontaneous beyond measure.

This symposium was originally planned for publication on the occasion of the first Vaiśālī Festival in 1945. War-time difficulties stood in our way then, and only a little handbook in Hindi could be brought out. Meanwhile in response to our request, eminent scholars of ancient history from different parts of the country favoured us with valuable contributions.

To these distinguished scholars—some of them the unquestioned authorities on their subjects—we cannot be too grateful, not only for their worthy contributions but also for their patience in having waited for the publication for these three years.

Even this year, the publication would not have been possible, had it not been for the generous grant of Rs. 2000/- made by the Premier of Bihar, the Hon'ble Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, who is also the President of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha. For this timely and liberal help we offer him our deeply-felt thanks.

Our distinguished countryman Dr. Rajendra Prasad—whose home is not far from the seat of the Licchhavi glories—has honoured us by writing the preface in spite of his numerous engagements.

Thanks are also due to Dr. S. C. Sarkar for his kind and wise guidance, Dr. K. K. Datta for his unfailing assistance in obtaining articles, correction of proofs and occasional valuable advice, the Archaeological Survey of India for allowing the use of their publications, the Curator, Patna Museum for the plates of some antiquities, Sri Amarendra Nath

Banerji, B. Sc., Dip-in-Lib. Sc. (Cal.), Librarian, Patna College for making available necessary reference books required for preparing this volume, Prof. S. K. Ghose, Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar and Sri Havaladar Tripathi 'Sahridaya' for help in the correction of proofs, Sri Dinesh Baxi for the frontispiece and Sri Devadatta for another illustration and the map. Mr. K. P. Dar of the Allahabad Law Journal Press, who undertook to print this volume, despite the innumerable demands on his press, has earned our sincerest gratitude.

Sri Ram Sinhasan Pande, Additional Deputy Secretary, Political Department, Bihar Government, raised a handsome amount for this publication when he was the S. D. O. at Hajipur. We are also grateful to Sri Ramlochan Sharan 'Bihari,' Proprietor of the Himalaya Press, Patna and Sri Jayanath Mishra, its Manager till 1947; both of them readily allowed the use of some beautiful blocks from the Press, for this volume.

To those of our friends, who form the backbone of the Vaisālī Saṅgha and whose services were readily available for the preparation of this volume, we need not convey in words our gratitude; for they are our own people. But special mention must be made of Sri Upendra Maharathi, whose artistic illustrations and sketches adorn these pages and Sri Bhola Nath 'Vimal', who volunteered to look after the management of the publication.

The Vaisālī Saṅgha expects to follow up this volume by other standard publications on the cultural and historical life of this part of the country.

The Fourth Vaisālī Festival
April 21, 1948

Jagadish Chandra Mathur
District Magistrate, Gaya
Yogendra Mishra
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Artist : Upendra Maharathi

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By Yugal Kishore Mishra

M. A. (Philosophy, Sanskrit, Prakrit-and-Jainology), B L.

Lecturer, Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa

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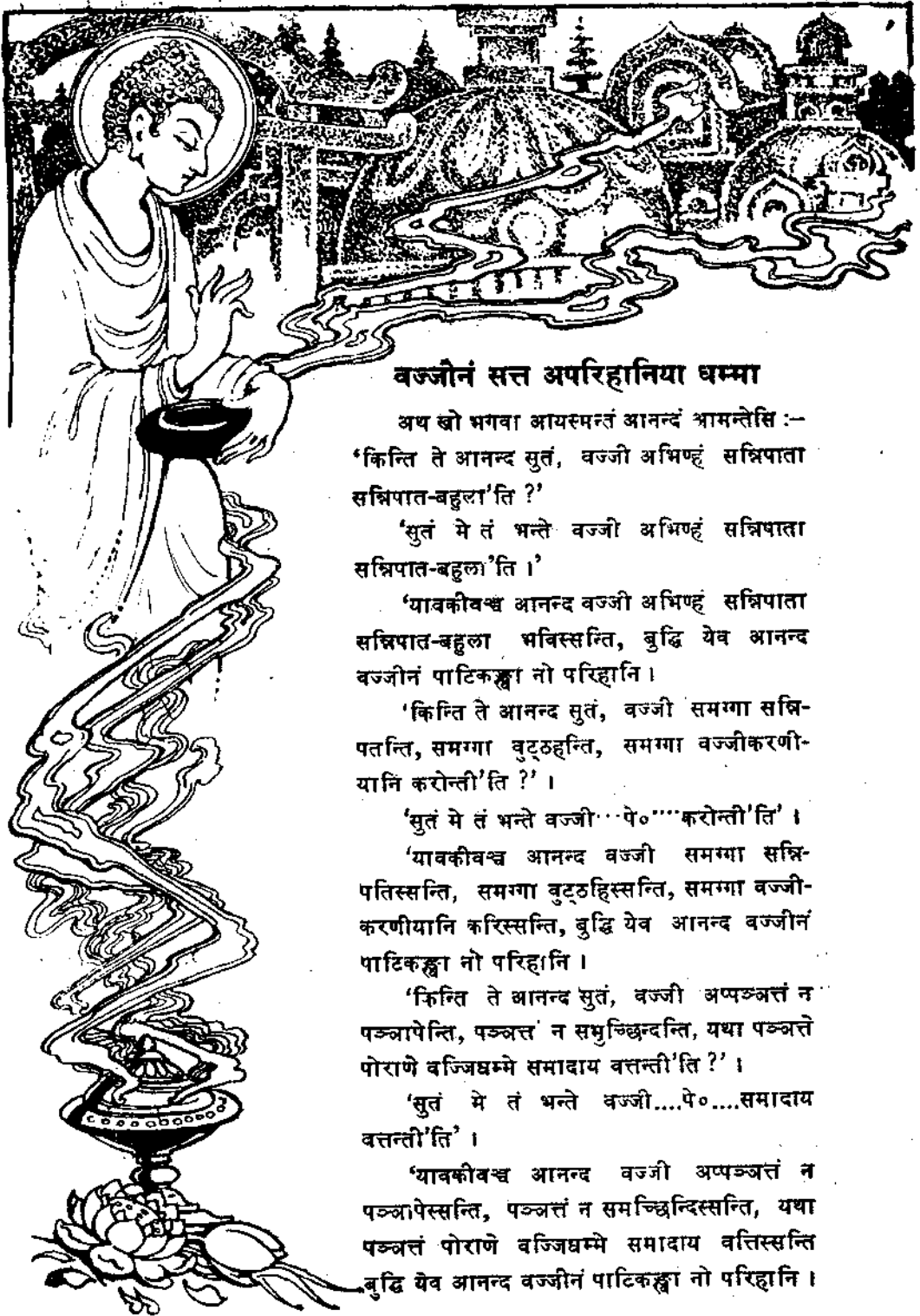
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Gautama Buddha relating before Ānanda at Gṛidhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak), Rājagṛīha, the seven virtues of the Vajjis leading to non-decline. Seen with them is Vassakāra (Minister of King Ajātaśatru of Magadha) sitting in a reverential mood.



वज्जीनं सत्त अपरिहानिया धम्मा

अथ खो भगवा आयस्मन्तं आनन्दं भ्रामन्तेसि :-

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं, वज्जी अभिण्हं सन्निपाता सन्निपात-बहुला’ति ?’

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जी अभिण्हं सन्निपाता सन्निपात-बहुला’ति ।’

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जी अभिण्हं सन्निपाता सन्निपात-बहुला भविस्सन्ति, बुद्धि येव आनन्द वज्जीनं पाटिकह्वा नो परिहानि ।

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं, वज्जी समग्गा सन्निपतन्ति, समग्गा बुट्ठहन्ति, समग्गा वज्जीकरणीयानि करोन्ती’ति ?’ ।

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जी...पे०.....करोन्ती’ति ।’

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जी समग्गा सन्निपतिस्सन्ति, समग्गा बुट्ठहिस्सन्ति, समग्गा वज्जीकरणीयानि करिस्सन्ति, बुद्धि येव आनन्द वज्जीनं पाटिकह्वा नो परिहानि ।

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं, वज्जी अप्पञ्चत्तं न पञ्चापेन्ति, पञ्चत्तं न समुच्छिन्दन्ति, यथा पञ्चत्ते पोराने वज्जिघम्मे समादाय वत्तन्ती’ति ?’ ।

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जी....पे०.....समादाय वत्तन्ती’ति ।’

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जी अप्पञ्चत्तं न पञ्चापेस्सन्ति, पञ्चत्तं न समुच्छिन्दिस्सन्ति, यथा पञ्चत्तं पोराने वज्जिघम्मे समादाय वत्तिस्सन्ति बुद्धि येव आनन्द वज्जीनं पाटिकह्वा नो परिहानि ।

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं वज्जी ये ते वज्जीनं वज्जिमहल्लका ते सक्करोन्ति सक्करोन्ति मानेन्ति पूजेन्ति तेसञ्च सोतब्बं मञ्जन्ती’ति ?’ ।

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जी ये ते वज्जीनं वज्जिमहल्लका....पे०....सोतब्बं मञ्जन्ती’ति’ ।

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जी ये ते वज्जीनं वज्जिमहल्लका ते सक्करिस्सन्ति गरु-
करिस्सन्ति मानेस्सन्ति पूजेस्सन्ति तेसञ्च सोतब्बं मञ्जिस्सन्ति, बुद्धि येव आनन्द वज्जीनं
पाटिकल्ला नो परिहानि ।

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं वज्जी या ता कुलित्थियो कुलकुमारियो ता न आवकस्स
पसय्ह वासेन्ती’ति ?’ ।

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जी या ता कुलित्थियो....पे०....वासेन्ती’ति’ ।

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जी या ता कुलित्थियो कुलकुमारियो ता न आवकस्स पसय्ह
वासेस्सन्ति, बुद्धि येव आनन्द वज्जीनं पाटिकल्ला नो परिहानि ।

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं वज्जी यानि तानि वज्जीनं वज्जिचेत्तियानि, अब्भन्तरानि चेव
बाहिरानि च, तानि सक्करोन्ति गरुकरोन्ति मानेन्ति पूजेन्ति तेसञ्च दिन्नपुब्बं धम्मिकं बलि
नो परिहापेन्ती’ति ?’ ।

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जी यानि तानि....पे०....परिहापेन्ती’ति’ ।

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जी यानि तानि वज्जीनं वज्जिचेत्तियानि, अब्भन्तरानि चेव
बाहिरानि च, तानि सक्करिस्सन्ति, गरुकरिस्सन्ति मानेस्सन्ति, पूजेस्सन्ति, तेसञ्च दिन्नपुब्बं
कतपुब्बं धम्मिकं बलि नो परिहापेस्सन्ति, बुद्धि येव आनन्द वज्जीनं पाटिकल्ला नो परिहानि ।

‘किन्ति ते आनन्द सुतं वज्जीनं अरहन्तेसु धम्मिका’ रक्खा’वरणगुत्ति सुसंविहिता,
किन्ति अनागता च अरहन्तो विजितं आगच्छेय्युं, आगता च अरहन्तो विजिते फासुं
विहरेय्यु’ति ?’ ।

‘सुतं मे तं भन्ते वज्जीनं अरहन्तेसु....पे०....विहरेय्यु’ति’ ।

‘यावकीवञ्च आनन्द वज्जीनं अरहन्तेसु धम्मिका’रक्खा’वरणगुत्ति सुसंविहिता
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पाटिकल्ला नो परिहानी’ति’ ।

अथ खो भगवा वस्सकारं ब्राम्हणं मगधमहामत्तं आमन्तेसि :—

‘एक’मिदा’हं ब्राम्हण समयं वेसालियं विहरामि सारन्ददे चेत्तिये । तत्रा’हं वज्जीनं
इमे सत्त अपरिहानिये धम्मे देसेसि, यावकीवञ्च ब्राम्हण इमे सत्त अपरिहानिया धम्मा
वज्जीसु ठस्सन्ति, इमेसु च सत्तसु अपरिहानियेसु धम्मेसु वज्जी सन्दिस्सन्ति, बुद्धि येव
ब्राम्हण वज्जीनं पाटिकल्ला नो परिहानी’ति’ ।

—From the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, ch. 1 of the *Dīgha
Nikāya* (Part II), edited by Prof. N. K. Bhagwat,
M. A. (Bombay, 1936), pp. 60-62.

SEVEN VIRTUES OF THE *VAJJIS* LEADING TO NON-DECLINE

And the Blessed One said to him : 'Have you heard, Ānanda, that the *Vajjians* hold full and frequent public assemblies ?'

'Lord, so I have heard', replied he.

'So long, Ānanda', rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the *Vajjians* hold these full and frequent public assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper'.

(And in the like manner questioning Ānanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Blessed One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the *Vajjian* confederacy¹).

'So long Ānanda, as the *Vajjians* meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the *Vajjians* as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the *Vajjian* elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clan are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the *Vajjian* shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the *Arahats* among them, so that *Arahats* from a distance may enter the realm, and the *Arahats* therein may live at ease—so long may the *Vajjians* be expected not to decline, but to prosper'.

Then the Blessed One addressed Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa, and said :

'When I was once staying, O Brāhmaṇa, at Vesālī at the Sārāṇḍada Temple, I taught the *Vajjian* these conditions of welfare; and so long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the *Vajjians*, so long as the *Uajjians* shall be well instructed in these conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.'

—From the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, translated by Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids (Oxford, 1900), pp. 3-4; also available in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, translated by Messrs. T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids (London, 1910), pp. 79—80.

1. In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause—Tr.

वज्जियों के सात 'अपरिहाणिक' धर्म

बुद्धदेव ने आनन्द से पूछा—क्यों आनन्द, तुमने क्या सुना है, क्या वज्जियों के जुटाव (सन्निपात) बार-बार और भरपूर होते हैं (अर्थात् उनमें बहुत लोग जमा होते हैं) ?

—श्रीमान् मैंने ऐसा ही सुना है कि वज्जी बार-बार इकट्ठे होते और उनके जुटाव भरपूर होते हैं ।

—जब तक आनन्द, वज्जियों के जुटाव बार-बार और भरपूर होते हैं, तब तक आनन्द, उनकी बढ़ती की ही आशा करनी चाहिए न कि परिहाण की ।

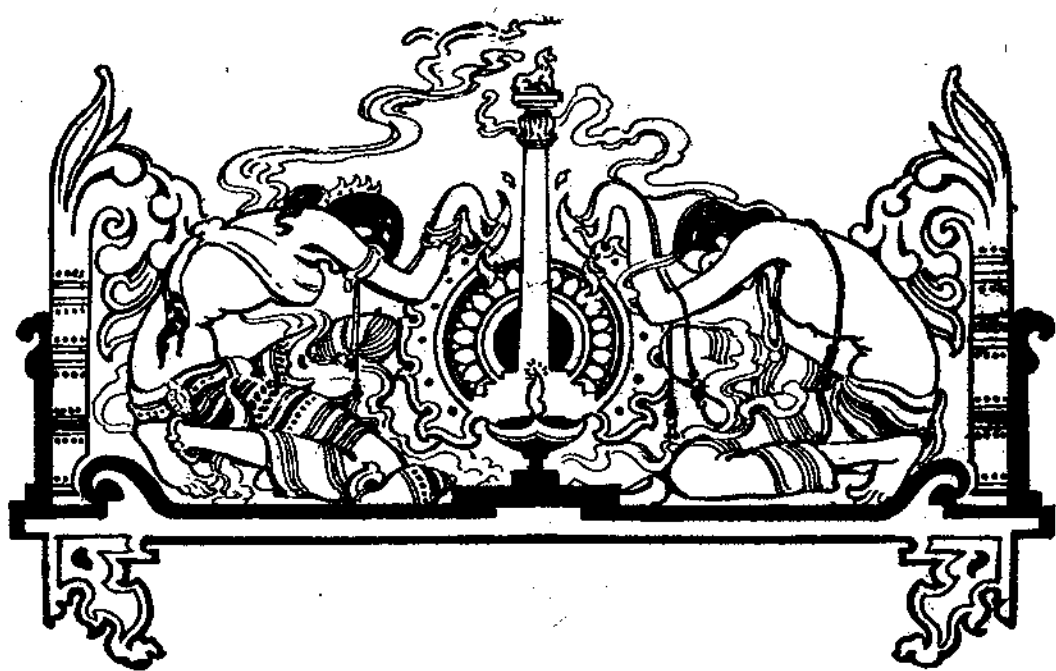
इसी प्रकार बुद्ध ने आनन्द से निम्नलिखित प्रश्न और पूछे—क्यों आनन्द, तुमने क्या सुना है, क्या वज्जी इकट्ठे जुटते, इकट्ठे उठते (उद्यम करते), और इकट्ठे वज्जी-करणीयों (अपने राष्ट्रीय कर्त्तव्यों) को करते हैं ? क्या वज्जी (सभा द्वारा) बाकायदा कानून बनाये बिना कोई आज्ञा जारी नहीं करते, बने हुए नियम का उच्छेद नहीं करते, और नियम से चले हुए पुराने वज्जीधर्म (राष्ट्रीय कानून और संस्थाओं) के अनुसार मिल कर बर्त्तते हैं ? क्या वज्जी वज्जियों के जो वृद्ध-बुजुर्ग हैं उनका आदर-सत्कार करते, उन्हें मानते-पूजते और उनकी सुनने लायक बातों को मानते हैं ? क्या वज्जी जो उनकी कुल-स्त्रियाँ और कुल-कुमारियाँ हैं उन पर जोर-जबर्दस्ती तो नहीं करते ? क्या वज्जी जो उन वज्जियों के अन्दरले और बाहरले वज्जी चैत्य (जातीय मन्दिर—अरहतों की समाधियाँ) हैं, उनका आदर-सत्कार करते और उनको पहले दी हुई धार्मिक बलि को नहीं छीनते ? क्या वज्जियों में अरहतों की रक्षा करने का भाव नली प्रकार है ? क्या बाहर के अरहत उनके राज्य (विजित) में आ सकते हैं ? और आये हुए सुगमता से विहार करते हैं ?

इन सातों प्रश्नों का उत्तर बुद्धदेव को वज्जियों के पक्ष में मिला और इसलिए उन्होंने प्रत्येक उत्तर सुनकर उनके अभ्युदय और वृद्धि की ही आशा प्रकट की ।

बुद्धदेव जब वज्जि-रट्ठ में थे, तब स्वयं उन्होंने वज्जियों को ये सप्त अपरिहाणिक धर्म अर्थात् अवनति न होने की सात शर्तें समझायी थीं ।

जयचन्द्र विशालंकार

[भारतीय इतिहास की रूपरेखा, खण्ड १, द्वितीय संस्करण
(इलाहाबाद, १९४१), पृष्ठ ४५२-४५३]



VAIŚĀLĪ IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE¹

Dr. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph. D., P.R.S.

We are assembled here to-day at a place which is unique in India's history and civilization. Vaiśālī is at once a holy and a historical place, the confluence of three streams of culture, Brahmanical, Jain, and Buddhist. We are all here as historical and religious pilgrims to take our purifying baths in the sacred streams of these cultural traditions, with which is charged the atmosphere of this place.

The history of this place has its roots in the remote past in the days of the story of *Rāmāyana*, where it is stated that the *Ikṣvāku* Queen Alambuṣā had a pious son named Viśāla, who founded the city which he called Viśālāpuri. Tenth in descent from Viśāla was King Sumati

1. Presidential address delivered at the First Vaiśālī Festival at Vaiśālī on March 31, 1945.

who figures as a host of Śrī Rāmacandra. King Viśāla is also mentioned in some of the *Purāṇas* like *Varāha*, *Nārada*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Bhāgavata*. These sources, however, do not agree in regard to the historical traditions they present. But it is undeniable that the history of Vaiśālī dates back to pre-historic origins.

Vaiśālī first emerges into history as the birthplace of the great leader of Jainism, V rdhamāna Mahāvīra, the 24th of the Jain Tirthaṅkaras. Mahāvīra was born in one of the three districts of Vaiśālī, known as Vaiśālī proper, Kuṇḍagrāma or Kuṇḍapurā and Vāṇijyagrāma. The centre of Kuṇḍagrāma was a place called Kollāga; described as *Nāya-Kula*, i.e., the home of the people called *Jñātrikas* of whom Mahāvīra was born (*Uvāsagadaḥ*). Therefore Mahāvīra became known as *Vesālīe*, i.e. a *Vaiśālīka*, in the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, 'the first citizen of Vaiśālī'.

Vaiśālī was then at the height of its prosperity with its three districts containing, according to the Tibetan tradition, houses numbering 7000, 14000 and 21000 respectively, and, according to a *Jātaka*, was encompassed by three walls with their separate gates and watch-towers. According to the *Mahāvastu*, the citizens of Vaiśālī were distinguished as *Abhyantara-Vaiśālīkas*, the cockneys of the city, and *Bāhira Vaiśālīkas*, the citizens of Greater-Vaiśālī, outside the Metropolis, and their total number was "twice 84000" = 1,68000. The early Buddhist work *Mahāvagga* describes Vaiśālī as "an opulent, prosperous and populous town, with 7707 storeyed-buildings, 7707 pinnacled buildings, 7707 *Ārāmas* and 7707 lotus-ponds", with its *Rājās* or chiefs also numbering 7707. It will not be quite fair to assume that this description of the city contained in canonical Buddhist texts is imaginary or fictitious. Each of these chiefs decorated the Capital with a variety of structures, houses and palaces, *Caityas* and *Vihāras*. The Buddhist Texts single out eight of its famous *Caityas* which were (i) Udena to the east of Vaiśālī, (ii) Gotamaka to the South, (iii) Saptāmraka (Sattamba) to the west, (iv) Bahuputraka on the north, (v) Cāpāla, (vi) Kapinabha, (viii) Sāranda and (viii) Markaṭabhrada. The *Licchavis* of Vaiśālī made a g ft of all these shrines to the Buddha.

I appeal to the public of this holy region to identify among its ruins some of these famous monuments associated with the Great Buddha.

The personality and preachings of Mahāvīra rapidly built up Vaiśālī as a centre of Jainism and of the spiritual discipline and asceticism upon which it was based. Vaiśālī thus achieved an early reputation in the religious world of India for its teachers devoted to the practice of

uttermost penance and austerity, of which Mahāvira stood out as the most prominent example. When the Buddha renounced the world and became a monk, his first task naturally was the quest of the teacher which, according to the *Upaniṣads*, was the first step in religious life. As the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* states, a man blind-folded cannot even find his way home. He can arrive at the home of Truth when the bandage of his eyes is removed by the teacher, who restores to him his eye-sight or spiritual insight. His quest of the teacher led the unknown Buddha, the Bodhisattva, to proceed towards Vaiśālī as the place which was then known for its abundance of spiritual teachers. There Buddha found his teacher Ālāra Kālāma, a native of Vaiśālī according to *Mahāvastu* (II, 118). Ālāra was so advanced in meditation that sitting on the road, he did not hear or see even 500 carts rattling past him *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* (IV, 35). Mrs. Rhys Davids has also recorded her conclusion that the Buddha found his first two teachers, Ālāra and Uddaka, at Vaiśālī and even started his religious life as a Jain under their teachings. A support for the Buddha's Jain beginnings may be found in the fact that he gave himself up to a course of austerities associated with Jainism by which he reduced himself to a mere skeleton, skin and bones, by ultimately limiting his food to the quantity that could be held in his hollowed palm, in the manner of a good Jain like Mahāvira. As is well known, his health was not equal to this extreme of mortification; then he parted company with Jainism and discovered for himself the *Middle-path*, for which Buddhism is known, the path that lies between the two extremes of self-torture and self-indulgence.

This early contact of Gautama, as an aspiring ascetic, with Vaiśālī is not so well known. But his first visit to Vaiśālī, as the Buddha, has been fully described in the Texts with a touch of romance. The city was then under the scourge of a fearful epidemic of plague to which it could not find any antidote. Its Municipal Council then thought of a remedy, that it should have the city purged of its impurities and purified by the sacred feet of the Buddha treading its thoroughfares. It, accordingly, sent an invitation to the Buddha to pay a visit to the city and appointed its President, Tomara, as its representative to receive the Buddha. The Buddha was given a right royal rousing reception by a procession of elephants and chariots, decked with gold, along the whole road from the Ganges to the city, a distance of nearly 50 miles, which was bedecked with flags, garlands, and embroidered cloth, and was watered and perfumed with showers of flowers and burning of incense, along its whole length as the Buddha passed by.

His reception was followed by arrangements for his permanent connexion with the city. Besides the eight aforesaid shrines, the city built for him the pinnacled rest-house (*Kūṭāgāra-sālā*) in its suburban and solitary retreat known as the Mahāvana. Some of the rich ladies of the city also placed at his disposal other resting-places of the kind that he loved. The courtesan Āmrāpālī gave him her famous mango-grove and lady Bālīkā her *Bālīkārama*.

India's greatest men are always fond of her woods and forests, their solitude and silence, which are conducive to meditation. Her highest thought was the product, not of her cities but her hermitages. The Buddha delivered many of his discourses at the sylvan retreat of Mahāvana. Some of the Pāli Texts tell us how the Bhikkhus themselves acted as architects in supervising its constructions, and how, failing such supervision, a building came to grief because, "the laying was out of line and the walls fell down" (*Cullavagga*, VI).

Vaiśālī is also noted in the history of Buddhism as the place where Buddha first permitted the order of nuns against his own wishes at the instance of Ānanda and his foster mother, Mahāprajāpatī, who became the first Buddhist nun at Vaiśālī.

Vaiśālī marks another important land-mark in the history of Buddhism, as the place where the Second Buddhist Council was held. The Council was called for by the critical situation created in the Buddhist church, by the Buddhists of Vaiśālī, who introduced Ten Innovations in Doctrine and Practice, which were supposed to be against law. These innovations were first detected by the Buddhist Divine (*Sthavira*) Yaśas, when he came to Vaiśālī and was staying in the Mahāvana. Unable to convince these offending Monks of their error, he sent his summons to the Brethren of the different quarters, West, and South, and Avantī, to an Assembly, to decide the issue. The Brethren flocked together from different regions at his call. These monks decided that the most authoritative Buddhist of the day, the Divine Revata, should be asked to preside at the Assembly. It was with difficulty that he was found out and persuaded to come and take part in a controversy.

The Vaiśālī monks tried to win over Revata by even bribing his disciple Uttara.

The first question that Revata settled was that the saṅgha must decide the issue at the place of its origin, viz., Vaiśālī.

The Council did not have smooth sailing, and, as it could not come to a conclusion, Revata decided to refer the dispute to a committee of eight, four monks of the East, and four of the West. The Committee met at Bālikārāma as a secluded spot. With the Committee was associated the oldest Thera Sabbakāmin by name, of highest authority. The committee decided against the *Vajjian* monks. The decision was put before the plenary Session of the Assembly (*Samgiti*) attended by 700 monks. The *Vinaya* was rehearsed at the Assembly and its text was settled. Some of the members brought with them the copies of the *Vinaya* current in their districts, while others trusted to their memory, in presenting before the council the exact teachings of the first apostles. Each of the Vaiśālī innovations was separately condemned by vote as being against the *Vinaya*, on the strength of the *Sūtras* or the *Vinaya* concerned. Then the Council proceeded to reduce to order and finally decide the Text of the *Vinaya*.

It was thus left to Vaiśālī to play a most important part in the history of Buddhism and the evolution of its canonical literature.

The Sinhalese documents record the tradition that, after the Second Buddhist Council had ended, the losing party, who were called the "wicked Bhikkhus, the ex-communicated *Vajji-Puttakas*", held a council of their own (*Mahāsamgiti*). The schism apparently became serious. This rival council established what is called the *Mahāsamghika* School or *Ācāryavāda*, as against the orthodox *Theravāda* of the other council. It seems that the *Mahāsamghikas* made a new collection of scriptures and did not confine their attention merely to the ten points of the dispute. They are also stated to have met in Kūṭāgāraśālā of the Mahāvana, the holy abode of the Buddha himself, which was in their possession.

These traditions made Vaiśālī the first centre of schism and heresy within the Buddhist church, as embodied in the *Mahāsamghika* School, which branched off from the orthodox doctrine, as a separate sect, with its own redactions of the canonical Scriptures.

It is to be noted that the material prosperity of Vaiśālī and its cultural progress were ultimately due to its National and Popular Government. It was governed by a Republic, the like of which was not seen in India's entire history. The Buddha was a born republican, but the *Licchavis* were the older Republicans. The *Licchavi* Republican President, Ceṭṭaka, took the lead in organizing a Federation of Republics comprising 9 *Mallakis*, and 18 *Gaṇa-rājās* of Kāśi-Kośala besides the 9 *Licchavi* Republics.

The *Licchavi* Republic itself was organised as a vast Confederation known as *Vajjian* Confederation, with its governing body of 7707 *Rājās* represented in its Federal Assembly. Probably, as the *Lalitavistara* explains, the title *Rājā* was then used for a republican citizen. The Executive of each Republic was a body of eight (*Aṣṭakula*) representing its different sections, each of which had its own uniform and colour. There were thus Republics of following colours, blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), green (*harita*), light red (*mañjiṣṭha*), red (*lohita*), white (*śveta* or *odāta*) and variegated or mixed (*vyāyukta*). These colours marked everything about them, dress, chariots, turbans, umbrellas, down to shoes, whips and sticks. (*Mahāpari. Suttanta*, S.B.E.XI. 31; *Āṅg.*, P.T.S., ii, 239; *Mahāvastu*, i, 259; *Dīgha.*, ii, 95). The 9 *Licchavis* were in charge of foreign policy and *Aṣṭakulakas* of domestic affairs including justice. The Judicial officers were known as *Viniścaya-Mahāmātras* to ascertain the facts of the case, the *Vyavahārikas*, legal experts and *Sūtradhāras*, proficient in legal texts. An appeal lay from the ordinary courts to *Senāpati*, the military chief, and from him to the civil chief or the Deputy-King (*Upa-rājā*), and from him to the *Rājā* as the final judge.

The working of the Republic conformed to Buddha's famous injunctions viz : (1) that its Assemblies should be frequently held and fully attended; (2) that they should meet and act in concord; (3) that it should respect its ancient laws, customs and institutions; and (4) that it should honour its spiritual leaders and women-folk.

The Republic showed its efficiency in producing a higher cultural level in its people. The Buddha himself has testified how the *Licchavi* youths were free from luxury and sloth, "sleeping with logs of wood as pillows, and not delicate, tender, and soft in their arms and legs" (*Saṃ.*, II, 267-8), and were fond of manly sport, "training elephants and hunting with dogs." They were also keen on education. We read of Mahāli, going to Taxila for study and on returning educating 500 *Licchavi* youths, who again became teachers and spread education through the country.

Vaiśālī maintained its position as one of India's greatest cities for several centuries. Even 1000 years after the Buddha, Vaiśālī figures as the Capital or Headquarters (*Adhiṣṭhāna*) of a Province of the Gupta Empire, as will appear from the find of Inscribed Seals excavated here by the Archaeological Department. These Inscriptions mention the name of the Province as *Tira-bhukti* of which the modern name is Tirhut Division, with its headquarters removed from Vaiśālī to Muzaffarpur. These Inscip-

tions show that Vaiśālī was then not merely the political, but the cultural and commercial Capital of the Province. It was at once a centre of Administration, Business and Industry. Seals were issued by three classes of its guilds, (*Nigamas* or *Śreṇīs*), those of Bankers (*Śreṣṭhin*), Traders (*Sārthavāha*) and Artisans (*Kulika*). Each of these guilds had its President or *Prathama*. The Inscriptions tell us of Federations of Guilds, of Guilds of *Śreṣṭhi-Kulika-Nigama*, or of all the three guilds *Śreṣṭhi-Sārthavāha-Kulika-Nigama*.

These Seals also speak of the District Office of Vaiśālī as *Vaiśālī-adhiṣṭhānā-adhikaraṇa*.

These were the days of the famous Gupta Emperor Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya (c. 376-414) who is rendered more famous by the record, left by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien who visited India in 399-414 A. D., of what he saw of India's civilization. At this time what he then saw of Vaiśālī is of very great interest to us. He still saw here in existence the *Mahāvāna Vihāra*, with its double tower or the Upper Storeyed-Hall, the *Kūṭāgāra* Hall, where Buddha used to stay. He also saw the ruins of the *Vihāra* given by Ambapālī at Āmra-Vana. Can't we trace out what Fa-Hien had seen of Vaiśālī's ancient monuments?

Vaiśālī was seen in its decline and ruins by the other Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, when he visited it three centuries later. He noticed that Vaiśālī was "a fertile region abounding in mangoes, plantains, and other fruits" with its people honest, industrious, devoted to learning and to both Brāhmanism and Buddhism. He saw hundreds of Buddhist Vihāras dilapidated and deserted, a number of Brāhmanical temples, and Digambaras flourishing. Hiuen-Tsang refers to the foundations of the old city extending to a great length and also the walled part of the city, together with a Buddhist Sammatiya monastery in the neighbourhood, and a *stūpa* erected to the memory of Maudgalyāyana. Near the *stūpa* was the one in which were enshrined the relics of the Buddha of which a portion was seized by the *Licchavis* of Vaiśālī from the *Mallas* of Kuśinārā. Next, he noticed the Aśoka pillar surmounted by the lion, and the Markaṭahrada near the Kūṭāgāraśālā. The Pilgrim in fact tried to identify all the places associated with early Buddhism in the time of its founder. For instance, he traces the houses of Vimalakīrti, Ratoākara and Āmrāpālī, known in early Buddhist history. But it is difficult to trace the lost traditions of these ruins. He traced the Āmravana and the *Ārāma* given to the Buddha by Ambapālī and the Buddhist shrine and *Stūpa* marking the spot. Hiuen-Tsang, in fact, tries to relate tradition to locality.

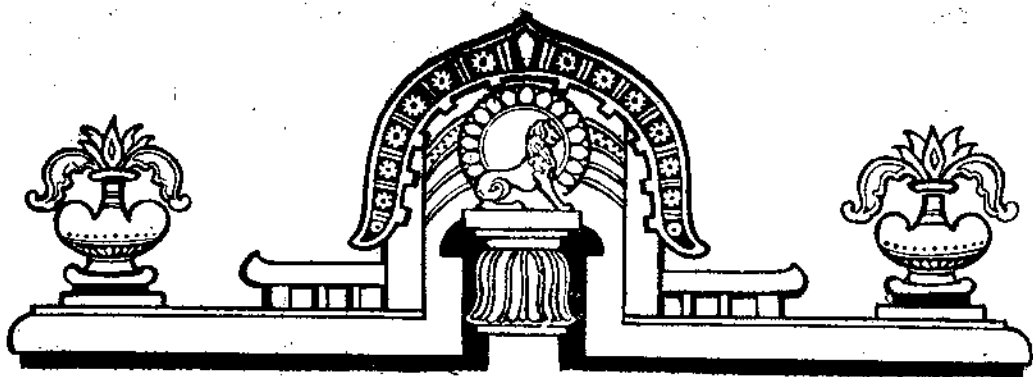
His most interesting observation relates to the Great *Stūpa* which was erected at the place where "700 eminent sages made the second compilation." This was the place where the Second Buddhist Council was held. This *Stūpa* was also noticed by Fa-Hien. According to Chinese texts, the place where the Buddhist Council was held was the *Balikārāma*.

It must have been distressing to the Chinese Pilgrim to pace over the ruins of a district, which he had known from the Buddhist Scriptures to have been so much loved by the Buddha, and a centre of prosperity and democracy, and now converted into a wilderness.

Let us recapture some of this lost glory of this city and our National Cultural Heritage by a well-planned scheme of its revival and renovation.

We should make a start in our process and programme of reconstruction by a revival of archaeological excavation of its numerous mounds in which are buried its hidden treasures. We should also construct a Museum in which its antiquities may be housed and properly preserved, so that the people may see in it a visible picture of its glorious past. Lastly, we should reconstruct Vaiśālī, by having here a modernized monastery, a residential public school, where students will grow up in an atmosphere recalling all that is highest and noblest in India's immortal traditional culture.





वैशाली की महत्ता'

प्रोफेसर ओ० सी गांगुली, कलकत्ता

आप लोग जानते हैं कि यह उत्सव हमारे प्राचीन संस्कृति-केन्द्र को जातीय जीवन में जाग्रत कर रखने के लिए मनाया जा रहा है। यह संस्कृति-केन्द्र हमारे भारत के दो महान् धर्मों—अर्थात् जैन और बौद्ध धर्मों—की पवित्र स्मृति से आज भी उज्ज्वल हो रहा है। इस संस्कृति में मानो परम्परा से आज तक युगों की लम्बी सड़क पर महावीर और बुद्धदेव इन दोनों महात्माओं की पदध्वनि सुनाई दे रही है। इन दोनों महापुरुषों के शक्तिमान् व्यक्तित्व ने भारत की आध्यात्मिक संस्कृति की प्रतिमा को भारतीयों के मनमन्दिर में सदा के लिए अमर बना दिया है। सिर्फ भारतीयों के हृदय में ही नहीं, बल्कि विश्व के मानव-समाज के हृदय में भी; क्योंकि सारे संसार के इतिहास में ऐसा हृदयविदारक, घोरहिंसापूर्ण और मनुष्य के हृदय को एवं मनुष्यता को ऐसी निर्दयता के साथ टुकड़ा-टुकड़ा करनेवाला सर्वनाश इसके पहले कभी भी उपस्थित नहीं हुआ था। इस कठिन बीमारी को दूर करने के लिए उन दो महापुरुषों की मूल्यवान् वाणी संसार में प्रेम और एकता की सृष्टि करती है। आज उन दो महापुरुषों की विश्वशान्ति की अमरवाणी की संसार को इतनी अधिक जरूरत है, जिसनी इसके पहले कभी भी नहीं थी।

हमारे देश के पूर्वकाल के मेले और विभिन्न धार्मिक उत्सव जो बराबर परम्परा से आज तक होते चले आ रहे हैं उनका मूल उद्देश्य है जातीय जीवन की एकता को गणतन्त्र के विस्तृत क्षेत्र में प्रतिष्ठित करना। यह सुन्दर भाव से भरा हुआ मिलन समस्त क्षेत्रों में एक

सम्मिलन-भूमि की सृष्टि करके भारतीयों में विस्तृत हो रहा है— जिस सम्मिलन-भूमि में कुँच-नीच, अमीर और गरीब मरपेटवाला और भूखा, बूढ़ा और जबान, गम्भीर और चञ्चल-पुर्जे इन्सान विविध असंख्य झीड़ों में धक्के पर धक्के जाकर भी परम्परा से जमा होते चले आ रहे हैं—जिस मिलन-भूमि में विभिन्न बादरे के ज्ञान, बुद्धि और इस्म वाले नर-नारी बहुत निकट और अनिष्ट भाव से मिलने का सुयोग पाकर अपने-अपने जीवन, चिन्ता और मन की भावनाओं का विनिमय करके मनुष्यता की कमी को परिपूर्ण कर लेते हैं। इस प्रकार के सम्मेलन में खरीद-फरोख्त कारीगरों के हाथ की बनायी नाना प्रकार की शिल्पवस्तुओं और उस्ताद कलाकारों द्वारा बनायी हुई मनोहर कलावस्तुओं तक ही सीमित नहीं रहती, बल्कि विभिन्न सहृदय लोगों के दिलों की खरीद-बिक्री और हृदयों की तिजारत के कारण इन असंख्य नर-नारियों के दिलों का वास्तविक सम्मेलन सफल हो उठता है। इस तरीके से नाना प्रकार के खिलाड़ियों और गुड़ियों को बेचने और खरीदने के बीच से, देवी-देवताओं की मूर्ति और धर्मसाधना के उपकरण के बीच से, बहुत से खेल और आनन्द की हिलोरों के बीच से, अनेक धर्म-ग्रन्थपाठ एवं आनन्द और दिल्लगी के बीच से, 'सिताबों-कलाबों' के तमाशों और 'नागर-दोला' की आनन्दमयी हिलोरों के बीच से, नाच और गान के हावभाव और आँखों के इशारों के बीच से, विभिन्न श्रेणी के इन्सानों के दिलों में मजबूत दोस्ती का पक्का पुल तैयार हो जाता है।

हमलोग जानते हैं कि हमारा भारतवर्ष बहुत दूर तक फैला हुआ है और नाना सूबों का एक संगठित महाप्रदेश है, जिसके चारों ओर है अनन्त आसमान और फैली हुई है अनन्त विस्तृत जमीन। इतने लम्बे फासले को पार करके इन्सान और इन्सानों की चिन्ताधारा हमारे घरों तक पहुँचने में काफी समय लेती है और अनेक युगपरम्परा से यह बात चली आ रही है। गर्द और कीचड़ से भरे हुए सारे दूर-दूर के रास्ते पार करके इन्सानों के दिल की बातें—बैलगाड़ी और ऊँटों की कतार की धीमी रफ्तारों से और कभी थके हुए तीर्थयात्री और पस्तहिम्मत मुसाफिर के कंधे पर चढ़ कर—धीरे-धीरे एक सूबे से दूसरे सूबे में आया-जाया करती हैं। मुसाफिर और तीर्थयात्री मोक्ष देनेवाले प्राचीन नगरों के विभिन्न मन्दिरों में देवी-देवताओं के दर्शन के लोभ से, मोक्ष और बहिश्त के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ने की आशा और इरादे को लेकर, युग-युग से जिन सारे तीर्थयात्री के रास्तों पर आया जाया करते हैं, वे सारे तीर्थस्थान परस्पर एक दूसरे से फासले पर और अनजान लोगों की झीड़ों से परिपूर्ण हैं। इन सब अनजान और अपरिचित लोगों के साथ जान-पहचान करने का एक सीधा और साफ रास्ता है।

“यह रसना बस में करो, धरो गरीबी भेस।

सीतल बोली ले चलो, सभी तुम्हारा देस ॥”

हमारे देश के ये सारे प्राचीन मेले और धार्मिक उत्सव—जो एक लम्बे जमाने से, पर्व-पर्व में, ऋतु-ऋतु में, नियमित रूप से गाँव-गाँव और शहर-शहर में होते हुए चले आ रहे हैं—फैली हुई लम्बी दूरी को खतम कर देते हैं और हमारे रहने के घर के सामने कितने

ही दूर देश के इन्सानों के खयालात को पेश करते हैं। किन्तु ही दूर देश के इन्सानों के हाथ की बनायी हुई वस्तुओं को हमारे सामने ला देते हैं। यही नहीं, ये किन्तु ही साधुओं और संन्यासियों को, किन्तु ही पीर, पैगम्बर और फकीरों को—जो सुदूर प्रान्तों के विभिन्न पर्वतों में बैठ कर अपनी साधना और तपस्या के बल से धर्मजगत् के अनेक ऊँचे वृक्षों के फलों को तोड़ कर चखते हैं—हमारे सामने ला देते हैं। इस तरीके से रेलगाड़ी और हवागाड़ी, टेलीग्राफ और हवाई जहाजों के इस देश में आने के बहुत पहले से नाना प्रकार के नवीन भाव और आदर्श, नाना प्रकार की बहुभूत्य शान्तिवाणियाँ, मोक्षलाभ के उपदेश—काल और स्थान की विस्तृत दूरी के अड़गों को पार करके—आते-जाते रहे हैं। भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रचार के इतिहास में हमारे इन सारे प्रचारों और धार्मिक उत्सवों ने, तीर्थयात्रियों के जमघट और उनके विश्रामनिवास तथा धर्मशालाओं के बीच से, ऊँचे खयालात और आदर्शों पर आने-जाने का रास्ता सहूल कर दिया है। हमारे जुलाहों के ताँत की मक्खू जैसे कपड़े बुनते समय एक तरफ से दूसरी तरफ दौड़ती है, वैसे ही हमारे जातीय जीवन के रंगीन डोरों से नवलित कपड़ों की उस तस्वीर को युग-युग की परम्परा ने अमर कर रखा है।

प्राचीन साहित्य में—जैनधर्म और बौद्धधर्म के पुराण, उपपुराण, अवदान और कहानियों में, और प्राचीन नाटक तथा कथा-साहित्य में—हम लोग मेलों और उत्सवों का विचित्र और रंगीन वर्णन पाते हैं, जिससे हमें मालूम होता है कि साधारण इन्सानों के अन्धकारमय नीरस जीवन में ये सारे मेले और उत्सव कभी-कभी बीच बीच में कैसे आनन्द और रंग का दीपक जला देते हैं, दुखी के दिल में, गरीब की आत्मा में और आनन्दहीन इन्सानों के हृदय में कौसी सुन्दर खुशी का फुहारा पैदा कर देते हैं, और इन्सानों के मन के उल्लास और इरादे कैसे अजीब नाच-गानों के छन्द में नयी जिन्दगी पाकर उछल उठते हैं।

“मातुपोसक जातक” नाम की एक बौद्ध कहानी में बुद्धदेव के पूर्वजन्म की कथा है, जिसमें एक विशेष प्रकार के उत्सव का वर्णन आया है। तब ब्रह्मदत्त काशी के राजा थे और बोधिसत्त्व ने हिमालय में एक बड़े हाथी के रूप में जन्म लिया था। करण्ड मठ में ब्रह्मदत्त ने बोधिसत्त्व की हाथी की शकल की मूर्ति की स्थापना की और विभिन्न प्रकार की पूजा और सत्कार के द्वारा उस मूर्ति को सम्मानित किया।—उस दिन से प्रति वर्ष एक निर्धारित पर्व के दिन यह हस्ति-उत्सव मनाने के लिए सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग इकट्ठे होकर इस उत्सव को सफल करते थे।

एक और प्राचीन उत्सव की बात हमलोग इतिहास के पन्नों में पाते हैं। यह उत्सव जैन और बौद्ध धर्म के आने के बहुत पहले से ही अनुष्ठित होता चला आया है। इस उत्सव का नाम है ‘शालमंजिका’। एक खास दिन में शालवृक्ष के पुष्पयुक्त पत्तों को तोड़ना ही इस उत्सव का मूल हुआ। प्राचीन बौद्ध साहित्य में इस उत्सव की रंगदार कहानियों का वर्णन हमें प्रायः मिलता है और कवि राजशेखर की ‘विद्धशालमंजिका’ नामक नाटिका में हमें इस उत्सव का विस्तृत वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है। बौद्ध इतिहास के प्राचीन शिल्पकेन्द्र अमरावती में पत्थर की चट्टानों पर इसके मनोरम शिलाचित्र खुदे हुए हैं।

‘कौमुदी-महोत्सव’ इस तरीके का एक और प्राचीन ऋतु-उत्सव है, जो भारत-काश के ब्रह्मचर्य में भारत के नाना प्रान्तों में बहुत प्राचीन काल से होता हुआ चला आ रहा है। उत्तर-पश्चिम भारत के नाना स्थानों में रामलीला के अनुष्ठान और बाणिकोत्सव एवं कुण्ठलीला और विष्णु-पूजा के साथ नाना उत्सव और पर्व अभी भी इतने सुपरिचित और प्रचलित हैं जिनका वर्णन करना निरर्थक है। हम सभी जानते हैं कि इन सारे धार्मिक उत्सवों ने आसीय जीवन को अपने उज्ज्वल वर्ण और रस से जीवित रखा है।

परन्तु आज मैं इन सारे जातीय उत्सवों का वर्णन करने और इतिहास की माला बनाने के लिए यहाँ नहीं आया हूँ। हमारे ये सब धार्मिक उत्सव और पर्व दरिद्रता, आर्थिक दुर्दशा एवं राजनीतिक अन्याय के कारण अब प्रमाहीन, वर्णहीन और प्राणहीन हो चले हैं। बहुत से क्षेत्रों में हमारे अनेक उत्सव, केवल अति प्राचीन होने के कारण बिलकुल जीर्णोद्धार हो गये हैं और अपनी लोकप्रियता खो रहे हैं।

इन सारे पर्वों के अन्दर फिर से एक नवजागरण की सृष्टि करना बहुत ही जरूरी है—उनके साथ वर्तमान भारतीय जीवन की मनोभावनाओं को संयुक्त करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। हमारे नवीन जीवन के रास्ते में जो पूरे ताल के साथ चल सकेंगे, हमारी वर्तमान मनोभावनाओं का जो सफलतापूर्वक प्रतिनिधित्व कर सकेंगे, वे पर्व ही काल की इस कठोर चट्टान पर टिक सकेंगे और इसी उपाय से प्राचीन पर्वों में नवीन जीवन लाया जा सकेगा।

विश्वकवि रवीन्द्रनाथ के चान्तिनिकेतन में बहुत से नवीन उत्सव बड़ी धूमधाम के साथ मनाये जाते हैं, जिनमें वहाँ के छात्र और अध्यापकमण बहुत ही उत्साह के साथ शरीक होते हैं। इनमें एक का नाम ‘वृक्षरोपण उत्सव’, एक का नाम ‘हलचालन उत्सव’, एक का नाम ‘वर्षाभङ्गल उत्सव’, एक का नाम ‘शारद उत्सव’ एक का नाम ‘माघ उत्सव’ है।

एक तरफ जहाँ नवीन भावों के उद्दीपन के लिए नये-नये उत्सवों की परिकल्पना की जरूरत है, दूसरी ओर उसी प्रकार प्राचीन काल के उत्सवों के नूतन अर्थ लगाने होंगे और इन उत्सवों में एक नवीन दृष्टान्त दिखलाना होगा। इस तरीके से पुरानी चीज नया रूप ग्रहण करके हमेशा के लिए जीवित हो उठेगी।

और, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वैशाली की यह नवीन उत्सव-कल्पना न केवल हमारी वर्तमान जीवनधारा को हमारी संस्कृति के ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठों के साथ प्राचीन भारत की जंजीरों में बाँध देगी, बल्कि नूतन युग की नूतन भावनाओं के नये-नये रास्ते भी खोल देगी, और नयी-नयी आशाओं और इरादों को जाग्रत करके हमारे कौमी जीवन की बहुत-सी शाखाओं में नये जमाने की सृष्टि करेगी।

आइये सज्जनों! अब हमलोग भारतीय संस्कृति के इतिहास में वैशाली का स्थान कहाँ है, इसका अनुसन्धान करें।

आज के दिन की वैशाली कुछ थोड़े से लोगों की बस्ती को लेकर कई गाँवों का एक मण्डल है। एक जमाने में यही वैशाली भारत की एक वृहत् और विशाल नगरी थी।

और यही वैशाली ही एक दिन सारी दुनिया के अन्दर गणराज्य की सबसे पुरानी और सुप्रसिद्ध केन्द्रस्थली ।

रामायण में यह नगर 'विशाला' वा 'उत्तमपुरी' के नाम से वर्णित है । प्रसिद्ध राजा इक्ष्वाकु के पुत्र राजा विशाल ने इस नगर का निर्माण किया था । उसकी माता का नाम अलम्बुषा था । यथा—

इक्ष्वाकोस्तु नरव्याघ्र पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः ।

अलम्बुषाबामुत्पन्नो विशाल इति विश्रुतः ।

तेन चाक्षीदिहस्थाने विशालेति पुरी कृता ।

रामायण, बालकाण्ड, सर्ग ४७, श्लोक ११-१२

विष्णुपुराण के मत में राजा विशाल इक्ष्वाकु-वंश के तृणविन्दु राजा के पुत्र थे । इस पौराणिक इतिहास की कहानी 'राजा विशाल का गढ़' इस नाम के अन्दर प्रतिध्वनित हो रही है । श्रीरामचन्द्रजी जब इस नगर में उपस्थित हुए, तब इस प्रदेश के राजा थे सुमति । ऋषि विश्वामित्र के कथनानुसार वैशाली के सभी राजा दीर्घायु, महात्मा, वीर्यवान् और सुधार्मिक थे ।

लेकिन अगर हमलोग रामायण के वर्णन को कल्पित समझ कर न मानें, तब जैनधर्म के यकीन करानेवाले इतिहास के पन्ने हमारे सामने खड़े हैं । क्योंकि इसी वैशाली के नजदीक 'कुण्डग्राम' में जैनधर्म के आखिरी तीर्थंकर महावीर ने जन्म लिया था । इसलिए महावीर का एक और नाम था 'वैशालिक' और उनकी जन्मनी प्रिशला का दूसरा नाम था 'विशाला' ।

लेकिन ब्राह्मणधर्म और जैनधर्म के अतिरिक्त वैशाली विशेष प्रकार से भगवान् बुद्ध और बौद्धधर्म के इतिहास के साथ संयुक्त है । पहले यह मगध साम्राज्य की राजधानी पाटलि-पुत्र और अन्य बड़े-बड़े शहरों के साथ सीधे राजपथ के द्वारा मिली हुई थी और बुद्धदेव अक्सर राजगृह एवं पाटलिपुत्र से वैशाली आते थे ।

वैशाली नगर की प्राचीन कहानी प्राचीन बौद्ध ग्रन्थों में लिखी हुई है । उदाहरणार्थ तिब्बती 'विनयग्रन्थ' में इस नगर का निम्नलिखित वर्णन हमलोग पाते हैं—“वैशाली शहर तीन खास महल्लों में विभक्त था । पहले महल्ले में सात हजार मकान थे, जिनकी गुम्बजों सोने से ढकी हुई थीं; बीच के महल्ले में चौदह हजार मकान थे, जिनकी गुम्बजों चाँदी से ढकी हुई थीं और आखिरी महल्ले में इक्कीस हजार मकान थे, जिनकी गुम्बजों ताम्र से ढकी हुई थीं । इनमें उच्च, मध्य और निम्न वर्गों के नागरिक अपनी श्रेणी के अनुसार वास करते थे” ।

“हीनयान” लोगों के “विनय” ग्रन्थ “महावग्ग” में राजगृह के व्यापारी के वैशाली-भ्रमण का किस्सा लिखा हुआ है । तब राजगृह के राजा थे श्रेणिक बिम्बिसार । इस व्यापारी ने राजगृह में लौटकर राजा को वैशाली का वृत्तान्त बतलाया । वह देख गया था वैशाली में असंख्य जनता की रहन-सहन, उसके नगरवासियों की भारी धनदौलत, और खाने-पीने

को चीजों की प्रचुरता। और उसने देखे सात हजार सात मंजिल वाले मकान, कुशी की हिकोर से भरपूर। उसने वैशाली की एक और प्रधान चीज का वर्णन किया। यह थी उस नगर की सुप्रसिद्ध बैस्या 'अम्बपाली'—जो बहुत बनदीलते की मालकिन थीं और जिसने उस शहर में ऐसे बहुत से जनहितकार्य किये थे, जिनको देखने के वास्ते विभिन्न देशों के लोग वहाँ जाते थे।

राजनीति-तन्त्र में वैशाली की महत्ता एक बहुत ही प्राचीन घटना में वर्णित है। वह घटना बौद्ध कहानी 'मद्दसाल जातक' में लिखी हुई है। उससे मालूम होता है कि वैशाली के प्रत्येक राजा को राजतिलकोत्सव के समय नहाने के लिए वहाँ के एक तालाब के पानी की जरूरत पड़ती थी। यह पानी नहीं होने से राजाओं का 'अभिषेक पर्व' सम्पूर्ण नहीं माना जाता था। इस पानी को लिच्छवि राजाओं के अतिरिक्त दूसरा कोई छू भी नहीं सकता था। उसकी रक्षा के लिए कड़ा पहरा पड़ता था। ऊपर लोहे की जाली लगी थी, जिससे उड़ते पक्षी तक उसमें चोंच न डुबो सकते थे। एक बार श्रावस्ती के राजसेनापति बन्धुल की स्त्री मल्लिका ने अपनी गर्भावस्था में यह इच्छा प्रकट की कि मैं वैशाली नगर की अभिषेक-मङ्गल-पुष्करिणी में नहाकर उसका पानी पीऊँगी।

वैशालीनगरे मनराजकुलानाम् अभिषेकमङ्गलपुष्करिणीम्
ओतस्त्वा नहात्वा पानीयं पातुम् अहिलसामीति।

—जातक, ४, पृ० १४८

सेनापति अपनी स्त्री को रथ पर चढ़ा कर एक हजार तीरन्दाज फौज के साथ बहुत ही हत्ला मचाकर नगर के द्वार पर उपस्थित हुआ। वैशाली नगर की रक्षा करने वाले सिपाहियों ने उसे नगर-प्रवेश के लिए मना किया और अन्त में लड़ाई की, जिसमें वे मारे गये। बन्धुल मल्ल ने जाली को छेद कर अपनी स्त्री के साथ पोखर में स्नान किया और जो भर पानी पीकर लौट गया।

इस मङ्गलपुष्करिणी को छोड़ कर वैशाली में और भी बहुत सी देखने लायक चीजें थीं, यथा अगणित चैत्यगृह या पूजास्थान। इनमें अधिक मशहूर थे 'उदेन चैत्य', 'गोतमक चैत्य', 'सत्तम्बक चैत्य', 'बहुपुत्तक चैत्य', 'सारन्दद चैत्य', 'चापाल चैत्य', 'कपिनह्व चैत्य', 'मकंटह्वदतीर चैत्य' और 'मुकुटबन्धन चैत्य'। ये सब चैत्य ज्यादातर यक्ष देवताओं की पूजा के मन्दिर थे। एक-एक मन्दिर की अलग-अलग कहानियाँ थीं। उदाहरणार्थ 'मुकुटबन्धन चैत्य' में राजाओं और जनसमा के प्रधान का अभिषेक वा पट्टबन्धन उत्सव मनाया जाता था।

एक दिन बुद्धदेव ने 'चापाल चैत्य' में बैठ कर अपने प्रिय शिष्य आनन्द से कहा था—
'कितनी रमणीय है आनन्द! यह वैशाली। कितने सुन्दर और मन को हरने वाले हैं ये चैत्य—
'उदेन चैत्य', 'गोतमक चैत्य', 'सत्तम्बक चैत्य', 'बहुपुत्तक चैत्य', 'सारन्दद चैत्य' और 'चापाल चैत्य'। जब तक वज्जी अपनी मक्ति और अद्धा अद्ध रक्ष कर इन वज्जि-चैत्यों की पूजा-अर्चना पर कायम रहेंगे और इनकी रक्षा में तत्पर रहेंगे, तब तक उनकी तरक्की ही होगी, हानि नहीं।''

परन्तु प्राचीन वैशाली नगर की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह थी कि यहाँ की सुप्रसिद्ध 'अङ्गगण' या 'अट्टकुल' की प्रधान राजधानी। इस अट्टकुल के अन्दर प्रधान वंश थे 'विदेहगण', 'कलिङ्गगण' और इतिहासविख्यात 'लिच्छवि-वंश'।

इस लिच्छवि-वंश की उत्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में विद्वानों में मतभेद है। डा० विन्सेण्ट आर्बर स्मिथ के मतानुसार लिच्छवि लोग थे मंगोल जाति की एक शाखा—तिब्बती और हिमालयवासी जातियों के रिस्तेदार। डा० सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण उन्हें पारसवंशीय मानते थे। बील ने उन्हें 'यूची' खानदान का माना है। धर्मशास्त्र के महान् नेता मगवान् मनु ने लिच्छवियों को 'व्रात्य क्षत्रिय' कहा है, क्योंकि लिच्छवियों को धर्मशास्त्रानुमोदित समय पर अपने व्रत-संस्कार करने की परवाह नहीं थी। आधुनिक भारतीय विद्वान् लिच्छवियों को आर्य मानते हैं।

लिच्छवियों की नसल कुछ भी हो, उन लोगों का राजनीति-तन्त्र गणतन्त्र या प्रजातन्त्र था। उन लोगों का शासनतन्त्र कुछ निर्वाचित प्रधान सदस्यों के हाथ में था। ये प्रधान सदस्य 'वोट' द्वारा निर्वाचित होते थे। शासन-सभा का सभापति, जो 'महोत्तरक' कहलाता था, निर्वाचित होता था। जैनधर्म के ऐतिहासिक वर्णन से मालूम होता है कि मगध के राजा बिम्बिसार के लड़के अजातशत्रु की माता 'चेलना' लिच्छवि-वंश के चेटक की कन्या थी। यही चेटक उस समय की वैशाली-सभा का सभापति था। महावीर की माता त्रिशला भी इसी की बहन थी।

अजातशत्रु के समय में वैशाली मगध के अधीन हो गयी। बात ऐसी हुई कि गंगा नदी के तीर पर एक बन्दरगाह पर लिच्छवियों और मगधराज में झगड़ा हुआ। इस नदी के घाट का एक हिस्सा था लिच्छवियों के कब्जे में और दूसरा था मगधराज के कब्जे में। इस बन्दरगाह-सम्बन्धी झगड़े के होने पर अजातशत्रु ने पहले अपने मन्त्री वर्षकार को भेज वैशाली में फूट डलवायी और पोछे विशाल फौज भेज कर उसे अपने कब्जे में कर लिया। इस प्रकार वह अपनी मातामही के राज का मालिक बन गया।

बौद्धधर्म के इतिहास और विभिन्न कहानियों में लिच्छवि-वंश के बहुत विशिष्ट और श्रेष्ठ लोगों का पता चलता है। उनमें कई नाम बहुत मशहूर हैं, यथा महालि, महानाम, सेनापति सिंह, गोशृङ्गी, और मद्।

लिच्छवि गणतन्त्र के सेनापति सिंह पहले जैन थे; बाद में उन्होंने बौद्धधर्म ग्रहण कर लिया।

वैशाली नगर के उत्तर-पूर्व की तरफ 'महावन' या 'शालवन' नामक एक आश्रम था। उस आश्रम के अधिपति 'गोशृङ्गी' ने बुद्धदेव को उसका दान किया था। इस आश्रम में एक दोमंजिला 'कूटागारशाला' बनवायी गयी और बुद्धदेव अक्सर इस कूटागारशाला में आकर रहते थे।

एक और बड़ा दान बौद्धधर्म के इतिहास में प्रसिद्ध हुआ है। यह है सुप्रसिद्ध वेश्या अम्बपाली का सुविख्यात 'आभ्रकानन'—वैशाली नगर के बिलकुल पास में स्थित। एक दिन

आत्मपत्नी ने नगवान् बुद्ध और उनके चारों शिष्यों को अपने ब्रतान में निमंत्रित करके भोजन करी वसिष्ठा के कम में यह 'आत्मकानन' बँट किया।

लिच्छविदेश का एक मशहूर व्यक्ति था लिच्छवि भद्र। उसका नाम प्राचीन बौद्धग्रन्थ "पुल्लवग" में मिलता है। किसी अपराध में लिच्छवि भद्र महाशय का सम्बन्ध बौद्धसंघ से खतम हो गया। मगर बाद में उस बौद्धसंघ ने भद्र महाशय को फिर अपना लिया था।

इस पुनर्मिलन के समय हमलोग भगवान् बुद्धदेव के बचन में एक सामाजिक प्रथा का उल्लेख पाते हैं। किसी सभ्य को विरादरी से निकाल देने के समय भोजन पर बैठा कर पानी के बर्तन को उलट देने की प्रथा थी। बुद्धदेव ने संघ को सम्बोधित करके कहा था—
“ऐ सदस्यगण! आइए, हमलोग लिच्छवि भद्र महाशय के साथ स्नेह का व्यवहार पुनः स्थापित करके उलटे हुए पानी के बर्तन को एक बार फिर सीधा करके बैठा दें और भद्र महाशय को पुनः अपने दोस्त के रूप में अपना लें।”

मगर वैशाली नगर को बौद्धधर्म के इतिहास में एक विशेष कारण से महत्वपूर्ण स्थान मिला था। वह कारण यह था कि बुद्धदेव के जीवन की बहुत-सी विशिष्ट घटनाएँ इस वैशाली नगर में गुजरी थीं। बुद्धदेव के बार-बार आगमन के कारण वैशाली नगर के प्रत्येक भाग की धूलि उनके पदार्पण और पदचिह्न से पवित्र और महिमान्वित हो उठी थी।

सम्बोधिलाम के तीन साल के बाद पावस ऋतु में भगवान् बुद्ध राजगृह के बीच वेणुवन के आश्रम की बैठक में थे। इस समय में वैशाली नगर में महामारी का प्रकोप हुआ। उस समय लिच्छवि-शासन-सभा के सभापति और महोत्तरक थे महापण्डित तोमरदेव। जनसभा ने तोमरदेव को एक दूत के रूप में बुद्धदेव के पास विपत्ति में सहायता के लिए भेजा। बुद्धदेव ने कहा कि मैं राजा बिम्बिसार की अनुमति के बिना वैशाली की जनता का आवेदन ग्रहण नहीं कर सकता। राजा बिम्बिसार ने इजाजत दी। उन्होंने अपनी फौज के साथ शोभायात्रा करके बुद्धदेव को वैशाली के रास्ते पर गंगा के किनारे तक पहुँचा दिया। इस शोभायात्रा का सुन्दर वर्णन प्राचीन बौद्धग्रन्थ “महावस्तु” में मिलता है। इसी प्रकार नदी के उस पार भी उसी प्रकार फौज और चमकदमक के साथ वैशाली के राजवंश के लोग सपरिवार बुद्धदेव का स्वागत करने के लिए अजीब ठाठ-बाट से उपस्थित हुए। उनके हरेक दल का साजो सामान था एक खास रंग का। एक दल पहन कर आया था नीले रंग का साज और दूसरा दल आया लाल रंग के ठाठ-बाट से। महावस्तु में इसका वर्णन चिरस्मरणीय अक्षरों में लिखा हुआ है। उसी में एक झुण्ड आया पीले रंग के रथ पर, पीले रंग के घोड़े लगा कर, पीले रंग की पगड़ी पहन कर, पीले रंग के लोहे के बस्तर पहन कर, और पीले रंग के कपड़े और अलंकारों से सुशोभित होकर—

“संस्थत्र लिच्छवयः पीतास्या पीतरथा पीतरश्मि-प्रत्नोद-यष्टि।

पीतवस्त्रा, पीतालंकारा, पीतोष्णीशा, पीतछत्राः, पीतलङ्घ-मुनिपादुका ॥”

तन्नेदमुच्यते—

पीतास्या, पीतरथा, पीतरश्मि-प्रत्योदमुष्णीशा ।

पीता च पंचककुदा पीता वस्त्रा अलंकारा ॥

और एक दल आया—सारी नीली चीजों से सजधज कर—

नीलास्या, नीलरथा, नीलरश्मि-प्रत्योदमुष्णीशा ।

नीला च पंचककुदा नीला वस्त्रा अलंकारा ॥

इस तरीके के समारोह से स्वागत किये जाने पर भगवान् बुद्ध वैशाली नगर में पदार्पण करते हैं और महामारी शान्त हो जाती है ।

नगर में प्रवेश करके भगवान् बुद्ध ने बौद्ध साहित्य के सुप्रसिद्ध 'रतनसुत्त' का मुक्तकण्ठ से उच्चारण किया । इस वाणी को सुन कर समस्त जनसमुदाय बौद्धधर्म को मान गया और इस सिलसिले में लिच्छवि खानदान के गोशुङ्गी ने अपना मशहूर 'शालवन' बौद्धसंघ को भेंट किया ।

बौद्धधर्म के इतिहास की एक और खास घटना वैशाली नगर में हुई थी । वह थी स्त्रियों को संघ में प्रवेश करने की अनुमति और 'मिक्षुणी-संघ' की स्थापना । इसके पहले जब बुद्धदेव राजगृह 'वटवन' की बैठक में थे, तब उनकी घातृमाता गोतमी ने गृहस्थ-आश्रम छोड़कर संघ में प्रवेश करने की इजाजत माँगी थी । परन्तु उस समय बुद्धदेव ने माता की उस प्रार्थना को ठुकरा दिया था । इसके बाद बुद्धदेव वैशाली चले आये । मगर गोतमी अपनी माँग को लेकर फिर उपस्थित हुई । केशों को मुड़ा कर, भगवा वस्त्र पहन कर, बहुत-सी महिलाओं को साथ लेकर, राजगृह से पैदल चल कर, गर्द से ढके हुए मलिन और फूले हुए पैर के साथ, सूखा मुँह लेकर, आँखों में आँसू को भरे हुए, वह वैशाली के महावन की कूटा-गारशाला के द्वार पर आ खड़ी हुई । वहाँ उसे बुद्धदेव के प्रधान शिष्य आनन्द मिले । गोतमी ने आनन्द से कहा कि बुद्धदेव से हमारी प्रार्थना और माँग मंजूर करा दीजिए । आनन्द की सिफारिश पर बुद्धदेव ने अनुमति दे दी; मगर आठ कठिन शर्तों का पालन करने के लिए आदेश किया । गोतमी आनन्दपूर्वक इन सारे आदेशों को मंजूर करते हुए बोली—“हे आनन्द ! जैसे थोड़ी उम्र के युवक-युवती अपने को सुसज्जित करने के लिए सर्वदा तत्पर रहते हैं और स्नान करके उठते ही, दोनों हाथों में कमल, चमेली और 'अतिमुत्त' फूलों की मालाओं को उत्साह और खुशी से लेकर सिर पर अलंकार की रचना करते हैं; मैं उसी प्रेरणा, उत्साह और खुशी के साथ बुद्ध भगवान् की इन आठ शर्तों को मंजूर करती हूँ । मेरे जीवन में इन शर्तों की कभी भी अवहेलना नहीं होगी ।”

इस तरीके से वैशाली नगर में मिक्षुणी-संघ की स्थापना हुई ।

इस अवसर पर बुद्ध भगवान् ने भविष्यवाणी की थी—“हे आनन्द ! अगर नारी जाति को गृहस्थाश्रम त्याग करके संन्यास-आश्रम में प्रवेश करने की आज्ञा न दी जाती, तो

तथागत द्वारा प्रतिष्ठित पवित्र धर्म एक हजार वर्ष कायम रहता । मगर चूँकि स्त्रीजाति को संघ में प्रवेश करने की आज्ञा दी गयी है, इस कारण से हमारा यह पवित्र धर्म अब केवल पाँच सौ वर्ष तक ही जीवित रहेगा ।”

कुछ जमाने के बाद बुद्धदेव समझ गये कि उनकी अस्सी वर्ष की उम्र का अन्तिम काल आ गया है । एक दिन उन्होंने आनन्द को साथ में लेकर चापाल चैत्य में बैठक की और यहीं पर अपने निर्वाण-मुहूर्त की भविष्यवाणी की । बौद्धधर्म के शैतान—मार—को सम्बोधित करके उन्होंने कहा—“ऐ मार ! शान्त हो । आज से तीन महीने के अन्दर ही मैं अपना निर्वाण-लभ स्वयं ही करूँगा ।”

आनन्द को यह संवाद देने के बाद भगवान् बुद्ध ने वैशाली नगर को छोड़ कर कुशीनारा की यात्रा की ।

यात्रा आरम्भ करने के पहले एक स्थान पर खड़े होकर बुद्ध ने वैशाली की ओर अन्तिम दृष्टिपात किया और आनन्द से कहा—“हे आनन्द ! मेरा यह अन्तिम वैशाली-दर्शन है, चूँकि मैं अब वैशाली फिर नहीं लौटूँगा ।”

“भगवान् वैशालीवनं अविस्मरण दक्षिणेन
सर्वकायेन नागावलोकितेन व्यवलोकयति ।
इदं आनन्द तथागतस्य अपश्चिमं वैशालीदर्शनम् ।
न भूयो आनन्द तथागतो वैशालीं आगमिष्यति ॥”

भगवान् बुद्ध के ये वचन वैशाली नगर की गली-गली में बिजली की तरह फैल गये, और उस समय इस ढंग की एक गायी भी तैयार हो गयी—

“इदं अपश्चिमं नाथ वैशाल्यास्तव दर्शनम् ।
न भूयो सुगतो बुद्धो वैशालीं आगमिष्यति ॥”

जिस स्थान पर खड़े होकर महात्मा बुद्ध ने वैशाली की ओर आखिरी दृष्टिपात किया था, उस स्थान पर वैशाली के नगरनिवासियों ने एक स्तूप का निर्माण करके इस घटना को स्मरणीय बनाने की कोशिश की । सातवीं शताब्दी में जब चीन का परिव्राजक ह्वेनसांग वैशाली आया था, तब उसने उस स्तूप को देखा था ।

बुद्धदेव जब कुशीनारा के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़े, उस समय वैशाली नगर के मत्त लिच्छवियों ने उनका अनुसरण करना चाहा । बुद्धदेव के मना करने के बाद भी उन्होंने नहीं माना । तब बुद्धदेव ने तुरत अपनी माया के बल से एक विशाल नदी की सृष्टि की, जिसका किनारा बहुत ऊँचा था और जिसमें मयंकर लहरें उठ रही थीं । इस कारण वे लोग आगे नहीं बढ़ सके । तब बुद्धदेव ने उन लोगों पर कृपा करके उनको अपने पिण्डपात्र का दान किया । उन लोगों ने उस पिण्डपात्र की कहानी को एक शिलास्तम्भ पर लिख कर हमेशा के लिये उस स्मृति को कायम रखा । फाहियान ने उस स्मृतिस्तम्भ को देखा था । कनिष्क राजा ने जब उत्तर भारत में अपना साम्राज्य स्थापित किया, तब उसने अपनी राजधानी

पेशावर में वैशाली के इस पिण्डपात्र को भेगा लिया । फाहियान ने गान्धार में बुद्ध का पिण्डपात्र देखा था ।

लिच्छवियों को लौटा देने के बाद बुद्धदेव ने कुशीनारा में निर्वाण-लाम किया ।

मगर उनके निर्वाण-लाम के बाद भी वैशाली ने बौद्ध इतिहास में बहुत से नये पन्ने जोड़ दिये हैं ।

बुद्धदेव के शरीर के भस्म को लेकर राजाओं में बहुत लड़ाई हुई । अन्त में सभी को उस राख का थोड़ा-थोड़ा हिस्सा मिला । लिच्छवियों को भी थोड़ा-सा हिस्सा मिला । उसके ऊपर लिच्छवियों ने वैशाली में बुद्धदेव के 'शरीर-स्तूप' का निर्माण किया था ।

इसी प्रकार आनन्द ने जब देहत्याग किया, तब उनके शरीर का एक हिस्सा जाकर वैशाली में गिरा और दूसरा हिस्सा राजगृह में गिरा । लिच्छवि लोगों ने आनन्द का भी 'शरीर-स्तूप' वैशाली में बनाया ।

बुद्ध-निर्वाण के एक सौ वर्ष बाद वैशाली में बौद्ध-संघ की प्रसिद्ध द्वितीय संगीति हुई । इस सभा में भारत के विभिन्न स्थानों से बौद्ध भिक्षुओं के करीब सात-सौ प्रतिनिधि सम्मिलित हुए थे । इस विचार-सभा की जरूरत इसलिए हुई थी कि वैशाली के भिक्षुओं ने धर्म-साधना और विनय के नियम-कानून में दश नयी विधियों को लागू करने की कोशिश की । इस नयी विधि की समस्याएँ कुछ इस प्रकार थीं —

(१) भिक्षु लोग निमन्त्रण में जाने के समय सींग के अन्दर नमक रख कर ले जा सकते हैं या नहीं । (२) दिन-दोपहर के दो घड़ी बाद भिक्षुक लोग भोजन कर सकते हैं या नहीं । (३) भोजन के बाद गाँव में जाने पर यदि वहाँ भोजन करने का निमन्त्रण मिले, तो फिर खा सकते हैं या नहीं । (४) बिना झालर का आसन और दरी इस्तमाल कर सकते हैं या नहीं । (५) सोना-चाँदी दान के रूप में ले सकते हैं या नहीं ।

बहुत से गण्यमान्य भिक्षुक और स्थविर इस वितर्क-सभा में सम्मिलित हुए । उनमें प्रधान थे—स्थविर रेवत, स्थविर सम्भूत और स्थविर यश । सब लोगों ने बहुत विचार करके इन दश विधियों के विरुद्ध अपनी राय दी । वैशाली के भिक्षुओं की यह नयी विधि चालू नहीं हुई ।

वैशाली के भिक्षुकण तर्कशास्त्र में बहुत प्रवीण थे और लोग उनसे तर्क में परास्त हो जाते थे । आर्य नागार्जुन और उनके मशहूर शिष्य आर्य भिक्षुदेव के साथ बातचीत में इसका हमें प्रमाण मिलता है । एक बार वैशाली के भिक्षुओं की विचार-सभा में निमन्त्रण पाकर भिक्षुदेव वैशाली जाने के लिये तैयार हुए । तब नागार्जुन ने उनको सम्बोधित करके कहा—“हे देव ! वैशाली के नवीन पंथी भिक्षुक तर्कशास्त्र में बहुत ही चतुर हैं । तुम उनके मुकाबले नहीं हो । इसलिये मुझको ही स्वयं जाना होगा ।”

इसके बाद वैशाली फिर इतिहास के पन्नों में सन् ३०८ ई० में चमक उठी, जब पाटलिपुत्र के गुप्तवंश के राजा चन्द्रगुप्त ने लिच्छवि वंश की राजकुमारी कुमारदेवी का

परिग्रहण किया। इस वक्त गुप्तवंश के मामूली राजाओं से बहुत ज्यादा असरदार और हिम्मत वाले थे वैशाली के लिच्छवि। इस विवाह का राजनीतिक प्रभाव गुप्तराज्य के प्रचलित सिक्कों में कुमारदेवी और चन्द्रगुप्त के अंकित नामों और खड़ी हुई तस्वीरों से मली माँति मालूम होता है। इन सिक्कों को यादगार के रूप में इस्तमाल किया गया है। इस विवाह-सम्बन्ध के कारण चन्द्रगुप्त को वीर लिच्छवि जाति का सैनिक बल हाथ लगा। इसमें जरा भी सन्देह नहीं कि लिच्छवियों की सहायता से लाभ उठा कर चन्द्रगुप्त ने, मगध सूबे से शक क्षत्रप को निकाल कर, गुप्तसाम्राज्य की स्थापना की। गुप्तवंश का सबसे प्रतापी सम्राट् समुद्रगुप्त उसी लिच्छविकुमारी कुमारदेवी का पुत्र था। वह लिच्छविदौहित्र होने का अभिमान करता है। कौन यह कह सकता है, उसको अपनी दिग्विजयों में अपने मामा के वंश से कितनी सहायता मिली होगी ?

३२० ई० से ५३५ ई० तक गुप्तसाम्राज्य के बीच वैशाली का इतिहास चमकता रहा। इस काल की करीब पाँच सौ चिट्ठी मोड़ने की मिट्टी की सील-मोहरों से हमको मालूम होता है कि वैशाली में व्यापार की बहुत तरक्की हुई थी; क्योंकि इन सील-मोहरों में अनेक श्रेष्ठियों, व्यापारियों और कारबारी आदमियों के नाम मिलते हैं।

वैशाली में प्राप्त सीलों के कुछ चुने हुए उदाहरण ये हैं :—

(१) महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपत्नी महाराजश्रीगोविन्दगुप्तमाता महादेवी श्रीध्रुव-स्वामिनी ।

(२) श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य ।

(३) कुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।

(४) श्रेष्ठि-सार्थवाह-कुलिक-निगम ।

(५) युवराजमट्टारकपादीय बलाधिकरणस्य ।

(६) श्रीरणमाण्डामाराधिकरणस्य ।

(७) दण्डपाशाधिकरणस्य ।

(८) तीरभुक्त्युपरिकाधिकरणस्य ।

(९) तीरभुक्तो विनयस्थितिस्थाप (का) धिकरण (स्य) ।

(१०) तीरकुमारामात्याधिकरण (स्य)

(११) (वै) शाल्यधिष्ठानाधिकरण ।

(१२) श्रेष्ठि-कुलिक-निगम ।

(१३) गोमिकपुत्रस्य श्रेष्ठिकुलोदस्य ।

(१४) श्रेष्ठिश्रीदासस्य ।

वस्तुतः गुप्तकालीन वैशाली व्यापार और सम्पत्ति का केन्द्र थी।

मगर शीघ्र ही वाणिज्य और लक्ष्मी के इस आवास पर कुठाराघात हुआ। पाँचवीं सदी के अन्त में दुष्ट, नीच और बर्बर हूणों ने भारतवर्ष पर हमला किया। अतएव जब ६३५ ई० में चीनी-परिव्राजक ह्वेनसांग वैशाली आया, तब उसे नष्ट कीर्ति के अवशिष्ट चिह्न

ही देखने को मिले। उस समय तक वैशाली का गर्वयुक्त और उज्ज्वल अमर इतिहास-सूर्य हब चुका था।

तब भी कुछ और शताब्दियों तक वैशाली ने किसी तरीके से इतिहास में अपना अस्तित्व बनाये रखा और कई एक बौद्ध भक्तों ने तब भी वैशाली के बौद्ध-धर्म-प्रेम को जीवित रखा। इसका प्रमाण हम बारहवीं शताब्दी की लिखी हुई एक बौद्ध 'प्रज्ञापारमिता' की पोथी में पाते हैं। उस काल में जहाँ-तहाँ बौद्ध तारादेवी के मन्दिर थे, उनकी एक सचित्र फिहरिस्त में हम लोगों को वैशाली में पूजा पानेवाली एक तारा-मूर्ति का नाम मिलता है—“तीरभुक्ती वैशालीतारा” अर्थात् तीरभुक्ति जिले के वैशाली शहर में तारादेवी का एक मन्दिर है। उस युग में वैशाली के जिले का नाम या तीरभुक्ति या तिरहुत।

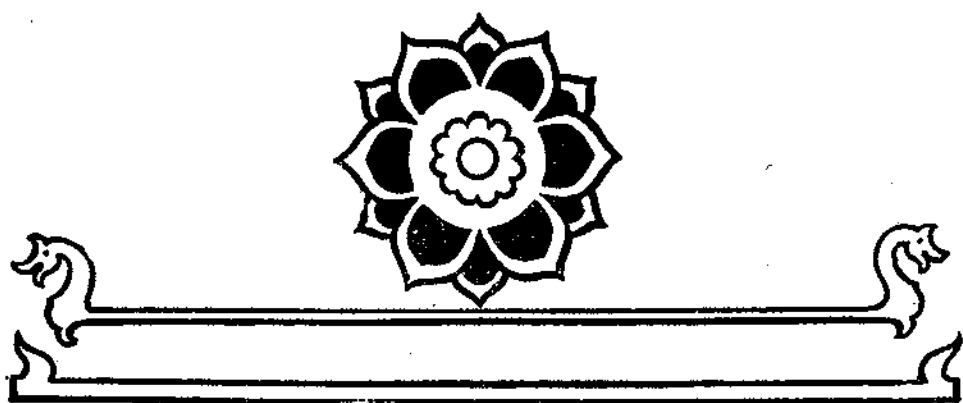
उस काल की एक और चीज मिली है। वह है बुद्ध-प्रतिमा की पाद-पीठ पर खुदा हुआ एक थिलालेख—

“.....देयधर्मोऽयम् प्रवरमहायानयायिनः करणिकोच्छाहः माणिक्यसुतस्य.....”

—इस मूर्ति का, एक महायानपंथी भक्त ने, जो माणिक्य का लड़का और उत्साह-नामधारी था और जिसका पेशा मुंशीगिरी था, धर्मपूर्वक दान किया।

यह हुआ एक संक्षिप्त दृष्टि से वैशाली नगर के इतिहास का परिचय, जिस नगर ने अपने पूर्वयुग में उत्तमोत्तम कर्मों की महिमा से इतिहास के पन्नों को उज्ज्वल कर रखा है, जो नगर अपने अनेक कीर्तिस्तम्भों से एवं बुद्धदेव और उनकी शिष्यमण्डली के पदचिह्नों के कारण बार-बार जगमगा उठा है, जिस नगर में बुद्धदेव की परमभक्त-मण्डली लिच्छवि जाति ने बौद्धधर्म के मण्डार को पूरा किया है और जिस नगर को भगवान् तीर्थङ्कर महावीर की जन्मभूमि होने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त है।





आज के भारत के लिए वंशाली का सन्देश'

जयचन्द्र बिद्यालंकार

यह धरती जिस पर आज हम खड़े हैं एक उज्ज्वल अतीत की स्मृतियों से घिरी है। इसने मानव को सामूहिक जीवन के उच्चतम रूप का विकास करते और अपनी गरिमा को चरम सीमा तक बढ़ते देखा है; जो कि शासनतन्त्र के एक सुव्यवस्थित लोकसत्तात्मक रूप के नीचे ही सम्भव है जहाँ हर मनुष्य दूसरे का समकक्ष समझा जाता हो। किसी आधुनिक यूरोपीय साम्राज्यकामी प्रचारक ने भारतवासियों को "देवताओं का गुलाम" कह कर पुकारा है। भारतवासी आज विदेशियों के गुलाम हैं, यह तो एक मोटा तथ्य है, और कि वे अपनी मनोदशा से देवताओं के गुलाम हैं, यह भी आंशिक रूप से सच हो सकता है। पर भगवान् बुद्ध के समय के भारतीय, देवताओं के समकक्ष या कभी-कभी उनसे ऊँचे समझे जाते थे। बुद्ध और उनके भिक्षु मनुष्यों के साथ-साथ देवताओं को भी उपदेश देते थे, जो उनके पास श्रद्धा-पूर्वक आते। और वंशाली के नागरिक बुद्ध को अपनी चाल-ढाल में बिल्कुल देवताओं के-से ही प्रतीत हुए। एक बार नगर से गुजरते हुए उन्होंने अपने भिक्षुओं से कहा था कि उनमें से जिन्होंने देवताओं की परिषद् न देखी हो, वे वंशाली के लिच्छवियों की परिषद् को देखें और उस पर से कल्पना करें कि देवताओं की परिषद् कैसी दीखती होगी।

ईसापूर्व की छठी शताब्दी में उत्तर बिहार के लोगों के उस अवतरण की तुलना में उनका १९वीं सदी का उतार मानो स्वर्ग से नरक में हुआ हो; १९वीं सदी भारत के इतिहास में सबसे अधियारा युग था; जब कि उसके युग और युगियों से घर और बाहर सर्वत्र डोरो-

इंगरों का-सा व्यवहार होता रहा। भारतीय धर्तबन्द कुलियों के एक अंगरेज इतिहास लेखक ने उस सदी में यह लेख आँका है कि एक स्वतन्त्र हिन्दुस्तानी एक हबशी गुलाम के बनिस्बत सस्ता जिन्स था। पतन और गिरावट की वह अवस्था निस्सन्देह ऐतिहासिक परिस्थितियों के कारण आयी। और उसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं कि इसकी जड़ में है हमारी जनता की एक विशेष मनःस्थिति जिसे हमने प्रगतिहीनता और ह्रास की अनेक शताब्दियों के बीच विकसित किया। विदेशी साम्राज्यशाही के प्रचारकों ने इस स्थिति पर भरसक बल देने और उसे सही बनाए रखने का जतन किया है। उन्होंने ऐसी स्थापनाएँ कीं और उन्हें नौजवान हिन्दुस्तानियों के दिल में पैठाने का जतन किया, जैसे कि उदाहरणार्थ कहा गया कि भारत की जलवायु बुर्बलताकारी है, कि भारतीय समुद्रतट नौशक्तियों के विकास के योग्य नहीं, अथवा कि भारतीय लोगों की जातिगत बनावट ही ऐसी थी कि वे यूरोपवालों से हीन हों। दूसरों ने कहा भारतीय, अथवा यों कहना चाहिए कि सभी पूर्वी लोग सदा से निरंकुशतापूर्वक शासित हुए हैं और कि लोकसत्ता फली-फूली है और फल-फूल सकती है सिर्फ यूरोप की जलवायु में और यूरोपीय लोगों के बीच इस तरह की स्थापनाएँ १९वीं सदी में बहुतायत से प्रचलित थीं और आमतौर से सच मान ली गयी थी; पर वर्तमान शतक के आरम्भ में श्रीकाशीप्रसाद जायसवाल जैसे भारत के सपूत उनके विरुद्ध उठ खड़े हुए और उन्होंने घोषित किया कि गणतन्त्रीय और लोकसत्तापरक परम्पराएँ भारत की मिट्टी में भी ठीक जमती हैं और भारतीय इतिहास में सुपरिचित हैं। जायसवालजी ने साहित्य से और पुरातत्त्व की सामग्री से निर्णयकारी ढंग पर यह प्रमाणित कर दिया कि जनतन्त्र प्राचीन भारत में प्राचीन यूरोप की अपेक्षा अधिक लम्बे काल तक और अधिक विस्तृत क्षेत्रों में फलते-फूलते रहे और कि हिन्दू-धर्म-शास्त्र का उदय जनता की परिषदों की व्यवस्थाओं द्वारा हुआ। जायसवालजी की अनेकों स्थापनाओं पर, उदाहरणार्थ उनकी इस स्थापना पर कि भारत के प्रत्येक जनपद में एक सार्वजनिक (जनपद) परिषद होती थी, उस समय काफ़ी विवाद उठाया गया। अब, उनकी मृत्यु के बाद, पुरातत्त्व की ताजा उपलब्धियों ने, उन्हें निर्णयकारी रूप में प्रमाणित कर दिया है।

प्राचीन भारत के उन लोकतन्त्रों में से एक सबसे पुराना और सबसे अधिक ज्ञात नमूना था वृजि जनपद का, जिसकी राजधानी वैशाली में थी। उन लोगों को, जो अब कहते हैं कि भारतीय सदा निरंकुशता पूर्वक शासित होते रहे, हमारा जबाब है वैशाली। और हमारी वर्तमान निराशा में भविष्य की आशा वैशाली के आदर्श के पुनरावर्तन में है।

वह अदर्श क्या है? वह है हर व्यक्ति को इस बात की पूरी समझ का होना कि उसका क्षेम-कुशल निर्भर है समाज के योग-क्षेम पर और इस समझ से अनुप्राप्त कर्तव्यों को दृढ़तापूर्वक निमाना। इसका स्वभाविक परिणाम होगा एक स्वस्थ, सहज, सामूहिक जीवन का पनपना; वैसा जीवन जैसा कि प्राचीन वृजि देश में पनपता था, जिसकी झाँकी हम बुद्ध के अन्तिम प्रवचनों में से एक में पाते हैं। मगध का राजा अजातशत्रु, जिसकी राजधानी राज-गृह में थी, वृजिसंध पर आक्रमण करना और उसे अपने अधीन करना चाहता था। उसने अपने अमात्य वर्यकार को बुद्ध के पास टोह लेने और प्रस्तावित आक्रमण के विषय में उनकी

सम्मति जानने को भेजा, जो तब अपने मगध के अन्तिम वर्षावास के समय राजगृह के पास गृध्रकूट शिखर पर ठहरे थे। उनके उपस्थापक (Private Secretary) आनन्द ने जब बुद्ध के सामने इस विषय की चर्चा छेड़ी, तब उन्होंने आनन्द से सात प्रश्न किये और उनके उत्तर मिलने पर प्रत्येक बार अपना मत यों प्रकट किया कि वृजियों की वृद्धि (अभ्युदय) ही हौमी और हानि (क्षय) न होगी। बुद्ध के कथन का सार संक्षेप में निम्नलिखित रूप से प्रकट किया जा सकता है —

- (१) जब तक वृजि अपनी परिषद् की बैठकें भरपूर रूप में और बार-बार करते हैं;
- (२) जब तक वे मिलकर बैठते-उठते और अपने वृजिकायों (राष्ट्रीय कार्यों) को मिलकर करते हैं;
- (३) जब तक वे उचित विधि (Procedure) के बिना कोई कानून जारी नहीं करते, विधिपूर्वक बनाये कानून का उल्लंघन कर कोई कार्य नहीं करते, और वृजियों की विधिपूर्वक बने कानून से स्थापित प्राचीन संस्थाओं के अनुकूल आचरण करते हैं;
- (४) जब तक वे अपने वृद्धों और गुहों का सम्मान करते, आदर-सत्कार करते, उन्हें मानते-पूजते और उनकी सुनने लायक बातों को सुनते-मानते और तदनुकूल आचरण करते हैं;
- (५) जब तक वे अपनी कुल-स्त्रियों और कुल-कुमारियों पर जोर-जबरदस्ती कर उन्हें नहीं रोकते या उन पर अत्याचार नहीं करते;
- (६) जब तक वे अपने वृजि-चैत्यों (जातीय मन्दिरों और स्मारकों) का आदर-सत्कार और मान करते तथा उनको पहले से दी गयी धर्मानुकूल बलि (घड़ावा-पूजापा आदि जो उन मन्दिरों और स्मारकों को बनाये रखने, उनकी मरम्मत आदि में खर्च होता था) का अपहरण नहीं करते, उसे नहीं छुड़ाते;
- (७) जब तक वे अपने अर्हत्तों की शरण, रक्षा और पोषण का उचित प्रबन्ध करते हैं.....

तब तक वृजियों की वृद्धि ही समझनी चाहिए, हानि नहीं।

अमात्य वर्षकार और उसके राजा ने यह सुनकर समझ लिया कि वे सिर्फ सैनिक शक्ति से वृजियों को नहीं झुका सकते। इसका अभिप्राय यह हुआ कि किसी भी जाति को, जिसमें सामूहिक जीवन की स्वस्थ व बलवती धारा प्रवाहित होती हो, केवल बाह्य भौतिक शक्ति के दबाव से जीता नहीं जा सकता। बुद्ध के इस प्रवचन में "सत्त अपरिहाणि धम्म" अर्थात् हानि न होने देनेवाले सात धर्मों की व्याख्या बतलायी जाती है। उन्नततम श्रेणी के सामाजिक विचारों का इसमें समावेश किया गया है। और प्राचीन भारत के राजनीतिक चिन्तन का यह एक नमूना है।

राजा अजातशत्रु और उसका अमात्य दोनों चतुर आदमी थे। उन्होंने वृजियों में फूट के बीज बोने आरम्भ किये और इस प्रकार वे वृजिदेश को मगध-साम्राज्य में मिला देने में सफल

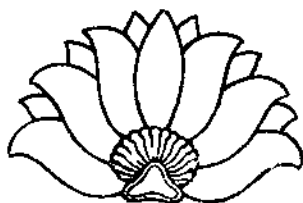
ही गए। इसके बाद अनेक क्षत्राब्दियों तक क्षत्रियों या क्षत्रियों का साम्राज्य में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा।

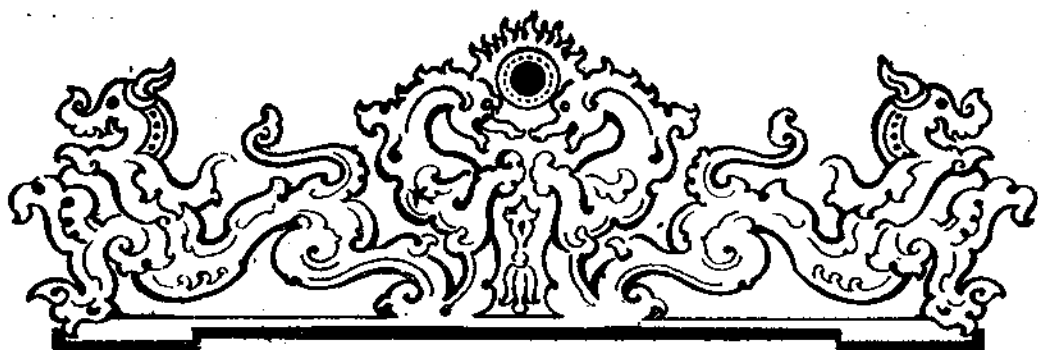
जहाँ उत्तर बिहार का वृजिसंघ तथा उसके पश्चिम हिमालय की तराई के मल्ल, शाक्य आदि के चरित्र उज्ज्वल होने पर भी वे अल्पकालिक थे, वहाँ भारत के दूसरे भागों में, विशेष कर पंजाब में, ऐसे संघराज्य भी थे जिन्होंने, उससे बहुत अधिक मात्रा में बचे रहने की सामर्थ्य का परिचय दिया। पंजाब के मालव, क्षुद्रक, शिवि, यौधेय आदि संघराज्य अपने उदयकाल में वृजियों के समकालिक ही थे। वे कभी पूर्व से उठनेवाली साम्राज्य-निर्माण की एक लहर के नीचे आ जाते, तो कभी उत्तर-पश्चिम से उठे किसी आक्रमण के तूफान के झपटे में फँस जाते। परन्तु उनका वह झुकना सदा अस्थायी होता, इन सबके बीच वे अपने सामूहिक चरित्र को बनाए रखते, अधीन करनेवाली शक्ति से मुकाबला करते और अन्त में उसे तोड़कर अपना सिर फिर ऊँचा उठा लेते। यह बात विशेषतः यौधेयों के बारे में थी, जिन्होंने आश्चर्यकारी जीवनी-शक्ति और बचे रहने की सामर्थ्य का प्रदर्शन किया। उनके एक हजार वर्ष के इतिहास का खाका साहित्यिक उल्लेखों और पुरातत्त्व-सम्बन्धी अवशेषों के आधार पर खींचा जा सकता है, जो अमिलेख, मुद्रा, सिक्कों और सिक्के बनाने के साँचों तथा वास्तु-मनावशेषों के रूप में पूर्व में भरतपुर और सहारनपुर से पश्चिम बहावलपुर तक एक विशाल क्षेत्र पर बिखरे हुए पाये जाते हैं। एक पंजाबी होने के नाते मुझे इस विरासत पर गर्व है; परन्तु पछतावा इस बात का है कि बिहार में वैशाली की विरासत का ज्ञान आज जैसे फैल रहा है, उस विरासत का ज्ञान पंजाब की जनता और वहाँ के बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग तक अभी नहीं पहुँच पाया।

वैशाली, राजगृह और चम्पा (भागलपुर) के गौरवकाल में बिहारियों ने आश्चर्यकारी साहसिक भावना का परिचय दिया था। उन्होंने अपनी ही नावों में बैठ समुद्रों को पार किया, बंगाल की खाड़ी से दक्षिणी चीनी समुद्र तक फैले विशाल प्रायद्वीप और सुमात्रा, जावा बोर्नियो आदि द्वीपों को साफ किया, जो कि तब आरम्भिक जंगलों से ढके थे और जहाँ नवोदय युग के पत्थर के औजारों का प्रयोग करनेवाली फिरकर शिकारी जातियों का निवास था। उन्होंने उन प्रदेशों में अपनी बस्तियाँ बसायीं। उनमें पूर्वी तट पर, जिसे आज हिन्दचीन कहते हैं, एक बस्ती का नाम उसी नाम के एक बिहारी नगर के नाम पर चम्पा कहा जाता था। इन आरम्भिक अवश्राहकों (भूखोजियों), नौसंचालकों और उपनिवेशकों के साहसपूर्ण कार्यों की अनेक मनोरंजक कहानियाँ हमारे साहित्य में सुरक्षित हैं और उन उपनिवेशों के पुरातत्त्ववीय अवशेषों की एक विशाल राशि नौजवान बिहारी बुद्धिजीवियों का ध्यान आकृष्ट होने की बात जोह रही है।

उस प्राचीन युग के अपने पुरखों की तुलना में हम आज के भारतवासी बिल्कुल मित्र नस्ल के जान पड़ते हैं और इतिहास के ठोस प्रमाणों के अभाव में यह विश्वास करना भी आज कठिन होता कि ऐसा गौरवमय युग भी कभी रहा। परन्तु वह प्रमाण मौजूद है। सीमान्य से हमारे इतिहास का सबसे अधियारा युग बीत गया है और हम अब एक ऐसे युग में

से गुजर रहे हैं, जो नवीन जागरण की प्रसववेदना का अनुभव कर रहा है। अपने अतीत के योग्य सिंहावलोकन को इस जागरण में एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रेरक शक्ति बनाना चाहिये। किन्हीं बिचोरे युगों में हमारी जाति के आरोहण और दूसरों में उसके अवरोहण के कारणों और परिस्थितियों की सच्ची समझ की माँग हमें इस जागरण की प्रक्रिया में आगे ले चलने की है। अपने अवनति-काल में हम अपनी वैशाली को, अपने वृजियों और अपने यौघेयों को, प्रायः भुला बैठे थे। हमारा अतीत अक्षराक्षों में खोदकर निकाला और पुनरुज्जीवित किया गया है और हमारे इतिहास का अक्षरशः पुनर्निर्माण हुआ है। और हमारे इतिहास का पुनर्निर्माण हमारे नवजागरण में एक सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण तत्त्व और प्रेरक बल रहा है और रहना चाहिए। मविध्य की हमारी आशा वैशाली की भावना के पुनरावर्तन में ही है।





प्राचीन वैशाली के आदर्श

डाक्टर श्रीकृष्ण सिंह एम० ए०, बी० एल०

(प्रधान मन्त्री, बिहार)

आज जिस घर्ती पर खड़े होकर हम वैशाली की प्राचीन सम्यता और संस्कृति का अभिनन्दन कर रहे हैं, वहाँ ढाई हजार साल पहले प्रजातन्त्र की तूती बोलती थी। यहाँ वज्रियों के प्रतिनिधि जमा होते थे और शासनकार्य करते थे। जानबूझ कर पश्चिमवालों ने हमारे प्राचीन इतिहास को इस तरह रखा है, जिसमें हमें मालूम पड़े कि हम बराबर निरंकुशतापूर्वक शासित होते आये हैं और हमारे यहाँ प्रजातन्त्र की कोई परम्परा नहीं है। पश्चिम देख ले और अपना अज्ञान दूर कर ले कि जिस समय उसके पूर्वपुरुष जंगलों में घूमते थे, उस समय प्राचीन भारत में प्रजातन्त्रवाद अपने पूरे गौरव के साथ फल-फूल रहा था। आज इस बात की बड़ी जरूरत है कि हमारा इतिहास फिर से लिखा जाय और उसमें से गलत बातों को हटा दिया जाय। हमें अपने देशवासियों को इस ढंग से शिक्षित करना है कि वे न केवल अपने देश का सिर ऊँचा करें, बल्कि विदेशों में भी अपने देश का गौरव बढ़ायें।

आज हमारी स्वतन्त्रता के लिए स्कीम पर स्कीम पेश की जाती है और यह भी कहा जाता है कि भारत में 'डेमोक्रेसी' चल ही नहीं सकती। यह सिर्फ लोगों को छलने का प्रयत्न है। मगर पश्चिम का यह प्रयत्न कभी सफल होने का नहीं। हम जग गये हैं। और दूसरों के भुलावे में नहीं आ सकते।

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१. तृतीय वैशाली-महोत्सव (१४ अप्रैल, १९४७) में संभाषित के पत्र से बिये गये भाषण का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अंश।

इतिहास में जो वैशाली इतनी प्रसिद्ध है, उसके आदर्श क्या थे—यह जानना बहुत जरूरी है। मगर इस बात को भगवान् बुद्ध ने स्वयं ही अपने प्रवचन में रख दिया है। इन 'सप्त अपरिहानिया घम्मा' के आदर्श न केवल प्राचीन वैशाली के थे, बल्कि किसी भी प्रजासत्त-वादी राष्ट्र के हो सकते हैं।

पहली बात जिस पर भगवान् बुद्ध ने जोर दिया था, वह है शासन-सभाओं में बार-बार जुटना और शासन-सभाओं का बार-बार होना। ऐसा न होने से देश में सुरत फासिज्म अथवा डिक्टेटरशिप फैल जाता है। अतएव पहला आदर्श भगवान् ने इसे ही रखा था। क्या इससे अभी भी इन्कार किया जा सकता है? शासन-सभाओं के बार-बार न होने से जो बुराई होती है, उसे हम यूरोप में हाल में ही देख चुके हैं।

दूसरा आदर्श है मिलकर काम करना, मिलकर उठना-बैठना और मिलकर राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्यों को करना। यह भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। अगर देश में बहुत-सी पार्टियाँ हों, शासन सभा की बैठक भी बार-बार होती हो और बहुत प्रतिनिधि उसमें भाग भी लेते हों, मगर मेल के बिना, एकमत हुए बिना—काम आगे नहीं बढ़ता। फ्रांस का इतिहास इसे स्पष्ट करता है, जहाँ की सरकार बराबर बदलती रहती है।

जनतन्त्रवाद का तीसरा मूलमन्त्र भगवान् ने रखा था—बिना कानून बनाये कोई आज्ञा जारी न करना, बने हुए नियम का उच्छेद न करना और अपने पुराने राष्ट्रीय कानूनों का पालन करना। भगवान् बुद्ध अवैधानिकता के विरोधी और मध्यमार्ग के अनुयायी थे। सचमुच जल्द-जल्द कानून बदलने से देश में उच्छृङ्खलता फैल जाती है और अपने राष्ट्रीय कानूनों के प्रति लोगों के हृदय में उतनी आस्था नहीं रहती है।

वैशाली का चौथा आदर्श था वृद्ध-जनों का आदर-सत्कार करना और उनकी सुनने लायक बातों को मानना। अपने लोकनेता के विरुद्ध जाने से देश का भविष्य अनिश्चित हो जाता है; दूसरे, अगर सभी नेता बन जायें, तो भी राष्ट्र का काम नहीं चलेगा। अतएव वृद्ध-बुजुर्गों की बात माननी चाहिए। मगर यहाँ बुद्ध ने वृद्धों या नेताओं को भी एक चेतावनी दे दी है। उनकी सुनने लायक (सोतब्ब) बातों को ही लोग मान सकते हैं—सभी बातों को नहीं। इसलिए नेता को भी सावधानी से अपने लोगों के बीच मार्ग-प्रदर्शन का काम करना चाहिए।

पाँचवाँ आदर्श था स्त्रियों के सम्मान की रक्षा करना—कुलस्त्रियों या कुलकुमारियों पर अत्याचार और जबर्दस्ती न करना। देश में शान्ति और समृद्धि बनाये रखने के लिए यह नियम भी बहुत जरूरी है। नारी जाति पर जबतक अत्याचार होते रहेंगे, तबतक सुख शान्ति आने की नहीं।

छठा आदर्श था धार्मिक स्थानों का आदर-सत्कार करना। खासकर जहाँ कई धर्मों के मानने वाले लोग हैं, वहाँ इस बात की बड़ी जरूरत हो जाती है। लिच्छवियों ने इस बात को महसूस किया था, क्योंकि वैशाली कई धर्मों का केन्द्र बनती जा रही थी।

वैशाली का सातवाँ आदर्श था धार्मिक पुरुषों को स्वतन्त्रतापूर्वक आने-जाने देना और राज्य में उनकी रक्षा का बन्धोबस्त रखना। वास्तव में किसी भी उन्नत राष्ट्र की यही कसौटी है कि उसमें धार्मिक पुरुष अथवा किसी प्रकार की हानि न पहुँचाने वाले विज्ञानसु पुरुष बिना किसी कठिनाई के आ-जा सकते हैं या नहीं और वहाँ निर्भय होकर घूम सकते हैं या नहीं। अगर इस प्रकार की सुविधा नहीं है, तो उस राष्ट्र को पूरे अर्थ में सभ्य नहीं माना जा सकता।

भगवान् बुद्ध ने प्राचीन वैशाली के जिन आदर्शों को बतलाया है, उनके अनुसार चलने की जरूरत अभी भी हमें है। ये आदर्श वस्तुतः सब काल के लिए अनुकरणीय हैं। इनका पालन करके ही कोई राष्ट्र सच्चे अर्थ में प्रजातन्त्र का विकास कर सकता है। इसलिए प्राचीन वैशाली के आदर्शों से प्रेरणा लेकर अपनी जन्मभूमि का नवनिर्माण करना हमारा परम कर्तव्य है।





THE GLIMPSES OF VAIŚĀLI

MADHAV SHRIHARI ANEY

Governor of Bihar

॥ श्री ॥

नित्यानुभूतनिजलाभनिवृत्ततृष्णः

श्रेयस्यतद्रचनया चिरसुखबुद्धेः ।

लोकस्य यः करुणयाभयमात्मलोक—

माख्यान्नमो भगवते ऋषभाय तस्मै ॥

श्रीमद्भागवत ५.६.१९ ।

Brothers and Sisters,

I sincerely thank you for asking me to inaugurate the fourth session of the Vaiśālī Sammelan that is being convened under the auspices of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha. I wish to express my great satisfaction at your success in getting Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan, a scholar of Pali and Prakrit languages of international reputation, to preside over it.

It is very appropriate that annual session of Vaiśālī Sammelan should be held at Vaiśālī simultaneously with the celebration of the anniversary of Bhagavān Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the last of the Jain Tirthaṅkaras, and, according to some scholars, the founder of Jainism. The orthodox school of Jains does not admit that Bhagavān Mahāvira is the founder of that religion. "They claim for their religion a far more venerable antiquity;

* Inaugural address delivered at the Fourth Vaiśālī Festival at Vaiśālī on April 21, 1948.

they tell us that before Mahāvira there lived not less than 23 Tīrthaṅkaras or prophets who, appearing at stated intervals, preached the only true religion of the salvation of the world."

I feel greatly delighted that the acceptance of your invitation to inaugurate the Conference gives me an opportunity to pay my tribute of worship to Bhagavan Mahāvira, one of the greatest religious thinkers and prophets of Bhāratavarṣa.

Vaiśālī Saṅgha has one of its objects in celebrating, once a year, the Vaiśālī festival, "to recapture the glory and the spirit of joy that marked the life of the Vaiśālīan people" in the past. At present, however, Vaiśālī is merely a deserted place, where, on the surface, you see no evidence of its greatness, grandeur or glory, to which frequent reference is made in the ancient works of Hindus, Jains and Buddhists, as well as in the accounts of travels of certain travellers from China and other countries. Its glorious past lies buried in the earth. I need not apologise to you for giving below a somewhat long quotation from *Buddhist India* of Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids:—

"This (i.e. Vesālī) was the capital of the *Licchavi* clan, already closely related by marriage to the kings of Magadha, and the ancestors of the kings of Nepal, of the *Mauryas*, and of the dynasty of the *Guptas*. It was the headquarters of the powerful *Vajjian* confederacy, afterwards defeated, but not broken up, by Ajātasattu. It was the only great city in all the territories of the free clans who formed so important a factor in the social and political life of the sixth century B. C. It must have been a great and flourishing place."

One of the most remarkable things which will strike the students of history, and particularly of the constitutional history of India, is the juxtaposition of big empires and small republics in this part of India. The *Licchavi* republic, of which Vaiśālī was the capital, was one of the many clan republics referred to by name in the oldest Pali records. The *Sakiyas*, the *Bulis*, the *Kalamas*, the *Bhaggas*, the *Koliyas*, the *Mallas* of Pāvā, the *Mallas* of Kusinārā, the *Moriyas*, and the *Licchavis* occupied in the 6th century B.C. the whole country east of Kosala between the mountains and the Ganges. All these were republics.

The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*santhāgāra*). A single chief—how, and for what period chosen, we do not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, and, if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore

the title of *rājā*, which must have meant something like the Roman consul, or the Greek archon. We hear nowhere of such a triumvirate as bore corresponding office among the *Licchavis*, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above.

This gives a brief description of the political form of government which existed in these republican states.

It is also true that in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. political conditions were going through a great revolution. Some of the big independent monarchical states in the neighbourhood of these republics were aspiring to expand into empires. Ajātaśatru murdered his father and ascended the throne of Magadha. He carried on a war with the aged king of Kosala. We also read that Ajātaśatru conquered the country inhabited by the *Licchavis* and occupied Vaiśālī. After that conquest Vaiśālī ceased to be a republic and the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalayas became subject, more or less directly, to the suzerainty of Magadha.

It is well-known and now admitted on all hands that the two great religious prophets, Bhagavān Buddha and Bhagavān Vardhamāna Mahāvira, had lived at a time when Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru ruled in Magadha. The date for the death of Bhagavān Gautama Buddha, according to Dr. Vincent A. Smith, is 487 B.C. Similarly scholars have accepted 527 B.C. as the most commonly quoted date for the death of Mahāvira. A section of scholars, however, regards 488 B. C. as the date of Mahāvira's death.

It is necessary to ascertain the social, political and economic conditions of the people in order to correctly appreciate the teachings of these prophets. Republics were gradually crumbling and empires were being founded. Vardhamāna Mahāvira was related to Ajātaśatru who was a parricide. Greed for power blinded the Kṣatriyas, and no sin was considered too great by them in their attempt to get it. The quiet life, which the ordinary people of the republican clans enjoyed under their autonomous states, was being completely disturbed. It was a period when those who happened to be in charge of the affairs of the states began to lose their faith in the values of eternal principles of religion, and the example of these leaders was probably becoming infectious, and even the ordinary people looked at possession of worldly riches and powers as a worthy end to be achieved in utter disregard of means. No society or community can hope to make any progress if these eternal principles cease to exercise any influence on their activities and transactions.

It was at such a critical time in the history of our nation that two great teachers of humanity, Bhagavān Gautama Buddha and Bhagavān

Vardhamāna Mahāvira, came forward to preach their message of peace, love and kindness to all.

Both of them had made great penance and gone through courses of discipline. Both of them got the enlightenment and carried on their work to awaken, in the people, a true sense of brotherhood and a genuine desire to go by the path of righteousness.

Mahāvira spent in self-penance and meditation twelve years, and in the thirteenth year he at last attained supreme knowledge and final deliverance from the bonds of pleasure and pain. He was then 42 years of age. There is a graphic and detailed description of this important event in the life of Mahāvira given in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* which, I believe, every Jain must be knowing. He attained it on *Vaisākha sudī daśamī*. It happened in the field of the householder Samaga outside the town of Jṛmbhakagrāma on the northern bank of the Rjupālikā. When he attained Kevala, he was in a squatting position with joined heels, exposing himself to the heat of the sun, with knees high and the head low in deep meditation. His Kevala is described as the complete and full, the unobstructed, unimpeded, infinite and supreme best knowledge and intuition. When the Venerable had become an Arhat and Jina, he was a Kevalin, omniscient and comprehending all objects, he knew all conditions of the world, of Gods, men and demons, whence they come and whither they go, whether they are born as men or animals or become Gods or hell-beings; their food, drink, doings, desires and the thoughts of their minds. He saw and knew all conditions in the whole world of all living beings.

I think everyone will admit that this equipment is necessary to become a prophet or a Jagad-Guru.

Many people do not realise the significance of the great work done by teachers like Mahāvira in raising the moral level of mankind and preventing it from being completely lost.

The voice of these saints rises above the din and noise of the vulgar and points out to men the dangers of the path they are pursuing. This warning is much needed and we in Bhāratavarṣa believe that the Creator does send us this warning and send us a helping hand to get out of the mire, whenever the righteous are oppressed and the unrighteous are rewarded.

The city of Vaiṣālī plays an important part in the great effort which Mahāvira made. Hence its importance in the cultural history of India is very great.

Scholars carried on their researches for several decades and are now unanimous in identifying this present site with Vaiśālī.

Just outside Vaiśālī lay the suburb Kuṇḍagrāma—probably surviving in the modern village of Bāsukuṇḍa. Siddhārtha was living here. He was married to Trīśālā, sister of Ceṭaka, the *Licchavi* Republican President. Mahāvira or Vardhamāna was born to them at this place.

Buddhist Jātakas give some interesting details about Vaiśālī. It is described as a city with three walls, each of them a *gāvuta*, a cow's call, distant from the next and it is said that 7707 Rājās were living inside the city and they received their consecration in a sacred pool of water. There were many shrines of pre-Buddhistic worship in and around the city, and the discovery and excavation of the site is most desirable.

Professor Rhys Davids bitterly complains of the inadequate efforts hitherto made by the Archaeological Department in this matter. He says: "The same may indeed be said of all these ancient cities. Not one of them has been properly excavated. The archaeology of India is, at present, an almost unworked field."

Let us all hope that this state of things will change hereafter inasmuch as those who are administering the country are greatly alive to the importance and necessity of this kind of work in the interests of Indian history and proper understanding of Indian culture.

I appreciate most heartily the efforts that are being made by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha in this direction. It is a patriotic work which deserves to be liberally patronised by all millionaires and I feel that ere long they will be able to successfully carry out the programme which is laid down by this Saṅgha in defining its aims and objects.

I thank you once more before I resume my seat.





वैशाली का प्रजातन्त्र

महापाण्डित राहुल सांकृत्यायन

वैशाली की यह भूमि कितनी पुनीत है, इसका इतिहास कितना गौरव-पूर्ण है, इसका स्मरण करते भी हृदय इतने भावों से भरा हुआ है, जिनके प्रकट करने के लिए वाणी असमर्थ है। आज २४२८ वर्ष हुए, जब कि वैशाली के संघ-राज्य, जनता के पंचायती राज्य, की ध्वजा अबनत हुई और तब से निरंकुश रज्जुले सवा चौबीस सौ वर्षों तक स्वतन्त्रता की भूमि पर मनमानी करते रहे। दूसरों की तो बात क्या, खुद वैशालीवासी भी भूल गये, कि एक समय था, जब उनकी इस गंगा और मही (गंडक)-द्वारा सिंचित वज्जी-भूमि में किसी राजा का शासन नहीं था, जनता के ७७७७ प्रतिनिधि सारा राज-काज चलाते थे और न्याय का इतना ध्यान था, कि अपने समय और सर्वदा के अद्वितीय महामानव बुद्ध ने अपने मुख से उसकी प्रशंसा की थी। गंगा पार का रज्जुला अजातशत्रु वज्जी की समृद्धि-भूमि को देखकर जीभ से पानी टपका रहा था और उसने एक-दो बार कोशिश भी की, किन्तु मुंहकी खानी पड़ी। इसके बारे में दीघनिकाय की अट्ठकथा में कहा है—“एक नदी के घाट के पास आधा योजन अजातशत्रु का राज्य था और आधा योजन लिच्छवियों का.....। वहाँ पर्वत के नीचे से बहुमुख्य सुगंधि माल उतरता था।.....अजातशत्रु ‘आज जाऊँ कल जाऊँ’ करता रहता, उधर एकराय एकमत लिच्छवि पहले जाकर सब (कर) ले लेते। अजातशत्रु पीछे जाता और इस समाचार को सुन कुपित हो लौट आता। वे दूसरे वर्ष भी वैसा ही करते। अजातशत्रु ने अत्यन्त कुपित हो सोचा ‘गण (प्रजातंत्र) के साथ युद्ध करना कठिन है, उनका एक भी प्रहार विफल नहीं जाता। किसी बुद्धिमान् से मंत्रणा करना अच्छा होगा। और इसीके लिये उसने अपने महामात्य वर्षकार ब्राह्मण को बुद्ध के पास भेजा।”^१

बुद्ध का गण-संस्था के प्रति अगाध प्रेम था और वैशाली के साथ और भी अधिक, इसीसे ४८३ ईसा-पूर्व वैसाख मास में जब उन्होंने अन्तिम बार वैशाली को छोड़ा, तो एक बार फिर उस वीतराग ने अपने सारे शरीर को घुमाकर (नागावलोकन करके) वैशाली को

१. चतुर्थ वैशाली-महोत्सव (२१ अप्रैल, १९४८) में सभापति के पद से विदा गया भाषण।

२. दीघनिकाय (महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त) अट्ठकथा।

आँख भर कर देख अपने प्रिय शिष्य से कहा — “आनन्द ! तथागत (बुद्ध) यह अन्तिम बार वैशाली का दर्शन कर रहा है”^१। इसी वैशाली के प्रति उस दयामूर्ति के हृदयोद्गार थे— “आनन्द ! रमणीय है वैशाली, रमणीय है उसका उदयन-चैत्य, गोतमक-चैत्य, सप्ताम्रक-चैत्य, बहुपुत्रक-चैत्य, सारंदद-चैत्य ।” ये चारों चैत्य वैशाली नगरद्वार के बाहर क्रमशः पूर्व, दक्षिण, पश्चिम, उत्तर दिशाओं में देवस्थान तथा वनपुष्करिणीसहित रमणीय भूभाग थे । वैशाली-वासी लिच्छवि भगवान् के दर्शन के लिये वैशाली नगरी से कुछ दूर दक्षिण में अवस्थित अम्बपाली-वन में पहुँचे । उन्हें देखकर बुद्ध ने कहा था— “देखो मिथुओ ! लिच्छवियों की परिषद् को, देखो मिथुओ ! लिच्छवियों की परिषद् को । मिथुओ ! इस लिच्छवि-परिषद् को त्रायस्त्रिंश (देवताओं) की परिषद् समझो ।”^२ त्रायस्त्रिंश इन्द्रलोक के देवता हैं । बुद्ध ने वैशालीवासियों की उपमा उनसे दी थी, वह प्रकट करता है, कि बुद्ध के भाव इस भूमि के निवासियों के प्रति कैसे थे ।

वर्षकार को अजातशत्रु ने बुद्ध के पास भेजा था कि उनसे ऐसा कोई उपाय मान्य करे, जिसमें वज्रियों को आसानी से हराया जा सके । बुद्ध को कितना कटु लगा होगा यह प्रकट, और इसीलिये उन्होंने वर्षकार को सीधे जवाब न दे, पीछे खड़े हो पंखा झलते आनन्द से कहा—

“आनन्द ! सुना है न कि वज्रजी (१) बराबर समा करके, बार बार समा करके अपना काम करते हैं ?”

“सुना है भगवान् !.....”

“आनन्द ! जब तक वज्रजी समा, बार बार समा करके काम करेंगे, तब तक वज्रियों की उन्नति होगी, हानि नहीं ।”

इसी तरह बुद्ध ने वज्रियों की समृद्धि और स्वतन्त्रता की कुंजी सात बातों को एक-एक करके दोहराया: वैशाली के प्रजातन्त्री (१) समा में बहुमत से निर्णय करके किसी काम को करते थे; (२) वह एकराय से काम करते, उठते-बैठते थे; (३) अवैधानिक, वज्रिभ्रम (वैशाली के कानून)-विरुद्ध कोई काम नहीं करते थे; (४) अपने वृद्धों का सम्मान-सत्कार करते, उनकी बात पर कान देते थे; (५) स्त्रियों पर अत्याचार और जबरदस्ती नहीं करते थे; (६) नगर के मोतर और बाहर के चैत्यों (देवस्थानों) का सरकार-सम्मान करते और उनके लिये प्रदत्त सम्पत्ति और धार्मिक बलि को छीनते नहीं थे; (७) घर्माचार्यों (अर्हत्तों) की रक्षा करते और इस बात का ध्यान रखते कि वे देश में सुख से विचरें ।

वैशाली-वासियों के ये सात गुण बुद्ध को बहुत पसन्द आये थे । इनमें पहले तीन तो जनतान्त्रिक व्यवस्था के मूलमंत्र हैं । वृद्धों और स्त्रियों के प्रति सम्मान का भाव उनकी

१. वही ।

२. दीर्घनिकाय-महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त (पृष्ठ १३३) ।

उच्च संस्कृति का चोटक है। अन्तिम दो बातें धर्म के प्रति वज्जियों की उदारता को बतलाती हैं।

बुद्ध ने इसी वैशाली के बाहर सारंदद-चैत्य में वैशाली-वासियों को उनकी इन सात बातों पर अटल रहने का आदेश दिया था। अजातशत्रु के महामन्त्री वर्षकार को उसकी बात का जवाब देते हुए मगध की तत्कालीन राजधानी राजगृह में बुद्ध ने कहा था, “ब्राह्मण ! एक समय मैं वैशाली के सारंदद-चैत्य में ठहरा हुआ था, वहाँ मैंने वज्जियों को यह सातपतन-विरोधी बातें बतलायी थीं। जब तक ये सात बातें वज्जियों में रहेंगी, ...तब तक वज्जियों की उन्नति ही होगी, हानि नहीं।

वैशाली प्रजातंत्र की न्याय-व्यवस्था कितनी सुन्दर थी, इसकी कुछ शलक हमें दीघनिकाय की अठ्ठकथा में मिलती है : “परम्परा से चला आया वज्जि-धर्म यह था कि वज्जि के शासक ‘यह चोर है, अपराधी है’ न कह आदमी को विनिश्चय-महामारय (न्यायाधीश) के हाथ में दे देते थे। वह विचार करता, अपराधी न होने पर छोड़ देता, अपराधी होने पर अपने कुछ न कह व्यवहारिक (न्यायाध्यक्ष) को दे देता। वह भी अपराधी जानने पर सूत्रधार को दे देता। वह भी विचार कर निरपराध होने पर छोड़ देता, अपराधी होने पर अष्टकुलिक को दे देता। वह भी वैसा ही करके सेनापति को, सेनापति उपराज (उपाध्यक्ष) को, और उपराज राजा (गणपति) को दे देता। राजा विचार कर यदि अपराधी न होता तो छोड़ देता और अपराधी होने पर प्रवेणि-पुस्तक (दण्डविधान) बँचवाता। प्रवेणि-पुस्तक में लिखा रहता, कि अमुक अपराध का अमुक दण्ड है। अपराध को उससे मिलाकर दण्ड दिया जाता।”

अपराधी के अपराध के सम्बन्ध में न्याय करने के लिये कितना ध्यान रखा जाता, वह इस उद्धरण से मालूम होता है। इससे यह भी मालूम होता है कि वैशाली प्रजातन्त्र की अपनी प्रवेणि-पुस्तक या दण्डविधान भी था, जिसका बड़ी कड़ाई से अनुसरण किया जाता था।

वर्षकार बुद्ध के मुख से वज्जियों के बारे में अपने अनुकूल कोई बात नहीं सुन सका। उसने लौट कर अजातशत्रु से कहा “श्रमण गौतम (बुद्ध) के कथन से तो वज्जी को किसी प्रकार लिया नहीं जा सकता। अच्छा तो उपलापन (धूस-रिदवत) और आपस में फूट पैदा करने से काम बनाया जाय।” अजातशत्रु और उसके कुटिल मंत्री ने भेद (फूट)-नीति को ही पसन्द किया। वर्षकार ने सलाह दी—“महाराज ! परिषद में वज्जियों की बात उठाओ। मैं कहूँगा उनसे क्या लेना है, रहने दो, वज्जी के शासक अपना खेती और वाणिज्य से जीयें।” राजा और मन्त्री ने षड्यन्त्र किया; दोनों की मिली-भगत रही। वर्षकार वज्जियों का पक्षपाती बनकर राजसभा से निकल गया। उसकी ओर से वज्जियों के पास भेजी जाती चीज पकड़ी गयी। राजा ने उसे इस अपराध में बन्धन-ताड़न न करा, शिर मुड़ा, नगर से निकाल

दिया। वर्षकार गंगा पार हो वज्जी-भूमि में जाने लगा, तो कुछ वज्जियों ने कहा—“ब्राह्मण बड़ा मायावी है, गंगापार न उतरने दो।” लेकिन लिच्छवि वर्षकार के जाल में फँस गये और उसे अपने यहाँ शरण ही नहीं दी बल्कि अपना विनिश्चय-महामात्य (न्यायाधीश) बना लिया। वर्षकार ने तीन वर्ष तक वैशाली का नमक खाया और उसका प्रतिशोध उसने अपने विश्वासघात द्वारा किया। तीन वर्ष के भीतर उसने वैशालीवालों में ऐसी फूट डलवा दी कि “दो आदमी एक साथ नहीं जा सकते थे।” वर्षकार ने अपने मालिक को सूचना दी और फूट के कारण निर्बल वज्जी लोगों को अप्रयास मगधराज ने दास बना लिया।

वैशाली के पतन का यह समय बौद्ध परम्परा के अनुसार बुद्ध-निर्वाण (४८३ ईसा पूर्व) से तीन साल बाद है।

वैशाली इतने दिनों तक अनाथा रही, किन्तु इसी के विस्तृत इतिहास ने पहले-पहल भारतीयों को बतलाया कि हम सदा निरंकुश राजाओं के जूओं को ही नहीं ढोते रहे, बल्कि हमारे यहाँ भी अपने प्रजातन्त्र थे। वैशाली प्रजातन्त्र बहुत शक्तिशाली था। बुद्ध के समय के भारत के सबसे बड़े राज्य कोसल—जो गंडक, गंगा और हिमालय की सीमाओं से घिरा था—का राजा प्रसेनजित एक बार बहुत घबड़ाया हुआ था। उसे देखकर बुद्ध ने पूछा—“क्या महाराज! तुम पर राजा मागध श्रेणिक बिम्बसार या वैशालिक लिच्छवि तो नहीं बिगड़े हैं?” लिच्छवियों के कोप से कोसल-राज्य का होश-हवास बिगड़ सकता था, यह लिच्छवियों की शक्ति का परिचय देता है। वैशाली गण के सीमान्त पर दो ही प्रबल राजशक्तियाँ थीं—दक्षिण और पूर्व में मगध और पश्चिम में कोसल। पच्छिमी सीमा पर मही (आधुनिक गंडक) बहती थी, इसके लिये साक्षात् प्रमाण नहीं मिलता, लेकिन वज्जी के पश्चिम मल्लों का संघराज्य था, जो कोसल राज्य के आधिपत्य को स्वीकार करते अपनी संघप्रणाली को किसी-न-किसी तरह सुरक्षित रखे हुए था। मल्ल और लिच्छवि दोनों पड़ोसी जातियों की सीमा गंडक ही रही होगी, लेकिन उस समय गंडक (मही) की धारा वहीं नहीं थी, जहाँ कि वह आज है। सोनपुर, शीतलपुर, मझौरा होती जो नदी आजकल छपरा जिले में बहती है, उसकी निचली धारा आज भी मही के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। हम कह सकते हैं, कि वज्जी की प्राचीन भूमि वही थी, जिसकी सीमाएँ आज कल की भोजपुरी, मगही और अंगिका (मुंगेर की छिका-छिकी) भाषा से सीमित थी, इतने अपवाद के साथ कि वर्तमान चम्पारन भी प्राचीन वज्जीगण के भीतर पड़ता था।

वर्तमान भारत के लिये यह भूमि अत्यन्त पुनीत है। ठाई हजार वर्ष बाद भारत फिर अपना संघराज्य स्थापित करने जा रहा है। उसे अपने यशस्वी वैशालीगण और उसकी परम्परा का अभिमान होना आवश्यक है। वस्तुतः हमारे ऊपर निरंकुश राज-शासन की कालरात्रि में वैशाली और यौधेय दो ही जनतन्त्र के प्रकाश स्तम्भ थे, जो यह भी सिद्ध करते रहे कि प्रजातन्त्र-शासन-प्रणाली हमारे लिए बिल्कुल नयी चीज नहीं है। सहस्रों वर्षों से देशी और विदेशी निरंकुश शासक बराबर यही प्रयत्न करते रहे, कि हम अपनी प्रजातान्त्रिक परम्परा को भूल जायें। वह बहुत हद तक अपने इस कार्य में सफल भी हुए, किन्तु पुरातत्त्व-

वेत्ताओं और इतिहासज्ञों की खोजों ने उनके प्रयत्नों को सफल नहीं होने दिया और अब तो देश की आवश्यकता और माँग है कि विदेशी शासन के हटने के बाद भारत प्रजातन्त्र राज्य घोषित किया जाय। हम जानते हैं कि वह समय दूर नहीं है, जब हमारे बालकों के लिए इतिहास की पुस्तकों में वैशाली प्रजातन्त्र के लिये एक विशेष स्थान रखना पड़ेगा। हाँ, अभी भी देश के बड़े नेता इस महत्व को नहीं समझते, और न समझने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, कि मावी भारतीय प्रजातन्त्र को अपने वैशाली और यौधेय प्रजातन्त्रों से कितनी प्रेरणा मिलेगी। यौधेय वही भूमि है, जिसमें राजधानी दिल्ली अवस्थित है, लेकिन दिल्ली के आधुनिक प्रभुओं को इसका ख्याल नहीं है कि एक समय यौधेय के कट्टर शत्रु ने उनके लिये “यौधेयानां जयमंत्रधारिणाम्” लिखा था। जनतन्त्रता से ही बहुजनहित हो सकता है, हमारे देश का गौरव-पूर्ण भविष्य इसी बात पर निर्भर करता है, कि यहाँ जनतन्त्रता का एकच्छत्र राज्य हो और इस जनतान्त्रिक भावना के सार्वजनीन प्रसार के लिए हमारे प्राचीन प्रजातन्त्रों का इतिहास बहुत सहायक हो सकता है।

प्रजातन्त्रीय कार्य-प्रणाली

गणों की सर्वोपरि शासन-समा या पालियामेंट को संस्था कहा जाता था और जहाँ संस्था की बैठक हुआ करती, उसे संस्थागार (संथागार) कहा जाता। वैशाली के भीतर संस्थागार की एक बड़ी शाला थी, जिसमें गणतन्त्र के सदस्य इकट्ठा होकर राजकाज और विधान की बातों का निर्णय किया करते थे। संस्थागार की बैठकों में शासकीय कार्य के समाप्त हो जाने पर लोग दूसरी सामाजिक आदि चर्चाओं में लग सकते थे। संस्थागार में कमी-कमी अतिथियों को भी ठहराया जाता था। पालि ग्रन्थों में इस बात का बहुत ध्यान रखा गया है कि संस्था तथा संस्थागार को राजतन्त्रीय देशों से सम्बद्ध न किया जाय।

वैशाली या कुसीनारा की संस्थाएँ किस तरह समा की कार्यवाही करती थीं, कैसे वादविवाद होते थे और किस तरह वादों का निर्णय और मत लिया जाता था, इसका हमारे पास कोई साक्षात् प्रमाण नहीं है। किन्तु हम जानते हैं कि बुद्ध ने अपने भिक्षु-संघ की स्थापना इन्हीं संघराज्यों के नमूने पर की थी। इसलिये इस विषय में भिक्षुसंघ के विधान (विनय-नियमों) से हम समझ सकते हैं कि संघराज्यों में किस तरह संस्था काम करती थी। गण-राज्य के लिये संघ का शब्द त्रिपिटक में आया है—“हे गौतम ! यह जो संघ है, जैसे कि वज्जी या मल्ल, वह अपने राज्य में ‘मारो’ कह कर मरवा सकते हैं, ‘जलाओ’ कह कर जलवा सकते हैं, ‘देश निकालो’ कह कर देश से निकाल सकते हैं।”

संस्था के प्रमुख व्यक्तियों में संस्था-राज, उपराज, सेनापति, अष्टकुलिक, व्यवहारिक और विनिश्चय महामात्य का नाम हम बतला चुके हैं। राजा और उपराज, राष्ट्रपति और उपराष्ट्रपति को कहा जाता। सेनापति सारी लिच्छविसेना का प्रमुख होता—बुद्ध के समय सिंह सेनापति लिच्छवियों का सेनापति था। अष्टकुलिक से ‘आठ कुलों के प्रधान व्यक्ति’ अर्थात्

नहीं लिया जा सकता, क्योंकि 'कुलिक' नामक पदाधिकारी गुप्तकाल में भी होता था। नगर की निगम-सभा में एक श्रेष्ठी और एक सार्यवाह हुआ करते थे और बाकी सदस्य कुलिक कहे जाते थे, जिनका प्रमुख "प्रथम-कुलिक" होता था। यहीं बसाड़ की खुदाई में गुप्तकालीन स्तर से हरि और उर्गसिंह नाम के दो प्रथम-कुलिकों और मगदत्त, गोरीदास, गोंड, ओममट्ट जैसे कितने ही कुलिकों की मुद्राएँ मिली हैं। अष्टकुलिक, जान पड़ता है, वैशाली के आठ नगराधिकारियों को कहा जाता था। व्यवहारिक और विनिश्चय-महामास्य दोनों, न्यायाधिकारी थे।

संस्था की बैठक संस्था-राज या उपराज की अध्यक्षता में हुआ करती थी। यदि बौद्ध भिक्षु-संघ की समानता से काम लिया जाय, तो किसी भी प्रस्ताव को जब कोई सदस्य पेश करता, वह सीधे पूज्य संघ—मन्ते संघ—को संबोधित करता था। प्रस्ताव रखने के क्रम बंधे थे। जैसे—

याचना में संघ के सामने प्रस्ताव रखने की आज्ञा माँगी जाती।

उदाहरण के लिये हम उद्वाहिका (Select Committee) के निर्वाचन की विधि के बारे में यहाँ विनयपिटक के वचन को देते हैं :—

(१) याचना—"पहले उस व्यक्ति से पूछना चाहिये तब....."

(२) सति—"मन्ते ! संघ मेरी बात सुने। हमारे इस अधिकरण (विवाद-विषय) पर विचार करते समय अनर्गल बातें होने लगती हैं—भाषण का अर्थ नहीं समझ पड़ता। यदि संघ उचित समझे, तो इस बात को उद्वाहिका द्वारा निर्णय के लिये अमुक-अमुक व्यक्तियों को चुने।"

इस प्रकार प्रस्ताव की सूचना संघ के सामने रख दी जाती।

फिर अनुश्रावण द्वारा उसके सम्बन्ध में खुले वाद-विवाद के लिए प्रस्ताव को रखा जाता, जैसे—

(३) अनुश्रावण "मन्ते ! संघ मेरी बात सुने। हमारे इस अधिकरण (विवाद-विषय) पर विचार करते समय अनर्गल बातें होने लगती हैं, भाषण का अर्थ नहीं समझ पड़ता। संघ इस अधिकरण को उद्वाहिका द्वारा निश्चय कराने के लिए अमुक-अमुक व्यक्तियों को चुन रहा है। जिस आयुष्मान् को यह बात पसन्द हो, वह चुप रहे, जिसे न हो वह बोले।"

यदि कोई प्रस्ताव के विरुद्ध बोलना चाहता, तो उसे बोलने का अधिकार दिया जाता। यदि कोई नहीं बोलता, तो अनुश्रावण के वाक्य को फिर दोहराया जाता। और इस पर भी यदि कहीं से कोई विरोध में बोलने को तैयार नहीं होता, तो अनुश्रावण तेहराया जाता। अन्त में संघनायक संघ की राय के बारे में निम्न प्रकार अपनी धारणा घोषित करता :

(४) चारणा—“संघ ने इस अधिकरण को उद्वाहिका द्वारा निश्चय कराने के लिये बभ्रुक-अभ्रुक व्यक्तियों को चुन लिया। संघ इसे स्वीकारता है, इसीलिए वह चुप है, ऐसा मैं चारण करता हूँ।”^१

जब संस्था सर्व सम्मति से किसी निर्णय पर नहीं पहुँचती, तब इसके लिए सम्मति वा बोट लेना पड़ता था। बोट के लिए उस समय छन्द शब्द का प्रयोग होता था। (इसी छन्द से आधुनिक चन्दा शब्द निकला प्रतीत होता है, जिसमें मत-दान के स्थान में अर्थदान का भाव आ गया है)। छन्द ग्रहण के लिए रंगीन शलाकाओं का उपयोग किया जाता था, जिन्हें छन्द-शलाका कहा जाता था। प्रस्ताव के पक्ष और विपक्ष में प्रत्येक के लिए अलग अलग दो रंग की शलाकाएँ निश्चित कर ली जाती थीं। फिर इन शलाकाओं को दो भिन्न-भिन्न डलियों में रख कर शलाकाग्रहावक सदस्यों के भीतर घूमता था, और वह अपने मत के अनुसार एक एक शलाका ले लेते थे। बाकी बची शलाकाओं को गिन कर मालूम कर लेते थे कि बहुमत किस पक्ष में है। इस बहुमत के निर्णय को यद्भूमयसिक कहा जाता था।

आज कल यह तरीका व्यवहार्य नहीं हो सकता और छन्द शलाका से छन्द पत्रिका का ढंग बेहतर है।

हमारे विशाल प्रजातन्त्र के इतिहास-मवन के ये छोड़े से अवशेष रह गये हैं और इन्हें भी हम रक्षित नहीं कर पाये थे, बल्कि इन्हें समुद्र पार सिंहल और चीन के लोगों ने सुरक्षित रखा। अथेन्स के प्रजातन्त्र की बहुत-सी बातें लिखित रूप में रक्षित रह गयीं, जिससे हम वहाँ की प्रजातन्त्रप्रणाली को जान सकते हैं। लेकिन वैशाली को वह सौभाग्य प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। अथेन्स के चिल्पियों ने पाषाण पर सौन्दर्य सृष्टि की, जिससे उसके ध्वंसावशेषों में प्रजातन्त्रीय गौरव के साक्षात्कार करने में बड़ी सहायता मिली। हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि प्रजातन्त्रीय वैशाली के कलाकर पाषाण पर नहीं, काष्ठ और मृत्तिका जैसे मंगुर पदार्थों पर सौन्दर्य-निर्माण किया करते थे। इसलिए बहुत कम ही आशा है कि हम वैशाली के ध्वंसावशेषों में अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण वस्तुओं को प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। लेकिन यह धरती हमारे प्राचीन गौरव की किन-किन वस्तुओं को अपने भीतर छिपाये हुए है, इसके बारे में हम क्या कह सकते हैं? आखिर वैशाली के सिर्फ एक छोटे से अंश की ही खुदाई हो पायी है।

वैशाली नगरी

बौद्ध-परम्परा के अनुसार लिच्छवियों की नगरी का यह नाम इसीलिए पड़ा कि जन-संख्या की वृद्धि के कारण नगर-प्रकार को कई बार हटा-हटा कर उसे विशाल किया गया। “उस समय वैशाली समृद्धिशाली, बहुत मनुष्यों से भरी, अन्न-पान-सम्पन्न थी। उसमें ७७७७ प्रासाद, ७७७७ कूटागार (कोठे), ७७७७ आराम (उद्यानगृह) और ७७७७ पुष्करिणियाँ थीं।”^२ जैन ग्रन्थों से यह भी पता लगता है कि वैशाली के क्षत्रिय, ब्राह्मण और बणिक् अलग-

१. विमय-पिटक, (चुल्लवग्ग) ४।१।५। (मेरा अनुबाव पृष्ठ ४१२)

२. अंगुत्तरनिकाय अट्ठकथा २।४।५

अलग उपनगर थे। वर्तमान बमिया बाजिय-गान था। वासुकुण्ड को क्षत्रियकुण्डप्रान माना जा सकता है। लेकिन प्रश्न है मुख्य नगरी कितनी दूर में थी। बसाव बस्ती और यह मुख्य नगर में थे, इसमें सन्देह नहीं। वैशाली का विशाल नगर और दूर तक रहा होगा। उसमें नगर-प्राकार और नगर-द्वार भी थे, किन्तु आज भूमि से ऊपर कोई चिह्न दिखाई नहीं देता, यद्यपि वैशाली के समकालीन श्रावस्ती (सहेट-महेट, जिला गोंडा) और कौशाम्बी (कोसम, जिला प्रयाग) के नगर-प्राकारों के ध्वंस अब भी दिखाई पड़ते हैं। नगर-प्राकार का इस तरह लोप यही बतलाता है कि वैशाली पहले उजाड़ हो गयी। सातवीं शताब्दी के चीन-यात्री ह्वेन-त्साङ के समय वैशाली बिल्कुल उजाड़ थी, और बौद्ध तीर्थ-स्थान भी इतने उजड़ गये थे, कि ह्वेन-त्साङ के वर्णन से भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों का कोई ठोक से परिचय नहीं मिलता। ईसा की चौथी सदी में फाहियान का वर्णन अधिक स्पष्ट है और अधिक प्रामाणिक भी मालूम पड़ता है। तोरभुक्ति (तिरहुत) के उपरि (गवर्नर) और कुमारामात्य (जिलाधिश) को मुद्राओं से सिद्ध होता है कि गुप्तकाल में उसका महत्त्व था। लेकिन साथ ही इन मोहरों से यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि प्रजातंत्रीय वैशाली का वैभव तब तक अक्षुण्ण चला आया था।

कोलट्टा में जहाँ आज भी अशोक स्तम्भ खड़ा है, वहीं कूटागार-शाला थी। मगवान् बुद्ध वहाँ कई बार निवास कर चुके थे। यह कूटागार-शाला महावन के भीतर थी, जो कि हिमालय से समुद्र तक चले गये महावन का एक अंश था। जंगलों की इस अधिकता से यह भी मानना होगा कि मौर्य चन्द्रगुप्त कालीन पाटलिपुत्र की तरह वैशाली का नगर-प्राकार भी शालकाष्ठ का था। इसीलिए उसका पीछे तक बचा रहना सम्भव नहीं था। पालि ग्रन्थों^१ से मालूम होता है कि वैशाली की चार दिशाओं में चार प्रसिद्ध चैत्य (उद्यान-पुष्करिणी-सहित-देवस्थान) थे—पूर्व में उदयन-चैत्य, दक्षिण में गोतमक-चैत्य, पच्छिम में सप्ताम्रक-चैत्य और उत्तर में बहुपुत्रक-चैत्य। वैशाली में अचेल कोर-मट्टक नामक एक बड़ा प्रभावशाली नागा रहता था। वैशाली के लोगों में उसका बड़ा सम्मान था। उसने सात प्रतिज्ञाएँ ले रखी थी—

(१) सदा नंगा रहना, वस्त्र न धारण करना; (२) जीवन भर ब्रह्मचारी रहना; (३) मात-दाल न खा, केवल मांस खाना और सुरा पीना; (४) वैशाली में पूर्व की ओर उदयन चैत्य से आगे न जाना; (५) दक्षिण में गोतमक चैत्य से आगे न जाना; (६) पच्छिम में सप्ताम्रक चैत्य से आगे न जाना और (७) उत्तर में बहुपुत्रक चैत्य से आगे न जाना। ये चारों चैत्य, जान पड़ता है, वैशाली नगर के पूर्व, दक्षिण, पच्छिम और उत्तर के महाद्वारों के बाहर थे। आज भी पूरब में कम्पन-छपरा के चौमुखी महादेव, उत्तर में बमिया के चौमुखी महादेव मौजूद हैं, जो क्रमशः उदयन और बहुपुत्रक चैत्य हो सकते हैं। फाहियान के अनुसार बुद्ध ने अन्तिम बार वैशाली के पश्चिमद्वार से बाहर निकल कर नागावलोकन किया था। यह स्थान सप्ताम्रक चैत्य के आसपास रहा होगा, जिसे बोधा के आसपास कहीं होना चाहिये। दक्षिण द्वार के बाहर गोमतक चैत्य था, जिसे परमानन्दपुर से कोसा के गुप्त महादेव के

दक्षिण तक बढ़ना होगा। इस प्रकार हम पुरानी वैशाली के नगर-सीमान्त का कुछ अनुमान कर सकते हैं।

इन प्रधान चैत्यों में अच्छा कृति-बन्धान रहा होगा, यह वज्जी-धर्म के अनुसार उचित ही था। इन चार प्रधान चैत्यों के अतिरिक्त और भी कई चैत्य थे, जिनमें एक था चापाल चैत्य। यहीं पर बुद्ध ने ई० पू० ४८२ की माघ-पूर्णिमा के आस-पास कहा था—“आज से तीन मास बाद तथागत का निर्वाण होगा।” फाहियान ने इसे नगर से ३ ली उत्तर-पच्छिम बताया है। अनुवादकों ने इस शब्द को धनुष बाण-स्थान बना दिया है, जो वस्तुतः चापाल (चाप रख देने) के चीनी भावान्तर का विकृत रूप है। यह स्थान भीमसेन-का-पल्ला के आस-पास कहीं होना चाहिये। सारंदद-चैत्य भी वैशाली के पास था। यहीं पर बुद्ध ने लिच्छवियों को सात अपरिहाणिय (हानि से बचाने वाले) धर्मों का उपदेश किया था। यह स्थान कहाँ था, इसे नहीं कहा जा सकता। फाहियान ने इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं लिखा है। इनके अतिरिक्त वैशाली नगर के बाहर कितने ही और साधुओं के आराम थे, जिनमें त्रिवुक्खाणु में परिव्राजकों का आराम और अवरपुर-वनसंड में भी एक आराम था—अवरपुर-वनसंड नगर से पच्छिम में रहा होगा। बालुकाराम अशोक-स्तम्भ से पच्छिम में रहा होगा। यहीं द्वितीयसंगीति हुई थी।

नगर के भीतर संस्थागार, कूटागारों और प्रासादों के अतिरिक्त एक महत्त्वपूर्ण वस्तु थी अभिषेक-पुष्करिणी, जिसमें संस्था के सदस्यों का अभिषेक कराया जाता था और उसमें किसी भी बाहरी आदमी का प्रवेश अत्यन्त निषिद्ध था।

वज्जी के दूसरे नगर और गाँव

पाटलिपुत्र से गंगापार हो कर बुद्ध कोटिग्राम पहुँचे थे। इसके अतिरिक्त उल्काचेल (उल्काचेल) नामक नगर भी गंगा के तट पर था। कोटिग्राम और उल्काचेल कहाँ थे, इसके बारे में इससे अधिक कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वे सोनपुर, हाजीपुर के आस-पास में थे। गण्डक तो अवश्य ही उस समय सोनपुर से पच्छिम बहती थी।

अपनी अन्तिम यात्रा में राजगृह से आते वक्त बुद्ध पाटलिपुत्र में गंगा पार हुए। पाटलिपुत्र को उसी समय राजधानी और एक बड़े नगर के रूप में बसाया जा रहा था। गंगा पार हो वह कोटिग्राम पहुँचे थे। कोटिग्राम से अगला पड़ाव नादिका में पड़ा। नादिका एक अच्छा खासा नगर था, जो ज्ञातृका का अपभ्रंश मालूम होता है। ज्ञातृ के पाली में नाट और नात दोनों रूप मिलते हैं, जैसे ज्ञातृ-पुत्र का नाटपुत्र और नातपुत्र। नादिका का दूसरा उच्चारण नाटिका भी है। नाटिका में मिजकाववसथ नामक ईंटों की बनी एक अच्छी अतिथिशाला थी। बुद्ध ने इसी में निवास किया था। इसी के पास गोसिग शालवन नामक शालों का जंगल था। नादिका से बुद्ध अम्बपाली के बगीचे में पहुँचे थे। वैशाली की कीर्तिमती रूपाजीवा अम्बपाली ने यहीं अपने आर्मों के बगीचे में बुद्ध को भोजन के लिए निमंत्रित किया था, और बुद्ध की स्वीकृति से इतनी उल्लसित हुई थी कि लौटते समय उसने दशन-

तब लिच्छवियों के रथ के घुरों से घुरा, चक्कों से चक्का और जुओं से जुआ दकग दिया। लिच्छवियों ने जब इसका कारण पूछा, तो बोली—

“आर्यपुत्रो ! क्योंकि मैंने मिश्रु-संघ के साथ भगवान् को कल भोज के लिए निर्ममित किया है।”

“अरे ! अम्बपाली, सौ हजार लेकर इस भोज को हमें देने दो।”

“यदि वैशाली-जनपद भी दे दो, तो भी इस महान् भोज को मैं नहीं दूँगी।”

इस पर लिच्छवियों ने कहा था—“अरे ! हमें अम्बिका ने जीत लिया, हमें अम्बिका ने छका दिया।”

इस घटना से यह भी पता लगता है कि वैशाली के शासक एक गणिका के आत्म-सम्मान का भी कितना ख्याल करते थे।

इसी बार अम्बपाली ने अपने आश्रयन को मिश्रु-संघ को प्रदान किया था।

भगवान् बुद्ध ने अपने जीवन का अन्तिम वर्षावास बेलुवगामक नामक वैशाली के पास के ग्राम में बिताया।

वैशाली से अपने निर्वाण-स्थान कुसीनारा (कसया) की ओर जाते वक्त रास्ते में उन्हें भण्डगाम, अम्बगाम, हस्तिगाम (हस्तिग्राम) मिले थे। इसके आगे भोगनगर आया, जो सम्भवतः वज्जी प्रजातंत्र से बाहर का गाँव था।

वज्जी भूमि की नदियों में मही और वग्गुमुदा दो के नाम मिले हैं। वग्गुमुदा सम्भवतः वागमती का ही नाम था।

वैशाली संघ-राज्य के इतिहास के बारे में यहाँ पालि में मौजूद ऐतिहासिक सामग्री के आधार पर कहा गया है। बौद्ध वाङ्मय पालि के अतिरिक्त चोनी और तिब्बती भाषा में भी बहुत विशाल परिमाण में पाया जाता है। उससे भी हमें कितनी ही महत्त्वपूर्ण ज्ञातव्य बातें मालूम हो सकती हैं। फिर जैन वाङ्मय भी बहुत विशाल है और उसके कितने ही ग्रन्थ अब भी अप्रकाशित हैं। जैन प्राचीन ग्रन्थों की दुहाई देते रहने पर भी वैशालिक भगवान् महावीर को जैन लोग इस भूमि से दूर खींच ले गये हैं। अपने वाङ्मय के अध्ययन से यह समझना मुश्किल नहीं होता कि श्रमण महावीर कहीं पैदा हुए थे। जैन विद्वान् अब इसे समझने लगे हैं। भगवान् महावीर ने अपने सिद्धिलाम के पहिले के तपस्वी जीवन के आठ वर्षावास वैशाली में बिताये थे और सिद्धिलाम के बाद चार और वर्षावास वैशाली में बिताये। वैशाली ही श्रमण महावीर की जन्मभूमि थी। यह कम आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि जैनों ने अपने तीर्थंकर की जन्मभूमि का नाम तक भुला दिया। ऐसा क्यों हुआ ? इसके लिए दो चार शताब्दियाँ ऐसी होनी चाहिये, जब कि वज्जी भूमि और वैशाली से जैनों का कोई सम्पर्क नहीं रह गया था। अस्तु।

बैशाली-संघ के सामने काम

आदमी प्राचीन इतिहास के सहारे नहीं जी सकता। प्राचीन इतिहास का काम है हमें उत्प्रेरित करना। वह प्रेरणा हमें मिलती रहेगी। बैशालीगण को आज हमें नये रूप में उज्जीवित करना चाहिये। हमें कम-से-कम रत्ती परगने तक को संघ का कार्य-क्षेत्र बनाना चाहिये—रत्ती भी, मैं समझता हूँ, लत्ती < नत्ती, ज्ञातृ का ही अपभ्रंश रूप है। रत्ती परगने में लिच्छवियों की जनतंत्रता और स्वातन्त्र्य-प्रेम के साथ आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक नवनिर्माण को हाथ में लेना चाहिये। वैसे तो सारे देश में उद्योगीकरण और कृषि के आधुनिक ढंग पर नवनिर्माण को छोड़ कर दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं है। हमारा जीवनस्तर बेतरह गिरा हुआ है, और ऊपर से पचास लाख खानेवाले मुखों की प्रतिवर्ष वृद्धि बड़ी ही भयंकर स्थिति पैदा कर रही है। संघ को इस नवनिर्माण को अपने हाथ में लेकर पथ-प्रदर्शन करना चाहिये।

यह ठीक है कि इस काम में तब तक सफलता नहीं हो सकती, जब तक सरकार पूरी तरह से सहायता देने को तैयार नहीं है। लेकिन सरकार की सहायता भी उतनी लाभदायक नहीं होगी, यदि उसे काम में लाने के लिए जनता को तैयार नहीं किया जायगा।

मैं समझता हूँ, शिक्षा और संस्कृति के कामों के लिए आपके पास बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं, जिनमें कई लाखों का खर्च है। लेकिन यदि इस खर्च के लिए आप सिर्फ सरकारी सहायता और बाहरवालों के दान पर भरोसा रखेंगे और यदि वह आप को प्राप्त भी हो गया, तो भी उससे जनता का बहुत दूर तक आप फायदा नहीं कर सकेंगे।

इसके लिए आर्थिक नवनिर्माण ही सब से अच्छा ढंग है। रत्ती परगना में कोई पहाड़ नहीं और न किसी प्रकार के खनिज पदार्थ की ही सम्भावना है। यहाँ अनाज, ऊख, कपास, तेलहन, मछली, अंडी-कीड़ा के उत्पादन और उन पर आधारित उद्योग-धंधों को बढ़ाया जा सकता है।

खेती की उपज बढ़ाने के लिए सिंचाई और उसके लिए पानी को प्रचुर परिमाण में मुलभ करना होगा। यह काम बिजली या तेल से चलनेवाले पम्पों से ही हो सकता है। यहाँ सरकारी सहायता अनिवार्यतया आवश्यक है। पानी बारहों महीना हमारी घरती के नीचे बह रहा है। हमें बारहों महीना उसे घरती के ऊपर ला रखने का प्रबन्ध करना है, जो कि आज के यान्त्रिक युग में बिल्कुल आसान है। यदि हर खेत के लिए हर वक्त पानी मुलभ हो और खाद भी मिल सके, तो हम हर वक्त खेत में फसल तैयार रख सकते हैं और पैदावार को दुगुना-चौगुना नहीं, दस गुना बढ़ा सकते हैं।

खेती में किसान को पूरा श्रम करने और उसका फल प्राप्त करने के लिए जमींदारी और सूदखोरी के चंगुल से बचना है। लेकिन इतने से ही हमारा अभीष्ट पूरा नहीं हो सकता। खेतों के जोतने और खोदने में कुछ हद तक यंत्रों की आवश्यकता है।

उदाहरणार्थ मोटरहल (ट्रैक्टर) से एक बार गहरी जोताई कर देने से तीन साल तक खेत घास से पाक हो जाता है और पौधे की जड़ भी अधिक नीचे तक पहुँच, पृथिवी की

नमी से लाभ उठा सकता है। लेकिन यह सब काम समी हो सकता है, जब कि छोटे-छोटे कोलों और बगारियों को बड़े चकों में परिणत किया जाय, अर्थात् साझे की खेती का प्रचार हो। साझे की खेती के लिए किसानों को तैयार करना असम्भव नहीं है, यदि इसके लिए लगनवाले मार्गदर्शक, कम झगड़ेवाले ग्राम और सरकार की पूरी सहायता मिले। गावों में तीन तरह के लोग रहते हैं। किन्हीं के पास पर्याप्त भूमि होती है, किन्हीं के पास थोड़ी और कुछ लोग बिल्कुल बिना खेत के होते हैं। खेतवालों—विशेष कर अधिक खेतवालों—को साझे की खेती में लाने के लिये यही रास्ता है कि उन्हें फसल के सारे खर्च को काटकर प्रति एकड़ जितना अनाज आज कल मिल रहा है, उतना आगे मिलते रहने का विश्वास दिला दिया जाय। इसके बाद उनको साझे की खेती में सम्मिलित होने में कोई उचित एतराज नहीं हो सकता। इस तरह हम खेतों की मेड़ों को तोड़ कर बड़े-बड़े चक बना सकते हैं, जिसमें नये ढंग से खेती करके उपज बढ़ायी जा सकती है, जिससे निवासियों की आय बढ़ सकती है। फिर भोजपुरी कहावत के अनुसार “चारों वेद घमाकें, जीके डांडें”, सांस्कृतिक कार्यों को भी आप तेजी से आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। कृषि के साथ जिन उद्योगों की संभावना हो सकती है, उनकी स्थापना से भी संघ-भूमि को समृद्ध कर सकते हैं।

हमें प्राचीन वैशाली से उत्प्रेरित हो नवीन प्रजातन्त्रीय भारत के लिए यहाँ एक आदर्श मूखंड तैयार करना चाहिये।





THE HERITAGE OF VAIŚĀLĪ¹

Dr. S. C. SARKAR, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

Forty years ago, when I was a post-graduate student of Ancient Indian History and read about the dead or decayed ancient cities of our country, my youthful mind yearned for a bringing back of the youth and spring they had lost. Renascence and rejuvenation of our motherland was not a passion with me alone, but with a large number of my fellows in the Calcutta University, in the years 1903-1911,—and the then novel study of the Greater India across the seas and snows heightened the glow of our patriotism, that was reared on the classical renaissance of the previous three or four generations. With many of us in those days, the names of Puṇḍravardhana, Gauḍa or Tāmralipti,.....Campā, Rājagṛha or Vaiśālī,.....Gayā, Pāṭali or Kāśī,.....Śrāvastī, Kapila-vastu or Kauśāmbī,.....Mathurā, Ujjayinī or Dvārakā, set in motion reels of dreams, that sweetened our bitter and sickening experience of 'modern' Indian life. Those visions were abiding ones; and some years later on, I found my scope in my humble sphere in Bihar, where, since 1917, I have ever delighted in describing to my pupils the fairy places of my visions—

1. Presidential address at the Fifth Vaiśālī Festival (April 11, 1949) at Vaiśālī.

and in that way, many of the younger generations in the last three decades have grown up in love for Vaiśālī, Pāṭali, Campā and Girivraja for Vajrāsana, Vikramaśilā and Nālandā—which had scarcely any meaning in the lives of their elders whose horizon was still bounded by the mist of medievalism. For many years I had been urging my senior students, specially since 1938 in connection with the Mass Education Movement which they and I started that year,—to use that movement in reviving the sense of native heritage, by trying to organise national festivals and fairs on the sites of the ancient cities of this region,—by holding Vaiśālī, Pāṭali, Gayā, Campā, Rājagṛha and Nālandā Festivals, and starting Cultural Societies and constructive institutions at those places. I was therefore delighted, when some of my pupils, headed by Prof. Yogendra Mishra (who is still one of your organisers), approached me early in 1945, with a request to draw up a definite plan for that kind of work at Vaiśālī,—with which, he said, he and his friends were ready to start, and hoped to succeed, for the S. D. O. of the local Subdivision, Mr. J. C. Māthur, also a History Student, was ready to help officially. I drew up a detailed plan accordingly, had a number of consultations with Messrs. Mishra and Māthur, and the Jaintpur Rāj, got in touch with a number of Indologists,—and you had the first session of the Vaiśālī Festival.

Since then, with several sessions of the Festival, you have had learned lectures on Vaiśālīan history and culture by scholars from different parts of the country, and important original contributions to the Vaiśālī commemorative pamphlets, booklets and volumes, from their pens as well; the latest of your publications, 'Homage to Vaiśālī' could do credit to any Learned Society of Indologists.—Almost all that you could know about the history, culture and traditions, about religious, social, economic and political conditions or about art and archaeology of Vaiśālī, has, by this time, been placed before you, both by the spoken and the written words.—But let us remember, at the same time, that not much of even the very first scheme of *Reconstruction*, which I drew up for the Saṅgha four years ago, has yet been realised or attempted. Today, the *knowing* of the heritage is largely achieved, but the *revival* of that heritage, and *re-application* of it to a renascent, rejuvenated people, has now to be attempted; —Vaiśālī was lost and given up for dead, it has been re-discovered and is breathing,—let it stir into active and creative life for the *present* and the *future*: Long live Vaiśālī, the Eternal City of India.

The efficacy of a classical renaissance lies in the creation of a modern age and the envisaging of the age to come. If we cannot plan this on the

basis of heritage and experience, if embers cannot be kindled to flame, the ashes will smother us.—So I make no apology for telling you about some of my ideas on the “Reconstruction of this region in the old Vaiśālīan way.”

All reconstruction must start with the best materials of the heritage and along the lines indicated by the special genius of the earlier generations. You will notice, from all that has been spoken to you and written for you, that the genius of ancient Vaiśālī was manifested in the social, economic, political, cultural and religious spheres, in certain characteristic ways—

(1) In the ‘social’ sphere, Vaiśālī, from the Vedic and Epic days, stood for breaking down the barriers of race and class or caste, by intermarriages, and by throwing open and interchange of the vocations. Thus martial Kṣatriya princes freely became Vaidika Brāhmaṇa priest-poets, or Vaiśyas tilling the soil and tending the flocks; Brāhmaṇa families like those of the Paulastya and Āṅgīrasa groups, and Kṣatriya and Vaiśya families belonging to the Ikṣvāku and Turvaṣa groups, frequently intermarried; and racial groups like the Mānvas, Ailas, Yakṣas, Rakṣas, or Rkṣas (the originals of the ‘Liccha’s) and various other sub-Himālayan peoples, got mixed up. This mobility and the fusion of the classes was further and systematically developed with the growth of Jainism and Buddhism in this region.—Now, if you would act and build once again in the Vaiśālīan way, why not break the barriers that have again risen between man and man, and thus build up a classless society and a secular state? These are not new-fangled notions imported from alien civilizations,—they are true “Svaras” of the same old Indian “Rāga” which we would love to play again.

(2) In the ‘economic’ sphere, the characteristic activities of the Vaiśālīans were three,—(a) Farming, (b) Inland cross-country trade and communications, (c) Overseas navigation, commerce and colonisation, and ship-building. The valleys of the Gaṇḍakī and Bāgmatī, from the Himālayas to the Gaṅgā, have, for more than two millennia since the Vedic days, been tilled by Videhan and Vaiśālīan princes and nobles personally, along with their farmer subjects and tenants, on an equal socio-economic level; this was a land of prosperous ‘gahapatis’ or gentlemen-farmers, who were the backbone of the state. In the traditional Vaiśālīan way, let then the peasant-proprietor and gentleman-farmer, the Vaiśya ‘Kṣetrapati’ and the ‘Gahapati’, be restored, after the dis-establishment of the medieval growths of Zamindari, absentee and capitalist

landlordism and parasitic middlemen and uneconomic fragmentation,—all a legacy of decadence. In the Mauryan times, the rich merchants of Vaiṣālī and Videha often supplied money, materials and skilled labour to the peasant-proprietors and gentlemen-farmers, where necessary, under strict government control of the extent and terms of such aid. Today, the trading and commercial classes might render the same service, with and after the abolition of the Zamindari,—by starting agricultural banks, agricultural material and equipment stores, and institutes training and supplying skilled and efficient landless labourers, for assisting individual efforts of peasant-proprietors and gentlemen-farmers.—I see before me a good number of prominent members of the commercial community : it is up to them to guide their beloved Vaiṣālī again in similar ways. Again, this ancient emphasis on Farming naturally led to special arrangements for food-stuff storage and inland grains-trade, and to a very great care of animals, the mainstay of the group of Farm-industries. It is not for nothing that the Jainas of Vaiṣālī stressed the care of and love for cattle; ‘Go-sevā’ was an economic creed of a farming region. Let these features of Vaiṣālīan economic life be revived again, improving upon the ancient methods of storage and movement of foodstuffs, and of animal eugenics and welfare, by the results of the modern sciences of botany, zoology and biology. Here too, the Jaina mercantile community can render great services today : they could, for example, set up a network of village-community grainstores or ‘golagharas’ of the Mauryan type, and grain-elevators of the American type, throughout the country, dividing it into circles of ten villages, as in ancient days; they could build up an inland cross-country transport service of improved bullock-carts and well-bred pack-animals (bullocks, horses, mules, asses, camels, etc.), for the carriage of bulk stuff throughout the interior and rural regions, and construct the road links needed for it; they could organise ‘after-care’ infirmary and hospital institutions for farm animals, through an Animal-Power Insurance Scheme on the lines of Labour Insurance; and they could establish Research Stations for improvements in Cattle-breeding and rearing and in Dairying,—which will teach the people how to have maximum quality and quantity of milk-supply, the most efficient type of animal labour,—and how to prevent deterioration of farm animals by unrestricted multiplication and lack of animal fodder and pasturage on the one hand, and prohibition of surplus animal slaughter or export on the other; for here I may tell you, that without cruelty or any physical injury, and without even affecting the basic animal instincts and outlets thereof, male or female animals, not wanted for breeding high-class stock or for milk-supply, can, by modern scientific

methods, be rendered infertile, retaining them for other uses,—and similarly animal population too can be successfully controlled, very much more indeed than human population. But these scientific steps require financing, and here too our main hope lies with the Jaina mercantile community.—Again, it is they who can take the initiative in reconstructing the ship-yards and docks of Vaiśālī along the Gaṇḍakī and the Gaṅgā,—and in building river-craft for the riparian trade of the middle-Gangetic valley, and sea-going barks and frigates for maritime trade and colonisation along or across the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. You all know how sadly neglected river-traffic is today, and how primitive, decadent and inefficient; river-craft using the sail, rudder and line, or using steam, oil or electric power, will effectually relieve the cramping pressure on railways and roads; and why could we not have a Vaiśālī Maritime Navigation Company, if Malwa, Gujarat and Bengal could have such companies today? Even as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A. D., seaward vessels carried goods down from Singhiā nearby to the sea-ports of the Gangetic Delta for distant Europe. Let us bid good-bye to that bullock-cart amongst modern conveyances, the O. T. R., and have our own motor boats and tugs, our own oil-fuelled or turbine sea-dogs,—and thereby gratify the “pitṛs” of this ancient land, who scoured the rivers and the seas, and were the first from North India to hold Ceylon as a commercial colony, and who even as late as the early medieval period established colonial settlements and dynastic relations in Arakan and Pagan in Burma. Once again, cannot the over-populated regions of North Bihar repeat history by sending forth colonial settlers across the seas to the islands and coasts of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific,—sailing on their own ships, and carrying their trade and culture along with them to new lands?

(3) In the ‘political’ sphere, as you must all have learnt, the characteristic of the Vaiśālī region was realisation of democracy and individual freedom, and of solidarity through federation or unions on equal terms. The ancient Vaiśālīan princes showed the way, along with the Videhan princes, by dis-establishing the monarchies by self-denial; the great Vaiśālīan prince Nabhāga of Vedic and Epic fame, after his abdication over a question of human rights, told his dyansty, “I am now a free tiller of the Soil, King over my acre.” The Senators of the later Vaiśālīan Assembly of the Jaina-Buddhist age were all called ‘Kings’, that is sovereignty resided in them; as Ravindranātha has said in his significant allegorical drama, “the King”,—‘we are all kings in this State, while the King remains unseen.’ Vaiśālī,—‘the extensive city,’—justi-

fied its name not only by commercial prosperity, but also by becoming the federal capital of eighteen allied republican states, representative groups of whose peoples also concentrated here in so many Wards,—making it a “cosmo-polis”, and its culture cosmopolitan; from the mountains of Central and Eastern Nepal to the banks of the Gomati, Gaṅgā and Kuśī, the whole region was represented and blended here, through federation and co-operation. What the local government in the village units of this regions was like, how thoroughly democratic and civically, economically and politically efficient, we know from the accounts of Kauṭilya. You have recently had a session of the Provincial Political Conference close to this place : for its use in certain ways, I have placed with its organisers a critical account of certain features of this remarkable Kauṭilyan picture, emphasising the need of reconstruction of our villages of today on those traditional and well-tried lines. I commend that sketch of mine to your attention also, as a starting point in remodelling our civic, economic and political life in the Vaiśālīan way. The freedom of the individual, and the self-sufficiency of the village, decentralization into small republican communities where government was directly in the hands of the people, along with combination of all these free units into unions and federations for certain common purposes,—these were the fundamental principles of the Vaiśālīan polity. I hope you will realise the wisdom of it, and its significance for us in the context of today; you will realise that Gāndhiji instinctively felt drawn towards this cultural heritage,—without having much of an opportunity to study it in detail; but do pause to consider whither we are drifting today, drifting away from him and our own culture. Presently, I am afraid, we will lose our individual liberty, will never have free and self-sufficient village-units, will no longer proceed with decentralisation of government and delegation of powers,—and will in the name of democracy and socialised government, chain the demos and the society to the crushing chariot-wheels of an all-grabbing, all-dictating totalitarian state of the Western type, regimenting the bodies and souls of the individuals. Vaiśālīans never believed that the State made the Man,—with them Man made and unmade his State, like a dwelling house, to suit his need, ideas and ideals. If we still want a democracy that will not lull, purchase, stifle or kill our souls, we have to look to the spacious republican days of Jaina-Buddhistic freedom, as reflected in ancient Vaiśālī.

(4) & (5) In the ‘cultural’ and ‘religious’ fields,—the genius of Vaiśālī manifested itself in so many diverse and fruitful ways,—and the selection of features, and their practical adaptation to the modern situation, present so many stiff problems requiring deep knowledge and sound wisdom,

that in this short time before me, I will not venture to go into many details of this important subject. But I must tell you something about a few obvious points :—

(a) The Vaiśālīan and Videhan tradition, whether Jaina or Bauddha of the millennium *after* 600 B. C., or Epic and Vedic of the millennium *before* 600 B. C., reflects a high regard for women, their education and accomplishments, their strong individuality and great freedom of movement, thought and action, their innate worth which cannot be clouded by evil forces of society, and their co-operation with men on equal terms in all social and religious works. Whether as artists skilled in all the fine arts, or as scholar, philosopher and theologian, or as wife, mother and mistress of the household, or as social worker, ordained Nun or Saint, the Vaiśālīni or the Vaidehī lady, of the cities and the courts, or of the rural farms and the 'āśramas',—was a remarkable type in ancient India. The revival of Vaiśālī should mean in effect the regeneration of the women of this region; those varied and worthy types of women, unfolding the manifold nature of womanhood, should reappear in this prison-house of women, through the activities of this Vaiśālī Saṅgha, to gladden, sweeten, enlighten and purify the homes and society of this country.

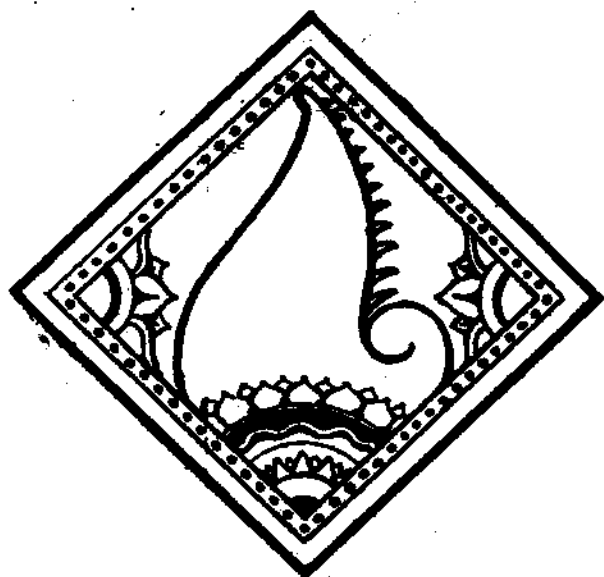
(b) You have all heard of the Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā,—but it is only gradually that even research scholars of our country are realising that Vaiśālī was another such renowned monastic university centre, with a number of Mahā-vihāras dating from the days of Gautama-Buddha, Kāśāśoka-Saiśunāga, Vindusāra and Aśoka; and you are aware that one of the General Buddhist Conventions was held here,—while the Buddha often discoursed in the Kūṭāgāra Hall within the Mahāvana Park of Vaiśālī, Mahāvīra generally spent his rains-retreat in this city at the Dvi-Palāśa Chaitya of Kollāga; and long before that, it was in Vaiśālī, the capital of the three great successive emperors, Maruta, Duṣyanta and Bharata, that the famous Vaidika Ṛṣis, Utathya, Saṃvartta Dīrghatamas, Bṛhaspati and Bharadvāja, had their 'āśramas,' and the royal Ṛṣis Nābhāga, Bhalandana and Vatsa-pri composed Rgvedic hymns.—Now, if we are to revive this three-fold Vaiśālīan tradition of learning and Scholarship, we have to build up a new kind of University in this locality or region, wherein the special studies associated with what are commonly called Vedic, Jaina and Buddhistic cultures, would be combined to form, like the sacred Gaṅgā, a triple stream in one channel, branching out into a hundred fresh streams, to revive, restore and purify the long-forgotten ashes of our great ancestors. The ancient people of Vaiśālī-Videha had shown how they could exercise

and enjoy their intellectual and spiritual freedom, by originating following and tolerating diverse schools of philosophy and ways of life in their midst; a University with that breadth of vision, harmonising apparently different ideologies and philosophies of life, would be a solid contribution to world peace in these days of hatred, fear and conflict. Let our scholars and exponents of various religions and philosophies come together to recall and re-establish this Vaiṣālian tradition of unfettered intellectualism and serene spiritualism.

(c) Philosophies of life and their practical application to individual and social life have probably nowhere else been so forcefully enunciated and carried out as in the region of Vaiṣāli-Videha in the past. But have we here today a philosophy of life that has grown out of our present situation? If we have not, let us have it,—let all wise men be on the quest for it; and if we have it,—let it be practised and realised. It is useless and childish to borrow and preach the philosophies of life of other human groups whose problems, needs and genius are and have been different from ours. I do not see why we here should not be able to think out and carry out our own ideologies, instead of looking on helplessly towards diverse European and American countries for guidance, in their interests.—Then, again, if we say we believe in such and such social, economic, political or cultural principles, let that faith have a tangible relation with practice. If we preach a classless society, let there be no classes and castes and touch, food or marriage taboos; if we preach a secular state, let there be no communal, provincial or racial divisions; if we swear by democracy, let minds and souls, let the individuals, be free from educational or political regimentation; if we hold that religion is a personal matter, train up the personalities of individuals to be the shrines of religion, instead of merely circularising that the state has nothing to do with or think about religious life.—What I am driving at, is this—Both according to the Jaina and the Buddhistic thought,—which is the Vaiṣālian way of looking at things,—Falsehood in man, or 'Mithyātva', consists primarily in the disagreement between Cognition and Volition, between Reason and Action, between Conviction and Life. In these days, in our midst, we badly require this Vaiṣālian outlook to be reinstated; our individual lives, our social, economic and political life, have become saturated with this 'Mithyātva'; we have mostly become habitual hypocrites,—saying and preaching one thing, doing and practising another. That is how corruption and discontent are spreading and eating into our vitals; we will not be able to preserve our freedom long, for we have not yet paid the full price of it, in sacrifice,—and the stiffest and greatest sacrifice of all is the sacrifice

of this 'Mithyātva' or Falsehood by the greatest number of men in the Society. To that end, can we not count upon the efforts of the modern inheritors of the three great spiritual forces of Vaiśālī-Videha,—of all Jainas and Bauddhas and Vaidāntikas? Their very heritage of the Philosophy of Truth should strengthen them, as it were, with a three-speared Trīśūla, in their fight against the Demon of Falsehood that has gripped our country.

Brethren of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha, I hope and trust and pray, that henceforward each year of your good work will see a great step taken towards "Reconstruction of this Region in the true Vaiśālīan Tradition",—in both its material as well as spiritual features.





SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE GAPS IN VAIŚĀLI'S HISTORY*

Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.

Friends and Fellow admirers of Vaiśāli,

I deem it a great honour to have this opportunity of paying my tribute and respect to the memory and achievements of ancient Vaiśāli, which not only played a great part in shaping the history and culture of ancient India but also served, and will continue to serve, as a beacon light to our country for several centuries. The five addresses which you have so far heard on the day of this Annual Festival as well as the learned papers that have been published in the *Vaiśāli Abhinandana Grantha* have already familiarised you with the important aspects of the known history of Vaiśāli. I need not therefore, recapitulate them here. It would be well worth-while for us however to take a stock of the work that remains to be done in this connection.

It is a matter of joy and congratulation that the Vaiśāli Saṅgha should have taken one step forward this year by organising scientific excavations at Vaiśāli. It may be pointed out that during the course of the present year excavations are being carried out only at two other places in our vast country, one at Kauśāmbī under the auspices of the Allahabad University and the other at Śiśupālagadhā under the auspices of the Archaeological department. The achievement of the Vaiśāli Saṅgha in this respect cannot but be admired. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Saṅgha has received valuable co-operation in this work from Mr. Krishna-deva, the Superintendent, Central Circle, Archaeological Survey and his staff. I would however point out that under the new Constitution, Archaeology has become a concurrent subject and the Bihar State Government must come forward to take its own share of responsibility in this connection. If the history of Bihar, which has played so glorious a part in the

* Presidential address at the sixth Vaiśāli Festival (March 30, 1950).

growth and evolution of Indian culture, is to be properly reconstructed, the province has to be properly exploited and several promising sites have got to be excavated. The Government of Bihar, the proposed Bihar Research Institute, the University of Patna and the Archaeological Department can so co-operate that within the next few years the entire province will be fully explored from the Archaeological point of view, and scientific excavations on a wide scale will be undertaken at least for a couple of months at one important site or the other every year. I am confident that this hope will not be a mere dream, for I have no doubt that our Chief Minister and Education Minister will never allow grass to grow under their feet. They will so organise the whole affair that the State of Bihar will rank first in India in Archaeological and Historical researches. The University of Patna will be always glad to undertake its own quota of work in this project.

THE GAPS IN VAIŚĀLĪ HISTORY

There is no doubt that the history of Vaiśālī is a source of great inspiration not only to Bihar but to the whole of India. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that there should be so many gaps in it. It would be desirable to draw particular attention to them, as we have now started to excavate the city sites. Excavations are expected to throw no particular light upon the pre-Buddhist history of the city, though it is not impossible that we may be able to get the trace of some of the Caityas revered by the Licchavis before the rise of Buddhism. We hardly get any notices of the Licchavis after the annexation of their state by Ajātaśatru. It is however, improbable that the Licchavis should have submitted to the imperialistic administration for a long time. It is not improbable that they may have reasserted their independence when the power of the Haryāṅka Dynasty declined. Under the Nandas and the Mauryas, they must have again recognised the imperial sway of Pāṭaliputra, but it is very likely that they enjoyed local autonomy under them, as did the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas under the Guptas. If we are successful in spotting out a Maurya site and assiduous in excavating it, we may probably get a flood of light on the history of the Licchavis under the Mauryas. We may find that Vaiśālī was then a busy and prosperous centre of a Provincial Government under the Nandas and the Mauryas, as it was under the Guptas at a later period.

REVIVAL OF THE REPUBLIC

The power of Pāṭaliputra declined rapidly after the death of Puṣyamitra Śuṅgha, and a number of provinces became independent. I would

not be surprised if the excavations proved that Licchavis had become an Independent Republic in c. 100 B. C. and continued to be the same for nearly 150 years. The *Manusmṛiti*, which was probably composed during this interval, refers to the Licchavis as powerful Kṣatriyas, though fallen to a low state on account of the non-performance of the *Saṃskāras* and the non-invitation to Brāhmaṇas for their religious rites. This would tend to show that the Licchavis were mostly Jains or Buddhists at this time, but still famous for their military prowess. They must have reverted back to their republican form of the Government and it is not unlikely that they may have begun to issue coins, as did the contemporary, republics of northern India. We have reached the Śuṅga level at Rājā Viśāla-kā Gaḍha, and if further and extensive excavations are carried out there, I expect that a number of the problems of the Licchavi history pertaining to this dark period will be solved. The so called Pāṇcāla coins have been attributed to the Śuṅgas by one school of thought. So far they have never been found in Bihar, the central seat of their power. We must try to ascertain whether we get any of these coins in the Śuṅga stratum of the Vaiśālī ruins. If they are absent, the issuers of the Pāṇcāla coins may have to be differentiated from the Śuṅgas.

KUṢĀṆA RULE AT VAIŚĀLĪ

There is a persistent Jaina tradition to the effect that there was a period of Śaka rule at Pāṭaliputra when their chiefs bearing the title of the Muruṇḍas ruled over the city. The widowed sister of one Muruṇḍa king is said to have become a Jaina nun (*Abhidhānarājendra*, Vol. II p. 726), another Muruṇḍa king is said to have been himself a Jaina, (*Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 1739).

What little I have recently seen of the stray coin finds at Vaiśālī tends to confirm this tradition. The local museum has a large number of Kuṣāṇa copper coins mostly issued by Kaṇiṣka. Their stratification is not known, and it is not impossible that they may have come to Vaiśālī through traders or pilgrims. But pilgrims or traders do not usually carry copper coins over long distances and I am inclined to think that the Kuṣāṇa copper coins found at Vaiśālī tend to show that the city had been conquered by the Kuṣāṇas under the leadership of Kaṇiṣka. If extensive excavations are carried out at Rājā-Viśāla kā Gaḍha, we may come across a large number of Kuṣāṇa coins, mostly of Kaṇiṣka in the pre-Gupta stratum.

Such a discovery will confirm the Jaina tradition of the Muruṇḍa rule at Pāṭaliputra and will also explain the emergence of the Puri-Kuṣāṇa type of Orissa. The recent discovery of a hoard of 300 Kuṣāṇa coins at Buxar for which we are indebted to Mr. S. V. Sohoni I.C.S., also tends to show

that Kaniṣka was for some time ruling over southern Bihar. His Viceroy Kharapallana, who is known to be governing at Banaras in 81 A.D., probably supervised the administration of Bihar as well. Or our excavations may reveal the existence of another Kuṣāṇa viceroyalty either at Pāṭaliputra or at Vaiśālī.

EXPULSION OF KUṢĀṆA

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī must have taken a leading part in expelling the Kuṣāṇas soon after the death of Kaniṣka, as did the other republics of India in the north-west. If no coins of Huviṣka are found in Vaiśālī ruins, we may presume that the Licchavis regained their independence during his reign. It, however, appears that local Kuṣāṇa or Śaka chiefs continued to rule at Pāṭaliputra longer than at Vaiśālī. Excavations will probably show that the Licchavi republic continued to flourish from c. 150 to 320 A.D. It is quite likely that it may have issued its own coins as did the other contemporary republics. I would not be surprised if new discoveries show that the reverse legend Licchavayaḥ on the coins of Candragupta I was borrowed or adapted from earlier coinage of the Licchavis: The excavator's spade ought to find these coins. It will also be able to throw a lot of welcome light upon the history of Vaiśālī in the Gupta period. We all know that Samudragupta was born of the Licchavi princess Kumāradevī but how much pleased we shall feel if the excavations reveal to us who was the father of Kumāradevī, and what precise position he occupied in the Licchavi administration.

I am aware that I have so far indulged in a number of speculations about the history of Vaiśālī in its different periods. This is not a safe procedure. But unless it is adopted, we cannot frame the problems, which explorations and excavations are expected to solve. I presume that many of my conjectures will be confirmed by fresh discoveries, though some may be disproved by them.

IDENTIFICATION OF SITES

One of the aims of the explorations and excavations near about Vaiśālī should be the identification of the places and Stūpas mentioned by Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang. This work is not really so difficult as one may think at the outset. There can be hardly any doubt that the royal city or fort mentioned by Yuan Chwang must be Rājā Viśāla-kā-Gaḍha; its dimensions tally with those given by the Chinese pilgrim and excavations have shown that it continued to be in occupation from c 150 B. C. to the 5th century A. D. The Vihāra or Saṅghārāma in which Yuan Chwang

sojourned was to the north-west of the royal city, that is, Rājā Viśāla-kā-Gaḍha; it is probably represented by a portion of the Tilā or Gaḍha to the north of the Kharaunā-pokhara; this place is north-west of Rājā-Viśāla-kā-Gaḍha, as required by Yuan Chwang's account. The Tower of Deposited Bows and Clubs should be also in the vicinity of or a part of the same Tilā as it was half a mile to the north-west of the Gupta period city or Rājā-Viśāla-kā-Gaḍha. To the east of Yuan Chwang's Vihāra was the Stūpa built to commemorate the place where Śāriputta got enlightenment. Mānikapura-Gaḍha, which is almost due east of Yuan-Chwang's Vihāra may once have contained the remains of this Stūpa. The Stūpa built over the relics of the Buddha when they were first brought in c. 487 B. C. should be to the further south of Mānikapura Tilā. Being opened several times, it has probably left no traces to the present times. According to Fa Hien the Vihāra where Buddha was believed to be staying was in the great forest (Mahāvana) to the north of Vaiśālī. We have still an area called Mahāvana and it is almost to the north of Vaiśālī. Excavation and explorations should show whether Bhagwanpur was at any time connected with the Buddha, who was always addressed as Bhagavān. Bhagwanpur is due west of Rājā Viśāla-kā-Gaḍha and may have been on the outskirts of Mahāvana, which may have once stretched upto its boundary. On the occasion of his last departure from Vaiśālī, Buddha left the city by the western gate and walked for about a mile before he turned back to take his last view of Vaiśālī. This place was about one mile to the north-west of Yuan Chwang's monastery. The relics of the commemorative Stūpa built over this place should be looked for either near the Aśoka pillar or in the mounds locally known today as Bhimasena-kā-Pallā. In proposing the above identifications, I have all along assumed that the distances and directions given by Yuan Chwang are correct. This assumption is rendered very probable by the significant fact that his statement is found to be absolutely reliable in the only case where it can be definitely checked. He states that the stone pillar of Aśoka was to the north-west of the Vihāra where he was staying. The Aśoka pillar near Kolhua is exactly to the north-west of Kharaunā Pokhara, by the side of which was built the Vihāra where Yuan Chwang was staying. Yuan Chwang's dimensions of the Royal city tally with those of Rājā Viśāl-kā-Gaḍha. It would, therefore, be not an unreasonable procedure to assume Yuan Chwang's statements to be substantially true and to proceed to identify the places mentioned by him through further explorations and excavations.

It is interesting to note that the route of the Buddha's last departure, which I had tentatively fixed with the help of the account of Yuan Chwang

has been confirmed by this year's excavations which tend to show that there was a concrete road passing from Rājā Viśāla-kā-Gaḍha *via* Cakramadāsa to Kolhua. I would like to offer my hearty congratulations to Mr. Krishnadeva, who was in charge of the excavations, for this discovery. His excavations have further shown that the site of the modern village Cakramadāsa did not continue in occupation long after the Mauryan period. It appears that at Vaiśālī, different sites were in occupation in different ages, as was the case at Taxila. Further explorations and excavations are necessary to unravel the mystery of the different sites.

NECESSITY OF FURTHER EXCAVATIONS

We should be all grateful to the enlightened donors, Sir Dorab Tata of Bombay, Mr. S. P. Jain of Arrah, Mr. Nirmalkumar Navalkha of Azimganj and Messrs. Rajendra Singh Singhi, Mohanlal Laldhar, Sohanlal Karnavat, Lajabhakta Choa and Dayanand Jain of Calcutta for their enlightend munificence, which rendered this Year's excavation possible. I have no doubt that in Kaliyuga greater merit is acquired by excavating a temple or Stūpa than by building a new one. This year the Saṅgha could collect only Rs. 6000/- for excavations. But the results are very encouraging and next year we must collect at least Rs. 25000/- for excavations, so that we can make greater progress and discoveries.

It is very desirable that the Government should acquire the small *Tilā* at Kalhua, where the Aśoka pillar is standing. The pillar itself is half buried still, and it is by the side of a Stūpa mounds, the top of which bears a Buddha image of the 9th century and the base of which goes down to the level of the tank going back to the age of the Buddha himself. Both these are on the top of a mound, 6 to 7 feet in height and more than 1000 square feet in area. This plot, in my opinion, is the key site for recovering the history of Vaiśālī. I am sanguine that if this mound is acquired and careful excavations are carried out down to the level of the tank, we shall get a cross-section of the history of Vaiśālī from c. 900 A. D. to c. 300 B. C. The Union Government will probably claim this site as one of national importance. Let it then take immediate steps to acquire and excavate it. The usual excuse of want of funds may come forward. But if the Department of Archaeology does not squander its slender funds in restoring artistically third rate monuments like the surviving mināra at Banaras, it can find money to acquire the above site and to excavate it. If the Union Government refuses to take steps in the matter early, the State of Bihar should come forward to do the needful.

We have also to identify the Vihāra in the great forest occupied once by the Buddha and the different places where stupas were once built to commemorate the places where Sāriputta had obtained enlightenment, where the second Buddhist council was held, and from where the Buddha took his last glance of Vaiśālī. Some indications are given of these places by the Chinese pilgrims, but they have yet to be definitely identified and confirmed by excavations. The Vihāra of the Buddha was to the north of Raja Viśāla-kā-gaḍha. I am inclined to think that it was located near the modern village of Bhagawanpur, which is to the north of the Gaḍha. The name of the village may have been connected with the Buddha who was always addressed as Bhagavan.

DUTY OF VAIŚĀLIANS

I have so far referred to the great necessity of carrying on extensive excavations of Vaiśālī. I must now draw the attention of the villagers living near about Vaiśālī to their duties and responsibilities in this connection. They must treat even the smallest and the most insignificant antiquity of the place as a sacred national trust to be preserved with greatest care and solicitude. I regret to state that they have so far failed to discharge their duty. The walls of the old city-houses that were exposed by the excavations of Bloch in 1903-4 had all disappeared by the time excavations were started 10 years later by Spooner. The same fate was shared by most of the brick walls unearthed by this scholar. It appears that the modern villagers round about Vaiśālī seem to think that every excavation is started by the Government to afford them a golden opportunity to get bricks free of cost for a number of months. This is most unfortunate. Apart from the bricks exposed by the excavations, the villagers will come across a number of minor antiquities exposed to view after the rainy season, like coins, beads, seals, sealings etc. These also should be carefully collected with a view to depositing them in the local museum. This museum can grow richer if the villagers co-operate in the above task. Vaiśālī was a provincial capital under the Guptas and it is, therefore, quite likely that hoards of Gupta gold coins may be found here. Unfortunately when such hoards are discovered, they are usually melted down and priceless historical material is thereby destroyed for ever. I would assure all the villagers that the Government of Bihar and the University of Patna will be always ready to purchase gold, silver and copper coins found at Vaiśālī at the same price which they are likely to get from the goldsmiths, who purchase them to melt them down. A report has reached me that sometime ago some golden inscribed plates were found at Vaiśālī, which were sold away for Rs. 14,000 to be melted

down into gold bullion. If this report is true, there can be no doubt that the person who sold these plates and the person who melted them down have done the greatest disservice to the cause of Vaiśālī, such thing must never be allowed to recur. It is not unlikely that copper plates, inscribed images or their pedestals may be accidentally discovered. All these must be secured and handed over to be religiously preserved in the local museum. The finder will no doubt receive a reasonable price and his name will also be noted down and perpetuated as the discoverer of the antiquity concerned.

PITFALLS FOR REPUBLIC

My predecessors have already dilated upon the valuable message of ancient republican Vaiśālī to the modern republican Bhārata. The glorious example of ancient Vaiśālī shows to us how republican institutions are to be successfully worked and what pitfalls are to be avoided to ensure their prosperity. As long as the members of the Licchavi Parliament met frequently to transact the state business in harmony, as long as they did not allow their judgment to be warped by personal rivalries or individual self-interest, the republic prospered. As long as the Licchavi youths cultivated martial qualities and excelled in military exercises, as long as they were daring leaders in commerce and colonisation, their state was invincible. The citizens of a free republic like modern Bhārata have to learn the difficult civic duty of combining respect for individual conviction with a regard for collective state decision as arrived at in the state Parliament. During the decline of Vaiśālī, the *Lalitavistara* tells us, that there was no respect for age nor for position; each citizen thought himself to be a Rājā, not amendable to any higher authority, and thereby paved the way to the ruin of the state. There are indications in the contemporary civic and political life to show that a similar tendency is reasserting itself.

SHOULD MAJORITY ALWAYS CARRY THE DAY ?

There is no doubt that democracy attaches greatest importance to the individual convictions of every honest citizen. But when these convictions tend to differ widely, a way has to be found. One way is to take the opinion of the majority. But sometimes on such occasions the minority feels that its opponents are ruling by mere brute majority. A way out of such a difficulty is indicated to us by the procedure of the Second Buddhist Council held at Vaiśālī, when 700 Bhikkhus assembled there to examine the validity of the points raised by the dissenting monks. For a long time no agreement could be arrived at, and the counting of votes did not seem

to be the most fair, procedure. All the 700 Bhikṣus then appointed a sub-committee of eight, 4 from the East and 4 from the West. This sub-committee then carefully considered the pros and cons of the different views and arrived at mature conclusions, which were recommended to and accepted by the main body of the Council considering of 700 Bhikṣus. In the working of the modern Indian republican constitution both at the centre and in the states, occasions will certainly arise, when the decision of a question by mere majority, though perfectly legal, may appear as inequitable. On such occasions, we shall have to leave the matter for the decision by a representative committee of trusted and experienced elders. Their decision should be normally accepted by the Parliament.

PROBLEMS OF FEDERATION

Ancient Indian tradition is well acquainted with the working of republican constitutions. But ancient republics were small; compared to them the modern Indian Republic is a gigantic one in size and population. It is a Federation of seventeen Republican States which must live in harmony with one another if the Federation is to be a success. Here again ancient Vaiśālī will serve as the beacon light. When confronted with the danger of invasion from imperialistic quarters, Vaiśālī formed a confederation of the Mallas, the Videhas and the Vajjians, in order to present a powerful front. We, in modern India, have done the same by forming a federation of Republican States. We should however, never forget that federation presupposes a willingness to sacrifice a part of our liberty for the welfare of the composite state. Federating units must have a large heart, banishing mutual jealousies and rivalries, otherwise no Federation can work successfully.

FOREIGN POLICY

Above all, we must avoid the drawbacks that brought about the down-fall of ancient Indian republics. The Licchavi republic fell primarily because its foreign affairs were in incompetent hands; the men at the helm of the affairs could not detect, that Vassakāra, the Minister of Ajātaśatru, who had come as a refugee, was really a spy. It must be confessed that our foreign policy has been all along a weak one; Hindu states did not try to understand the resources of the Muslim invaders and neither the Hindu nor the Muslim states of medieval times took the preliminary steps of sending their spies and ambassadors abroad to London, Paris or Lisbon to form a correct estimate of the strength of the European powers which were contending for supremacy in India. We are now sending our embassies

abroad. But a strong and independent foreign policy succeeds only when a nation is itself strong and not dependent upon others for its supply of aeroplanes, engines, tanks and cruisers. We have to make considerable leeway in this connection.

COUNTRY ABOVE PARTY

During the days of the decline of ancient Indian republics, groups and parties were often formed in the Republican Assemblies and they spent their time and energy in bringing each other's downfall and incidentally paving the way of an outside conqueror. The party defeated in the Assembly would often seek outside help and thus scale the ruin of the state. Modern India which seeks to develop republican traditions and institutions may well carve on the gate of its Parliament the prophecy of the Buddha about the Licchavi Republic. The Republic of the Licchavis, said the Buddha, will prosper as long as the members of their Assembly meet frequently, show reverence to age, experience and ability, transact the state business in concord and harmony and do not develop selfish parties engaged in eternal wrangling for their narrow and selfish ends.

PAÑCĀYATAS, FOUNDATIONS OF REPUBLIC

Republican constitutions could function successfully in ancient India because her population used to receive the necessary training in the working of the village Pañcāyatas. The vast majority of my listeners today may not have much to do with the working of the Union or the State Parliament, but they are daily and intimately connected with the working of the village Pañcāyatas. If they learn how to make them a success, there is no doubt that the working of the democratic institutions both at Patna and Delhi would be ensured thereby. The village Pañcāyatas of ancient India were little republics which went on discharging their manifold duties even when monarchies were changing at the centre with great rapidity. They collected the land-revenue for the central Government and used to receive a 10% commission on their collections, which went a long way in meeting the expenses of their manifold nation-building activities. They did this work efficiently and were prepared to meet the odium of selling away the lands of those defaulters, who would not pay their state dues even after 3 years. The village Pañcāyatas built and maintained the village roads and tanks and every able-bodied villager, whether rich or poor, deemed it an honour and duty to make his own contribution in labour for the work of communal welfare. Administration of justice was mainly a concern of the village Pañcāyatas. If cases were directly taken to the higher authorities over the head of the village Pañcāyatas, they were sent back to them. For

instance, a relation of Shivaji took a dispute of his direct to that king. The latter enquired, 'Should I send your case to your village Pañcāyat or to an adjoining village Pañcāyat or to a Tehsil Pañcāyat?' It is interesting to note that he neither proposed to decide the case himself nor directed any of his Government officers to do so.

HIGH STANDARD OF INTEGRITY

The Government and public had high confidence in the integrity and capacity of the village Pañcāyats in the olden days. Ancient India for a long time stood high in the galaxy of nations because the character of the average citizen was noted for its purity and integrity. The Greeks were the political enemies of ancient Indians; yet Megasthenese and Strabo, have paid a high tribute to the Indian character. 'Indians have never been convicted of lying. Truth and virtue they hold in high esteem', says Megasthenese in one place. This statement could obviously not have been literally true, but it shows that the cases of swindling must have been comparatively few. Strabo and Megasthenese both further state, 'Indians are not litigious. Witnesses and seals are not necessary when a man makes a deposit; he acts in trust. Their houses are usually unguarded'. How much one wishes that this may be true of modern India. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang found the majority of contemporary Indians no longer following the gospel of the Buddha; many Buddhist Tirthas like Vaiṣālī had become deserted and dilapidated. Yuan Chwang thus could not be suspected to be a natural admirer of Indians; he says "Indians are of hasty and irresolute temperament, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires." How much one wishes that the U.N.O. had noted this impression of the Chinese traveller.

Muslim and Italian travellers and traders have paid equally glowing tributes to the high character of the contemporary Indian merchants. Al Idrisi, a merchant of the 10th century, states, "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to engagements are well known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country, from every side; hence their country is flourishing." Marco Polo, an Italian merchant of the 13th century, says of the Brāhmaṇa traders of Western India, "You must know that these merchants are the best in the world and the most truthful, for they would never tell a lie for anything on the earth." Ibn Batuta, another Arab traveller, pays an equally high tribute to the contemporary Indian character. Can we honestly say that we modern Indians deserve the high praise that has been so unstintedly showered upon the Indian character? I am afraid, not.

EFFORT NECESSARY TO REGAIN IT

It has to be confessed that there has taken place a great deterioration in national character during the last few hundred years. Successful lie, it has been observed, is the only defence of a tyrannised slave. It is, therefore, no wonder that our national character should have deteriorated during the period of slavery. Is it not now high time that we should make a determined and nationwide effort to raise the national character? It has to be admitted with sorrow and shame that one of the greatest victories for the gospel of truth and non-violence has been bismirched by the great deterioration in our national character that has followed its achievement. In a way this was also inevitable. Let the achievements of the Licchavis in the past inspire us for a strenuous effort in this connection. The Licchavis, who assembled in their republican parliament, reminded one of gods on account of the purity of their character and loftiness of their disinterested purpose. Let us all take a lesson from them. In our different spheres of life whether high or low, private or public, let none have an occasion to impeach us either for dishonesty or incapacity. Strenuous and prolonged effort is necessary to achieve this desideratum. Here again Vaiśālī will give us the necessary inspiration. The Buddha began his spiritual life and discipline here at Vaiśālī under the guidance of Ālāra Kālāma and did not give up his effort till he achieved his goal six years later. Let us begin our national *tapasyā* for the purification and ennobling of national life and character with the Buddha, Mahāvīra and Mahatma Gandhi to inspire us. If we are true to their teachings and do not spare ourselves, we shall soon rise as a great nation.

LESSON OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

Communal passions are at present raging high; there is a conflict of ideologies; intolerance is raising its head everywhere. On such an occasion ancient Vaiśālī has its own ennobling message for us. Vaiśālī stood for search after truth and toleration for honest opinions. Philosophical controversies (*Shāstrārthas*) that used to be held in the court of king Janaka were occasions for the publication and discussion of divergent philosophical views and theories discovered after great spiritual endeavour. Every one was welcome to advocate his own views without let or hindrance. Later on Mahāvīra expounded his unique philosophy of *Anekāntavāda*, in which he pointed out how Truth has many faces and how we have to comprehend them all in order to get a true picture of the Supreme Reality. The ancient Vaiśālīs followed this viewpoint in their daily life. They continued to pay reverence to their ancient Caityas or places of worship, even after the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. Nay, we find the Buddha himself exhorting

them to do so. Within the orbit of Vaiśālī, Vedic religion, Buddhism and Jainism lived together in harmony; the example of the general Simha, who gave up Jainism in favour of Buddhism, when he was convinced of its truth, will show that men could change their religion according to their spiritual convictions, without incurring any social displeasure or inviting any religious persecution. Vaiśālī knew how to combine respect for tradition with regard for new truths, and so Caitya worship, Vedic religion, Buddhism and Jainism all lived side by side and in harmony. Different religious theories and ideologies have to learn today how to live in harmony with one another; for the world is wide enough for accommodating all honest views and convictions. They must, however, be honest and be prepared to extend that tolerance to others which they expect for themselves.

NEED OF SOCIAL REFORM

Hinduism has to set its house in order and many reforms are necessary in our social and religious structure if it is to support the weight of the Republican Constitution. Vaiśālī always stood for reform; had it not been so, Buddhism and Jainism would not have prospered on its soil. It was also at Vaiśālī that the Buddha extended spiritual enfranchisement to women by admitting them to the Holy Order. As is, however, well known, Buddha was not enthusiastic for the change and gave his consent to it with reluctance. It would be, however, wrong to misconstrue this reluctance of the Buddha and to cite it as a proof of his unprogressive views. On the other hand we have to take a lesson from it. The Buddha knew that, human nature, passions and frailties being what they are, there is an obvious danger in admitting imperfect and inexperienced young men and women; precautions have to be taken, lest the permission to mix together should tend to deterioration of morals. Actually one of the causes of the downfall of the Buddhism was the deterioration in morals due to the too close an association of monks and nuns. Now India is rightly removing the *Purdah* and allowing women a number of facilities not extended to them before. This is all what should be. But let us take the precaution to see that the decencies of private and public life are maintained in new India, and liberty does not degenerate into licentiousness. Subject to this obvious precaution, we have to follow the noble example of the Buddha and remove immediately a number of disabilities and grievances of women. Polygamy has to be abolished, and the proprietary rights of women have to be enlarged both in the property of their parents and of their husbands.

MESSAGE OF VAIŚĀLĪ IN A NUTSHELL

Vaiśālī thus serves as a beacon light to us even after its fall about 1300 years ago. In the intellectual and philosophical spheres she stood for

creative and constructive new effort and knew how to combine regard for new truths with love for old tradition. This is precisely what we have to learn today, if we are once more to rise. In the religious sphere, Vaiśālī stood for harmony, tolerance and understanding and we have to learn much from her in this respect. In the social sphere she stood for equality and fair play for all, irrespective of caste or sex. We in modern India have yet to achieve a good deal in this sphere. And above all, Vaiśālī stood for republican traditions and showed that as long as the citizens of a republic cultivate martial qualities, maintain their supremacy in trade and industry, follow high standards of integrity and decorum in their public and private life and work their republican constitution in the true democratic traditions, a republic will continue to prosper and make her own contribution to the march of human progress. Let ancient Vaiśālī be our beacon light and there is no doubt that it will enable independent Republican Bhārata to make an all round progress in all the spheres of human life both here and hereafter.





भगवान् बुद्ध और वैशाली'

भिक्षु जगदीश कश्यप

नमो तस्स भगवतो अरहतो सम्भासम्बुद्धस्स

इस समारोह के आयोजकों को हम धन्यवाद दिये बिना नहीं रह सकते, जिनके सत्प्रयासों से यह आयोजन किया गया है जिससे मुझे भी भगवान् तथागत की कृपाधिकारिणी भूमि वैशाली के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने का मौका मिला है। भारत के सांस्कृतिक इतिहास में वैशाली का बड़ा ही गौरवपूर्ण स्थान है। निस्संदेह ऐसा बहुत कम स्थान मिलेगा, जिसको वैशाली की तरह अनेक युगप्रवर्तक महापुरुषों ने बार-बार अपना चरण-रज देकर पावन बनाया हो। वैशाली का सांस्कृतिक महत्व देशकाल की सीमा को लांघ चुका है। मुझे चीन में भी वैशाली की पुण्य स्मृति में बसाये गये, वैशाली नामक स्मृति नगर को देखने का अवसर मिला है, जिसको चीन के निवासी, जो सुदूर देशों की यात्रा नहीं कर सकते, वास्तविक वैशाली मान कर, अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित किया करते हैं। इससे प्रकट होता है कि भारत ही नहीं, वरन् भारत से बाहर भी, वैशाली के प्रति लोगों के हृदय में कितनी अगाध श्रद्धा रहती है।

भगवान् बुद्ध के साथ वैशाली का बड़ा घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध रहा है। यहाँ ये कई बार आये थे, और उनके जीवन की कुछ वैसी महत्वपूर्ण घटनाएँ यहाँ घटी थीं, जिनका बौद्ध साहित्य में बड़ा ऊँचा स्थान है। यद्यपि पालि साहित्य से इस बात का स्पष्ट संकेत नहीं मिलता कि आलार-कालाम का वह आश्रम कहाँ था, जहाँ कपिलवस्तु से आकर भगवान् ने अपनी साधना शुरू की थी; किन्तु, बुद्ध-निर्वाण के लगभग तीन शताब्दी बाद के एक संस्कृत बौद्ध ग्रन्थ, 'ललितविस्तर' में इस बात का उल्लेख मिलता है कि कपिलवस्तु से भगवान् पहले वैशाली आये जहाँ उन्हें आलार-कालाम से भेंट हुई, जिसके आश्रम में उन्होंने योगाभ्यास आरम्भ किया था, जिस कठोर साधना में उनका शरीर सूख कर अस्थि-पंजर मात्र रह गया था। बौद्ध साहित्य से विदित होता है कि जनसंख्या में वृद्धि होने के कारण तीन बार इसके नगर प्राकार को बढ़ाकर विशाल बनाना पड़ा था, इसलिये इसका नाम वैशाली पड़ा। वैशाली उन दिनों आज की तरह विपन्न, अर्जर, और उजाड़ नहीं थी। बल्कि धन-धान्य से परिपूर्ण

१. सातवें वैशाली मोहत्सव (अप्रैल १८, १९५१) के अवसर पर लिया गया अभ्यस्तोप आवरण।

एक समृद्धिशाली नगरी थी। एक-एक गम्भूति (एक कोस) की दूरी पर तीन प्राकार थे। पहले प्राकार के भीतर ७,००० वैसे भवन थे जिसके कलश सोने के थे। दूसरे प्राकार के भीतर १४,००० वैसे मकान थे, जिनके कलश चाँदी के थे, और तीसरे प्राकार के भीतर २१,००० वैसे घर थे, जिनके गोपुर तबि के थे। इसके अलावे ७,७०७ प्रासाद, ७,७०७ आराम (उद्यान गृह) और ७,७०७ पुष्करणियाँ थीं। इस प्रकार यह नगरी अनेक चतुष्पदी में विभक्त, गगनचुम्बी अट्टालिकाओं से मंडित बड़े-बड़े प्रवेशद्वारों से सुशोभित, स्वर्ग के समान रम्य, दिव्य और सुन्दर थी। स्वयं भगवान् बुद्ध ने अपने जीवन के अन्तिम दिनों में यहाँ के रमणीय स्थानों का वर्णन बड़े ही मार्मिक शब्दों में, अपने प्रिय शिष्य आनन्द को सम्बोधित करते हुए किया था—“आनन्द ! रमणीय है, वैशाली ! रमणीय है, उसका उदयन चैत्य, रमणीय है, उसका गौतमक चैत्य, रमणीय है, उसका सप्ताम्रक चैत्य रमणीय है, उसका बहुपुत्रक चैत्य, रमणीय है, उसका सारन्दद चैत्य”। ये सभी चैत्य वैशाली के देव स्थान थे, जहाँ भगवान् बराबर विहार करने जाया करते थे।

बुद्ध लिच्छवियों की जीवन-व्यवस्था के बड़े प्रशंसक थे। यहीं की गणतान्त्रिक शासन पद्धति के अनुसार उन्होंने बौद्ध संघ का संगठन भी किया था। महापरिनिर्वाण सूत्र एवं संयुक्त निकाय के अध्ययन से विदित होता है कि लिच्छवियों के सिर्फ सामाजिक नियम ही उन्हें प्रिय नहीं थे, बल्कि उनके वैयक्तिक जीवन से भी उनको गहरी दिलचस्पी थी। उनका विलासितारहित कठोर जीवन, उनकी अनुशासनप्रियता, बड़े बूढ़ों के प्रति उनकी सम्मानभावना स्त्रियों के प्रति आदर का भाव, स्वेच्छाचार या बल प्रयोग का त्याग, अतिथियों की सेवा, आपस में बराबर मिलना-जुलना, मिलजुल कर बहुमत द्वारा किसी बात का निर्णय करना और उस निर्णय को कार्यान्वित करने में सबका परस्पर सहयोग देना, बुद्ध को अधिक प्रिय था। एक बार भगवान् यों ही आम्रवन में विहार कर रहे थे, जब लिच्छवि लोग उनसे मिलने गये। दूर में लिच्छवियों को आते देख कर भगवान् ने अपने शिष्यों से कहा “अवलोकन करो भिक्षुओ, लिच्छवि-परिषद् को, अवलोकन करो भिक्षुओ, लिच्छवि-परिषद् को। भिक्षुओ, लिच्छवि परिषद् को त्रायस्त्रिंश देव-परिषद् समझो”। बुद्ध के इन वाक्यों से यह स्वयं स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यहाँ के निवासियों के प्रति उनके हृदय में कितना ऊँचा स्थान था।

भगवान् के जीवन का कुछ अन्तिम दिन बड़े ही मार्मिक ढंग से इसी वैशाली में व्यतीत हुआ था। यहीं के वेलुगाम में जब वे अपने जीवन के अन्तिम वर्षों को बिता रहे थे, उन्हें बड़ी कड़ी बीमारी उत्पन्न हुई, भारी मरणान्त पीड़ा होने लगी। किन्तु यह सोच कर कि, मेरे लिए यह उचित नहीं है कि मैं अपने आपको बिना कुछ अतलाये, बिना अवलोकन किये, निर्वाण लाभ करूँ, उस व्याधि को वीर्य से हटा कर प्राण शक्ति को दृढ़तापूर्वक धारण कर लिया। तब धीरे-धीरे वे अच्छे हुए। बीमारी से उठने के बाद जब एक दिन विहार की छाया में बैठे थे, उसी समय आनन्द वहाँ आये और आसन ग्रहण करने के बाद भगवान् से निवेदन किया—“मन्ते ! मेरा शरीर शून्य हो गया था, मुझे न दिखाएँ सूक्ष्मता थी त. धर्म का ही मान होता था, किन्तु आशा थी कि भगवान् बिना कुछ भिक्षु संघ को कड़े परिनिर्वाण प्राप्त नहीं करेंगे।” आनन्द के इस प्रकार प्रश्न करने पर भगवान् ने कहा—“आनन्द ! भिक्षु

संघ मुझसे क्या चाहता है ? आनन्द ! तथागत को जो उपदेश करना था, कर दिया । अब धर्म का कोई रहस्य छेब नहीं है । मैं अब वृद्ध हो चला हूँ । मेरी उम्र अस्सी वर्ष की है । जिस तरह पुरानी गाड़ी बाँध-बूँध कर चलती है ऐसे ही आनन्द ! तथागत का शरीर भी बाँध-बूँध कर चल रहा है । इसलिये आनन्द ! आत्म प्रदीप बनो और अपनी शरण जाओ ।”

वहाँ से बिहार करते हुए भगवान् चापाल चैत्य आये । आकर बिछे आसन पर बैठे । आनन्द भी भगवान् का अभिवादन कर बगल में बैठ गये । बैठने के थोड़ी देर बाद आनन्द से तथागत ने कहा—“आनन्द ! जिन्होंने चार ऋद्धियाँ योगसिद्धियाँ साधे हैं, वे चाहें तो कल्प भर ठहर सकते हैं या कल्प से बचे काल तक !” इस प्रकार तीन बार संकेत करने पर जब आनन्द नहीं समझ सके, तब भगवान् ने कहा—“आनन्द ! जिसको काल समझते हो” इस पर आनन्द भगवान् का अभिवादन कर वहाँ से थोड़ी दूर जाकर एक पेड़ के नीचे बैठ गये । आनन्द के चले जाने के थोड़ी देर बाद दुष्ट मार वहाँ आया, आकर एक ओर खड़ा होकर भगवान् से प्रार्थना करने लगा । भन्ते ! यह भगवान् के परिनिर्वाण का समय है । भन्ते ! भगवान् यह स्वीकार कर चुके हैं कि जबतक हमारे श्रावक धर्मघर, बहुश्रुत और पूर्णज्ञानी नहीं हो जाते तबतक मैं परिनिर्वाण प्राप्त नहीं करूँगा । भन्ते ! अब आपके श्रावक इस योग्यता को प्राप्त कर चुके हैं । आपने असंख्य मनुष्यों का उद्धार कर दिया है । भगवान् को उपदेश देते बहुत दिन हो गये । यह निर्वाण का समय है । अब शीघ्र निर्वाण लाभ करें । इस प्रकार मार के तीन बार आग्रह करने पर भगवान् ने बालू के कुछ कण अपने नाखून पर रख कर, मार से पूछा—“मार ! मेरे नख पर के कण पृथ्वी पर के कणों के बराबर हैं या नहीं ?” इस पर मार ने कहा, नख पर के कण से पृथ्वी भर के घूलि-कणों की संख्या कहीं अधिक है । इस पर भगवान् ने कहा जिन लोगों की रक्षा की गयी है उनकी संख्या नख पर के कण के बराबर है, और जो बाकी हैं, उनकी संख्या पृथ्वी भर के घूमि-कणों के समान असंख्य है । तो भी मार आज से तीन मास बाद मैं निर्वाण प्राप्त करूँगा । ऐसा कह कर भगवान् ने स्मृति संप्रजन्म के साथ अपना आयु संस्कार छोड़ दिया ।

इसी समय ध्यानावस्थित आनन्द को एक स्वप्न दिखाई पड़ा कि एक बड़ा मारी वृक्ष, जिसकी डालें और पत्तियाँ बहुत दूर तक फैली हुई हैं, और खूब सघन छाया कर रही है, अकस्मात् एक बयंकर भूपात आया और वह वृक्ष ऐसा उलझ गया कि उस स्थान पर उसका कोई चिह्न भी छेब नहीं रहा । आनन्द का, इस स्वप्न से, हृदय अत्यन्त भयभीत हो उठा । आनन्द वहाँ से भगवान् के समक्ष आये और इसका कारण पूछा । भगवान् ने इस स्वप्न के आठ कारण बताये जिसमें एक यह भी, जब किसी महापुरुष का महानिर्वाण होने वाला रहता है, तब ऐसा स्वप्न दिखाई पड़ता है । आनन्द ने भगवान् का निर्वाण-काल समीप जान कर उनसे कुछ दिव और ठहरने के लिए प्रार्थना की । किन्तु भगवान् ने कहा—“आनन्द ! इसमें तुम्हारा ही अपराध है क्योंकि तीन बार संकेत करने पर भी मार के प्रभाव में आने के कारण तुम नहीं समझ सके । इसलिए अब आग्रह का समय नहीं रहा । आनन्द ! तुमसे मैंने पहले ही कह दिया है कि सभी प्रिय वस्तुओं से विषम अवस्थायिणी है । संसार में जो भी

उत्पन्न हुआ है उसका एक दिन विनाश निश्चित है । इसलिए आनन्द ! शोक मत कर । आज से तीन मास बाद हमारा निर्वाण होगा । बुद्ध ने यह घोषणा इसी वैशाली नगर के चापाल चैत्य में, ईसा से ४२३ ई० पूर्व माघ मास की पूर्णिमा को की थी ।

इस प्रकार अपने निर्वाण का समय निकट जान कर, भगवान् वैशाली से विदाई लेने लगे । चापाल चैत्य से वे महावन के कूटागार बिहार में आये । वहाँ भिक्षुओं को बुलाकर उपदेश दिया । फिर अन्तिम भिक्षाटन के लिए अपना पिण्डपात्र लेकर नगर में प्रवेश किया और सारे नगर में घूमकर पश्चिमी द्वार से बाहर निकले । बाहर निकल कर एक बार अपने सारे शरीर को हाथी की तरह घुमा कर, स्नेहपूर्ण आँखों से वैशाली की ओर देखते हुए, आनन्द से कहा—“आनन्द ! तथागत का यह अन्तिम वैशाली दर्शन है । बुद्ध के इस कठणापूर्ण वाक्य से प्रकट होता है कि उनके हृदय में, इस भूमि के प्रति कैसे भाव थे ।

इधर वैशाली के लिच्छवियों ने जब सुना कि भगवान् अब सदा के लिए वैशाली से जा रहे हैं, तब शोकाकुल होकर वे लोग भी उनके पीछे-पीछे चले । भगवान् ने जब उन्हें अपने पीछे-पीछे चलते देखा, तब उनसे वापस लौटने का आग्रह करने लगे । किन्तु बार-बार आग्रह करने पर भी जब वे लोग वापस नहीं लौट सके तब भगवान् ने अपनी आध्यात्मिक शक्ति द्वारा एक नदी पैदा कर दी, जिसकी धारा बड़ी तीव्र और किनारे अत्यन्त भवावह थे । लिच्छवि लोग इस नदी को किसी प्रकार पार नहीं कर सकने के कारण रुक तो गये किन्तु उनका शोक और बढ़ गया । और वे लोग चुपचाप किनारे पर खड़े होकर भगवान् की ओर देखने लगे । इस कठणापूर्ण दृश्य को देख कर, उस दयामूर्ति का हृदय भी क्षण भर के लिए ममता से आक्रान्त हो गया । और अन्त में अपनी स्मृति आशीर्वाद और प्रेम के प्रतीकस्वरूप अपना पवित्र भिक्षापात्र किनारे रख कर कुशीनगर की ओर चल पड़े । इन घटनाओं से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि भगवान् बुद्ध के साथ वैशाली का कितना घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध था, बुद्ध के प्रति यहाँ के निवासियों के हृदय में कितनी अगाध अट्ठा थी, और भगवान् को इस भूमि से कितना अधिक स्नेह था ।

आपने अपने समारोह में मुझे आमंत्रित कर भगवान् तथागत की इस प्रिय भूमि के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने का मौका दिया, इसलिए मैं आपलोगों का अनुगृहीत हूँ । और एक बार फिर आपलोगों को हृदय से धन्यवाद करता हूँ ।





VAIŠĀLĪ AND THE IDEAL OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD*

K. M. MUNSHI LL. B., D. LITT.

I

I am very glad to have been able to visit Vaiśālī on this occasion, for, Vaiśālī has historic and sacred associations, not only for India or Asia, but for the whole world.

I congratulate those who organised this festival. Such festivals are the symbol and manifestation of the historic greatness of our land; they foster legitimate national pride in the heroism, learning and piety of our ancestors. Without it national greatness is unthinkable.

In order to be great, a nation has to think and feel in terms of its historic achievements. We, as a race, have been a grateful race; it is now for us, as a free nation, to keep alive memories which like the waters of life, replenish the youth of a people from generation to generation. In very recent times, Somnath has risen again. The memories of Chitore, I am sure, will be revived and so will those of Pratapgarh, where Shivaji raised the standard of resurgent India.

You have, however, been early in the field. You have revived in men's mind what Vaiśālī was, and what we owe to it.

Vaiśālī was famed for power, learning and beauty from the earliest times. Rāmāyaṇa calls it the 'best of towns'; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* refers to it with admiration. Possibly, it fell within the kingdom of Janaka Videha and echoed to the sweet laughter of Sītā in her younger days.

Twenty-five hundred years ago, it was "the city of gods", happy, proud and prosperous; with abundant food and crowded with people,

* Presidential address at the eighth Vaiśālī Festival (April 6, 1952).

many and various; adorned with storeyed mansions, towered palaces, noble gateways, triumphal arches, surrounded by three walls; a city of flowers, gardens, groves and lotus ponds.

Before the dawn of Indian history in the seventh century before Christ, Vaiśālī was already a centre of power. It even invaded Magadha when its ruler Bimbisāra, was laying the foundation of an empire. Friendship, however, was established, and Chellanā, daughter of the Licchavi chief, Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī, the maternal uncle of Mahāvira, became the queen of Magadha.

Bimbisāra was murdered by his son Ajātaśatru, who also embarked upon a career of conquest. Eastern India was then dominated by a confederate power of eighteen republics, of which the Vrijjian (Vajjian) confederacy was the most prominent; and even among Vrijjians, Licchavis were the most powerful. The Vrijjians were at the zenith of their power, headed by the powerful Ceṭaka of the Licchavis; they were allied to the kingdom of Kāśī and Kośala; and Vaiśālī, then like Athens in Greece, was the republican metropolis of Eastern India.

The old rivalry between Vaiśālī and Magadha flared up; and Ajātaśatru decided to destroy Vaiśālī. A long war followed. Even Buddha, who stood detached and superior to the world, came to Vaiśālī to advise its leaders. Buddha's famous advice contains a warning to all republics. He warned Vaiśālī of the dangers which lurk in all republican states—disunion, disrespect for tradition and elders, love for swift sweeping changes. Vaiśālī fell, for it heeded not the advice of Buddha.

The realistic Kauṭilya, who knew more than any political thinker in any age, the secret of strength, tells us of all the devices by which a republic can be destroyed. Even the *Śānti Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, which favours democratic states, indicates that if a republic has to survive, the elders should be respected; secrecy of council should be maintained; internal danger should be chiefly guarded against. A republic can be torn asunder by creating internal dissensions or corruption. And how many democratic states in modern times have fallen or have been undermined by the same vice! "Unity is the chief refuge of the *gaṇas*". No saner advice could be given to modern democracies, and more particularly to India in these days of her infant life.

But Ajātaśatru knew his strength and the weakness of Vaiśālī. He declared: "I will root out and destroy the mighty Vrijjians. I shall bring them to utter ruin". For years he sowed the seeds of disunion among the people of Vaiśālī. Across the Ganga he built an impregnable fort as a

basis for his operations; Buddha prophesied that it would be the chief city of Āryāvarta; and so it grew—grew into Pāṭaliputra, the capital of India, for well nigh eight hundred years, the centre of its imperial unity.

For over eight years the war was fought. Vaiśālī suffered, was torn by disunion; its democrats argued incessantly; they could keep no secrets. Ultimately Vaiśālī fell. Ajātaśatru obtained mastery of Eastern India. Magadha was placed on the path of all-Indian conquest.

Though Vaiśālī was included in Magadha, it continued to be a powerful city. Eight hundred years later, Chandragupta, the founder of the Gupta empire, takes pride in marrying the daughter of the Licchavis, and his son Samudragupta, the great conqueror, throughout life took pride in being a daughter's son of Vaiśālī's proud race. Over a thousand years, Vaiśālī was a mighty city.

II

Vaiśālī was not merely the home of wealth, power and beauty; it was also rich in learning and high aspirations. Here in Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī, was born Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism; he spent twelve rainy seasons of his ascetic life here. The dust of Vaiśālī was also hallowed by the footprints of Buddha. Early in life he lived here, practising austerities in the *āśrama* of Ālāra Kālāma, a sage. Many of his immortal discourses were delivered in its mango-groves or in the adjoining *Mahāvana* ('Great Forest').

Buddha and Mahāvira have been beacon lights to struggling humanity for twenty-five hundred years. They had something which we all have but they had it in an ample measure, ampler than has been given to the best of us. Why are their lives a message to every age? Why have these two become symbols of men's redemption?

Mahāvira was the son of Siddhārtha, a wealthy nobleman of Vaiśālī, the head of the republican tribe of the Jñātr̥s. His mother, Trīśalā, was the sister of Vaiśālī's chief Ceṭaka, related even to the powerful Bimbisāra of Magadha. He was married, had a daughter, and lived a householder's life till he was thirty. Then a flame of mighty aspiration rose in him till he was consumed by it.

Similarly, Buddha was the crown-prince of Kapilavastu, loved for his beauty, admired for his virtues. He also had a wife and a son and the prospect of kingship. He too, was caught up in the flame of a mighty aspiration, and, like Āmrapālī, millions in succeeding generations have lighted the fires of their little aspirations from this flame.

Āmrapālī was the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Vaiśālī, divinely beautiful and wonderfully accomplished. Even princes sought her hand. But she was a problem for the Licchavis. They ultimately solved the problem in a curious way: she was too precious 'a jewel among women' and could not be the object of a monopoly. She became a hetaera, as Aspasia was in Periclean Greece. Even Bimbisāra the conqueror was drawn into hostile Vaiśālī by her beauty, charm and reputation. He fell in love with her. This Āmrapālī, rich and beautiful, mistress of a mighty king, who had everything that a woman can desire, gave up all. She was consumed by the flame of aspiration which Buddha embodied. The Licchavis asked her to give up the privilege of serving food to Buddha for a hundred thousand coins. "Masters mine", she said, "were you to offer me even all Vaiśālī and her vast territories, I would not give up this privilege".

What was the flame of aspiration which led Mahāvira to attain *kaivalya* and Buddha to attain *nirvāṇa*? Why was the lure of this aspiration mightier by far than power, glory, riches and happiness? Because, men in all lands and ages have found self-fulfilment only in being consumed by this aspiration which leads one to realise oneself.

This fundamental aspiration is what distinguishes men from animals. Animal needs, material comforts, the temptation and attachments of life are as nothing before the irresistible power of this flame in the hearts of men. When it rises sky-high, intense and pure and creative, it breaks the limitations of the human ego and soars higher towards the deeper and wider consciousness which embraces all men and animals, all life, creation itself.

Here in Vaiśālī let us try to capture, though for a moment, the warmth of this flaming aspiration; let us seek light, freedom and love and self-realisation. We too have the spirit, also aspiration and the spirit from which it rises; only our aspirations are weak, feeble, trembling, neglected in our lopsided concentration on physical sciences, overwhelmed by materialism.

The message of these Masters is that the spirit from which the aspiration rises can transform our minds, make them universal, widen our sense of life, establish living oneness with existence itself. You may call it 'My-mindedness', *God-consciousness* after Gītā, *jīva-dayā*—unity with all life—after Mahāvira, or *karuṇā*—compassion—after Buddha; in essence it is the sense of oneness with existence itself, beautifully expressed in the Gītā as "seeing all in Me and Me in all". These Masters attained one

world-consciousness, not through United Nations, nor by arms, nor by press propaganda, but by the sweeping embrace of their universalised consciousness which through the strength of their aspiration burst the bounds of their narrow self.

III

Twenty-five hundred years have gone, still our vision is just as restricted as ever, narrow, suicidal. The voices of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Mahāvira, Christ reach us through the corridor of time, but have we developed the sense of oneness in India, leave aside the world? The castes, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, the Śūdras, have a different distinct sense of identity, so have Biharis and Bengalis, Gujratis and Marathas, Tamilians and Telugus, Hindus and Muslims. We have one government; we have one nationality; we have one basic culture; we have in a way the unity of language inspired by Sanskrit; our ways of life are fundamentally the same; our philosophy of life is dominated by the self-same past. The best amongst us find self-fulfilment only by living up to the idea for which our Masters stood. Our men, cattle and trees form an indissoluble organism of life. And yet the bulk of us have failed to develop that living, burning sense of oneness with all things Indian. And this in spite of our knowledge that if we do not evolve this sense of oneness, 'all in India and India in all', we will lose freedom. With freedom gone, India will lose her soul. With her soul gone, India will die.

In the same way, in spite of incessant appeals to develop world consciousness, have we developed that sense of oneness with the whole world? We talk of the United Nations Organisation; we talk of the One World Movement; we talk of the message of the UNESCO; but in our heart of hearts our narrow selves are parted from one another. We emphasise the frontiers which divide men and men, and nations and nations. The fact is that the fundamental aspiration has been tragically isolated from individual life, and the individual life from the life of the organism. We keep the aspiration alive by worship and prayer and festival; we do not allow it to transform the mind, the body or behaviour; little is done to transform the life of our collective organism. The aspiration of light, freedom, love expressed in a sense of oneness, by the very nature of our outlook, is just smothered; men and nations and classes hate one another in a pursuit of material welfare.

Our ordinary vision is woefully restricted; it is narrow, suicidal. Men deny the spirit, and assert material life. Some deny material life

and assert the spirit. Many more still are just frauds; they deal with the spirit and the material life as things apart. This is at the root of the world's tragic failure.

We have to learn the true philosophy of life.

The spirit of man is rooted in the mind. The mind is rooted in body: the body in material life. This life is again rooted in the organism of life made of the tree, the animal, the man. The living organism is rooted in the sunshine and soil, the rivers and the mountains and the climatic conditions of our land. The collective welfare, material, economic, social, political, moral and spiritual welfare, make for the health of this organism. Of them all, spiritual welfare is the most potent; for by the sense of oneness which it creates, is the organism bound, maintained and vitalised.

There is yet a wider organism of life, we call it the world. It is a living organism though we know it not. It consists of a single organism of life, one world, dependent on the physical determinants of the globe.

The life of the globe in its turn is a part of the large, wider life of the universe which has an organism of its own, physical, moral and spiritual. We are but the tiniest of its tiny fragments.

But underlying the whole universal organism is the Spirit unfolding itself through graded stages to flower as the fundamental aspiration in Man.

We must move out of our narrow, egoistic self to a vast foundation which reaches out to a collective consciousness of oneness, with the whole of India; from India to the one world; from one world to all existence—not in thought, not in aspiration, but by the aspiration transforming step by step the ways of individual life and the life of the organism. We must see and feel more and more of life, not only as one with ourselves, but one with universal consciousness. We must see, not in theory, not in belief, but in feeling and living, all in ourselves and all in God; 'all in Him and Him in all'. Then we will have one India, one world, a new era, and a dawn of full life. And then only will the Masters who once trode the dust of Vaiṣaḷī have lived, but not in vain.





वैशाली-विदेह'

धर्म और विद्या का तीर्थ

पं० सुखलालजी संघवी

उपस्थित सज्जनो,

जब से वैशाली संघ की प्रवृत्तियों के बारे में थोड़ा बहुत जानता रहा हूँ तभी से उसके प्रति मेरा सद्भाव उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ता रहा है। यह सद्भाव आखिर मुझे यहाँ ले लाया है। मैंने सोचकर यही तय किया कि अगर संघ के प्रति सद्भाव प्रकट करना हो तो मेरे लिए संतोषप्रद मार्ग यही है कि मैं अपने जीवन में अधिक बार नहीं तो कम-से-कम एक बार, उनकी प्रवृत्तियों में सीधा भाग लूँ। संघ के संचालकों के प्रति आदर व कृतज्ञता दशनि का भी सीधा मार्ग यही है।

मानव मात्र का तीर्थ

दीर्घतपस्वी महावीर की जन्म-भूमि और तथागत बुद्ध की उपदेशभूमि होने के कारण वैशाली विदेह का प्रधान नगर रहा है; यह केवल जैनों और बौद्धों का ही नहीं, पर मानव-जाति का एक तीर्थ बन गया है। उक्त दोनों भ्रमणवीरों ने कठुणा तथा मैत्री की जो विरासत अपने-अपने तत्कालीन संघों के द्वारा मानव-जाति को दी थी उसीका कालक्रम से भारत और भारत के बाहर इतना विकास हुआ है कि आज का कोई भी मानवतावादी वैशाली के इतिहास के प्रति उदासीन रह नहीं सकता।

मानवजीवन में संबंध तो अनेक हैं, परन्तु चार संबंध ऐसे हैं जो ध्यान खींचते हैं— राजकीय, सामाजिक, धार्मिक और विद्याविषयक। इनमें से पहले दो स्थिर नहीं। दो मित्र नरपति या दो मित्र राज्य कभी मित्रता में स्थिर नहीं। दो परस्पर के शत्रु भी अचानक ही मित्र बन जाते हैं, इतना ही नहीं शासित शासक बन जाता है और शासक

१. नौबें वैशाली महोत्सव (मार्च ५८, १९५३) के अवसर पर दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण।

शासित। सामाजिक संबंध किसना ही निकट का और रक्त का ही तथापि यह स्थायी नहीं। हम दो चार पीढ़ी दूर के सम्बन्धियों को अक्सर बिल्कुल भूल जाते हैं। यदि सम्बन्धियों के बीच स्थान की दूरी हुई या आना-जाना न रहा तब तो बहुधा एक कुटुम्ब के व्यक्ति भी पारस्परिक संबंध को भूल जाते हैं। परन्तु धर्म और विद्या के संबंध की बात निराली है। किसी एक धर्म का अनुगामी भाषा, जाति, देश, आदि बातों में उसी धर्म के दूसरे अनुगामियों से बिल्कुल ही जुदा हो तब भी उनके बीच धर्म का ताँता ऐसा होता है मानो वे एक ही कुटुम्ब के हों। चीन, तिब्बत जैसे दूरवर्ती देशों का बौद्ध जब सिलोन, बर्मा आदि के बौद्धों से मिलेगा तब वह आत्मीयता का अनुभव करेगा। भारत में जन्मा और पला मुसलमान मक्का-मदीना के मुसलमान अरबों से घनिष्ठता मानेगा। यह स्थिति सब धर्मों की अक्सर देखी जाती है। गुजरात, राजस्थान, दूर दक्षिण कर्णाटक आदि के जैन कितनी ही बातों में भिन्न क्यों न हों पर वे सब भगवान् महावीर के धर्मानुयायी के नाते अपने में पूर्ण एकता का अनुभव करते हैं। भगवान् महावीर के अहिंसाप्रधान धर्म का पोषण, प्रचार वैशाली और विदेह में ही मुख्यतया हुआ है। जैसे चीनी, बर्मा आदि बौद्ध, सारनाथ, गया आदि को अपना ही स्थान समझते हैं, वैसे ही दूर के जैन महावीर के जन्मस्थान वैशाली को भी मुख्य धर्म स्थान समझते हैं और महावीर के धर्मानुगामी होने के नाते वैशाली में और वैसे ही अन्य तीर्थों में मिलते हैं। उनके लिए बिहार और खासकर वैशाली मक्का या जेरुसेलम है। यह धार्मिक संबंध स्थायी होता है। काल के अनेक थपेड़े भी इसे क्षीण कर नहीं सके हैं और न कभी क्षीण कर सकेंगे। बल्कि जैसे-जैसे अहिंसा की समझ और उसका प्रचार बढ़ता जायगा वैसे-वैसे आतृपुत्र महावीर की यह जन्मभूमि विशेष और विषय तीर्थ रूप बनती जायगी।

हम लोग पूर्व के निवासी हैं। सोक्रेटिस, प्लेटो, एरिस्टोटेल आदि पश्चिम के निवासी। बुद्ध, महावीर, कणाद, अक्षपाद, शंकर, वाचस्पति आदि भारत के सपुत्र हैं, जिनका युरोप, अमेरिका आदि देशों से कोई वास्ता नहीं। फिर भी पश्चिम और पूर्व के संबंध को कभी क्षीण न होने देनेवाला तत्त्व कौन है ऐसा कोई प्रश्न करे तो इसका जबाब एक ही है कि वह तत्त्व है विद्या का। जुदे-जुदे धर्मवाले भी विद्या के नाते एक हो जाते हैं। लड़ाई, आर्थिक खींचा-तानी, मतान्धता आदि अनेक विघातक आसुरी तत्त्व आते हैं तो भी विद्या ही ऐसी चीज है जो सब जुदाइयों में भी मनुष्य-मनुष्य को एक दूसरे के प्रति आदरशील बनाती है। अगर विद्या का सम्बन्ध ऐसा उज्ज्वल और स्थिर है तो कहना होगा कि विद्या के नाते भी वैशाली-विदेह और बिहार सबको एक सूत्र में पिरोवेगा क्योंकि वह विद्या का भी तीर्थ है।

महात्मा गांधीजी ने अहिंसा की साधना शुरू तो की दक्षिण अफ्रीका में, पर उस अनोखे ऋषि-शस्त्र का सीधा प्रयोग उन्होंने पहले पहल भारत में शुरू किया, इसी विदेह क्षेत्र में। प्रजा की अन्तस्चेतना में जो अहिंसा की विरासत सुषुप्त पड़ी थी, वह गांधीजी की एक मीन पुकार से जग उठी और केवल भारत का ही नहीं पर दुनिया भर का ध्यान देखते-देखते चम्पारन; बिहार की ओर आकृष्ट हुआ। और महावीर तथा बुद्ध के समय में जो चमत्कार इस विदेह में हुए थे वही गांधीजी के कारण भी देखने में आये। जैसे अनेक क्षत्रिय

पुत्र, गृहपति पुत्र और ब्राह्मण पुत्र तथा पुत्रियाँ बुद्ध महावीर के पीछे पागल होकर निकल पड़े थे वैसे ही कई अध्यापक, बकील, जमींदार और अन्य सम्प्रसार स्त्री-पुरुष गांधीजी के प्रभाव में आये। जैसे उस पुराने युग में करुणा तथा मैत्री का सार्वत्रिक प्रचार करने के लिए संघ बने थे वैसे ही सत्याग्रह को सार्वत्रिक बनाने के गांधीजी के स्वप्न में सीधा साथ देनेवालों का एक बड़ा संघ बना जिसमें वैशाली-विदेह या बिहार के सपूतों का साथ बहुत महत्व रखता है। इसीसे मैं नवयुगीन दृष्टि से भी इस स्थान को धर्म तथा विद्या का तीर्थ समझता हूँ। और इसी भावना से मैं सब कुछ सोचता हूँ।

मैं काशी में अध्ययन करते समय आज से ४६ वर्ष पहले महाध्यायियों और जैन साधुओं के साथ पैदल चलते-चलते उस क्षत्रियकुण्ड में भी यात्रा की दृष्टि से आया था जिसे आजकल जैन लोग महावीर की जन्मभूमि समझ कर वहाँ यात्रा के लिये आते हैं और जहाँ लक्ष्मीसराय जंक्शन से जाया जाता है। यह मेरी बिहार की सर्व प्रथम धर्मयात्रा थी। इसके बाद अर्थात् करीब ४३ वर्ष पूर्व मैं मिथिला-विदेह में अनेक बार पढ़ने गया और कई स्थानों में कई बार ठहरा भी। यह मेरी विदेह की विद्यायात्रा थी। उस युग और इस युग के बीच बड़ा अन्तर हो गया है। अनेक साधन मौजूद रहने पर भी उस समय जो बातें मुझे ज्ञात न थीं वह थोड़े बहुत प्रमाण में ज्ञात हुई हैं और जो भावना साम्प्रदायिक दायरे के कारण उस समय अस्तित्व में थी आज उसका अनुभव कर रहा हूँ। अब तो मैं स्पष्ट रूप से समझ सका हूँ कि महावीर की जन्मभूमि न तो वह लिच्छुआह या पर्वतीय क्षत्रियकुण्ड है और न नालन्दा के निकट कुण्डलग्राम ही। आज के बसाढ़ की खुदाई में से इतने अधिक प्रमाण उपलब्ध हुए हैं और इन प्रमाणों का जैन बौद्ध परम्परा के प्राचीन शास्त्रों के उल्लेखों के साथ इतना अधिक मेल बैठता है तथा फाहियान ह्युएनसांग जैसे प्रत्यक्षदर्शी यात्रियों के वृत्तान्तों के साथ इतना अधिक संवाद होता है कि यह सब देखकर मुझको उस समय के अपने अज्ञान पर हँसी ही नहीं तरस भी आती है। और साथ-ही-साथ सत्य की जानकारी से असाधारण खुशी भी होती है। वह सत्य है कि बसाढ़ के क्षेत्र में जो बासुकुण्ड नामक स्थान है वही सचमुच क्षत्रियकुण्ड है।

विभिन्न परम्पराओं की एकता

भारत में अनेक धर्म परम्पराएँ रही हैं। ब्राह्मण परम्परा मुख्यतया वैदिक है जिसकी कई शाखाएँ हैं। श्रमण परम्परा की भी जैन, बौद्ध, आजीवक, प्राचीन सांख्ययोग आदि कई शाखाएँ हैं। इन सब परम्पराओं के शास्त्र में, गुरुवर्ग और संघ में, आचार-विचार में, उत्थान-पतन और विकास-ह्रास में इतनी अधिक ऐतिहासिक भिन्नता है कि उस-उस परम्परा में जन्मा व पला हुआ और उस-उस परम्परा के संस्कार से संस्कृत हुआ कोई भी व्यक्ति सामान्य रूप से उन सब परम्पराओं के अन्तर्गत में जो वास्तविक एकता है उसे समझ नहीं पाता। सामान्य व्यक्ति हमेशा भेदपोषक स्थूल स्तरों में ही फँसा रहता है पर तत्त्वचिंतक और पुरुषार्थी व्यक्ति जैसे-जैसे गहराई से निर्भयतापूर्वक सोचता है वैसे-वैसे उसको आन्तरिक सत्य की एकता प्रतीत होने लगती है और भाषा, आचार, संस्कार आदि सब भेद उसकी प्रतीति में बाधा नहीं

डाल सकते। मानव चेतना आखिर मानव-चेतना ही है, पशुचेतना नहीं। जैसे-जैसे ऊपर से आवरण हटते जाते हैं वैसे-वैसे वह अधिकाधिक सत्य का दर्शन कर पाती है।

हम साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से महावीर को अलग, बुद्ध को अलग और उपनिषद् के ऋषियों को अलग समझते हैं, पर अगर गहराई से देखें तो उन सबके मौलिक सत्य में शब्दभेद के सिवा और भेद न पायेंगे। महावीर मुख्यतया अहिंसा की परिभाषा में सब बातें समझाते हैं तो बुद्ध तृष्णात्याग और मैत्री की परिभाषा में अपना संदेश देते हैं। उपनिषद् के ऋषि अविद्या या अज्ञान निवारण की दृष्टि से चिन्तन उपस्थित करते हैं। ये सब ही सत्य के प्रतिपादन की जुदी-जुदी रीतियाँ हैं; जुदी-जुदी भाषाएँ हैं। अहिंसा तब तक सिद्ध हो ही नहीं सकती जब तक तृष्णा हो। तृष्णात्याग का दूसरा नाम ही तो अहिंसा है। अज्ञान की वास्तविक निवृत्ति बिना हुए न तो अहिंसा सिद्ध हो सकती है और न तृष्णा का त्याग ही संभव है। धर्मपरम्परा कोई भी क्यों न हो, अगर वह सबमुख धर्मपरम्परा है तो उसका मूल तत्त्व अन्य वैसी धर्म-परम्पराओं से जुदा हो ही नहीं सकता। मूल तत्त्व की जुदाई का अर्थ होगा कि सत्य एक नहीं। पर पहुँचे हुए सभी ऋषियों ने कहा है कि सबके आविष्कार अनेकवा हो सकते हैं पर सत्य तो अखण्डित एक ही है। मैं अपने छप्पन वर्ष के थोड़े बहुत अध्ययन चिन्तन से इसी नतीजे पर पहुँचा हूँ कि पन्थभेद कितना ही क्यों न हो पर उसके मूल में एक ही सत्य रहता है। आज मैं इसी भावना से महावीर की जन्मजयन्ती के स्थूल महोत्सव में भाग ले रहा हूँ। मेरी दृष्टि में महावीर जयन्ती का अर्थ है उनकी अहिंसासिद्धि की जयन्ती। और अहिंसासिद्धि की जयन्ती में अन्यान्य महापुरुषों की सद्गुणसिद्धि अपने आप समा जाती है। अगर वैशाली के आँगन में खड़े होकर हम लोग इस व्यापक भावना की प्रतीति न कर सकें तो हमारा जयन्ती उत्सव नये युग की नई मान को कभी सिद्ध नहीं कर सकता।

राज्यसंघ और धर्मसंघ

वैशाली अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ तथा जुदी-जुदी पत्रिकाओं के द्वारा वैशाली का पौराणिक और ऐतिहासिक परिचय इतना अधिक मिल जाता है कि इसमें वृद्धि करने जितनी नई सामग्री अभी नहीं है। मगवान् महावीर की जीवनी भी उस अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ में संक्षेप से आई है। यहाँ मुझको ऐसी कुछ बातें कहनी हैं जो वैसे महात्माओं की जीवनी से फलित हैं और जो हमें इस युग में तुरन्त काम की भी हैं। महावीर के समय में वैशाली के और दूसरे भी गणराज्य थे जो तत्कालीन प्रजासत्ताक राज्य ही थे पर उन गणराज्यों की संघदृष्टि अपने तक ही सीमित थी। इसी तरह से उस समय के जैन, बौद्ध, आजीवक आदि अनेक धर्मसंघ भी थे जिनकी संघदृष्टि भी अपने अपने तक ही सीमित थी। पुराने गणराज्यों की संघदृष्टि का विकास भारतव्यापी नये संघराज्यरूप में हुआ है जो एक प्रकार से अहिंसा का ही राजकीय विकास है। अब इसके साथ पुराने धर्मसंघ सभी मेल खा सकते हैं या विकास कर सकते हैं जब उन धर्मसंघों में भी मानवतावादी संघदृष्टि का निर्माण हो और तदननुसार सभी धर्मसंघ अपना-अपना विधान बदलकर एक लक्ष्यगामी हों। यह हो नहीं सकता कि भारत का राज्यतंत्र तो व्यापक रूप से चले और पन्थों के धर्मसंघ पुराने ढर्रे पर चले। आखिर को

राज्यसंघ और धर्मसंघ दोनों का प्रवृत्तिक्षेत्र तो एक अखण्ड भारत ही है। ऐसी स्थिति में अगर संघराज्य को ठीक तरह से विकास करना है और जनकल्याण में भाग लेना है तो धर्मसंघ के पुरस्कर्ताओं को भी व्यापक दृष्टि से सोचना होगा। अगर वे ऐसा न करें तो अपने अपने धर्मसंघ को प्रतिष्ठित व जीवित रख नहीं सकते या भारत के संघराज्य को भी जीवित रहने न देंगे। इसलिए हमें पुराने गणराज्य की संघदृष्टि तथा पन्थों की संघदृष्टि का इस युग में ऐसा सामञ्जस्य करना होगा कि धर्मसंघ भी विकास के साथ जीवित रह सके और भारत का संघराज्य भी स्थिर रह सके।

भारतीय संघराज्य का विधान असाम्प्रदायिक है इसका अर्थ यही है कि संघराज्य किसी एक धर्म में बद्ध नहीं है। इसमें लघुमती बहुमती सभी छोटे-बड़े धर्मपन्थ समान भाव से अपना-अपना विकास कर सकते हैं। जब संघराज्य की नीति इतनी उदार है तब हरेक धर्म परम्परा का कर्तव्य अपने आप सुनिश्चित हो जाता है कि प्रत्येक धर्म परम्परा समग्र जनहित की दृष्टि से संघराज्य को सब तरह से दृढ़ बनाने का क्याल रखे और प्रयत्न करे। कोई भी लघु या बहुमती धर्म-परम्परा ऐसा न सोचे और न ऐसा कार्य करे कि जिससे राज्य की केन्द्रीय शक्ति या प्रान्तिक शक्तियाँ निर्बल हों। यह तभी संभव है जब कि प्रत्येक धर्म परम्परा के जबाबदेह समक्षदार त्यागी या गृहस्थ अनुयायी अपनी दृष्टि को व्यापक बनावें और केवल संकुचित दृष्टि से अपनी परम्परा का ही विचार न करें।

धर्म परम्पराओं का पुराना इतिहास हमें यही सिखाता है। गणतंत्र, राजतंत्र ये सभी आपस-आपस में लड़कर अंत में ऐसे धराशायी हो गये कि जिससे विदेशियों को भारत पर शासन करने का मौका मिला। गांधी जी की अहिंसा दृष्टि ने उस त्रुटि को दूर करने का प्रयत्न किया और अन्त में २७ प्रांतीय घटक राज्यों का एक केन्द्रीय संघराज्य कायम हुआ जिसमें सभी प्रांतीय लोगों का हित सुरक्षित रहे और बाहर के भय स्थानों से भी बचा जा सके। अब धर्म परम्पराओं को भी अहिंसा, मैत्री या ब्रह्म भावना के आधार पर ऐसा धार्मिक वातावरण बनाना होगा कि जिसमें कोई एक परम्परा अन्य परम्पराओं के संकट को अपना संकट समझे और उसके निवारण के लिये वैसा ही प्रयत्न करे जैसा अपने पर आये संकट के निवारण के लिए। हम इतिहास से जानते हैं कि पहले ऐसा नहीं हुआ। फलतः कभी एक तो कभी दूसरी परम्परा बाहरी आक्रमणों का शिकार बनी और कम ज्यादा रूप में सभी धर्म-परम्पराओं की सांस्कृतिक और विद्या संपत्ति को सहना पड़ा। सोमनाथ, रुद्रमहालय और उज्जयिनी का महाकाल तथा काशी आदि के वैष्णव, शैव आदि धाम इत्यादि पर जब संकट आये तब अगर अन्य परम्पराओं ने प्राणार्पण से पूरा साथ दिया होता तो वे धाम बच जाते। नहीं भी बचते तो सब परम्पराओं की एकता ने विरोधियों का हौसला जरूर ढोला किया होता। सारनाथ, नालन्दा, उदन्तपुरी, विक्रमशिला आदि के विद्याविहारों को बख्तियार खिलजी कभी ध्वस्त कर नहीं पाता अगर उस समय बौद्धतर परम्परायें भी उस आफत को अपनी समझतीं। पाटन, तारंगा सांचोर, आबु, झालोर आदि के शिल्पस्थापत्यप्रधान जैन मंदिर भी कभी नष्ट नहीं होते। अब समय बदल गया और हमें पुरानी त्रुटियों से सबक सीखना होगा।

सांस्कृतिक और धार्मिक स्थानों के साथ-साथ अनेक ज्ञानमण्डार भी नष्ट हुए। हमारी धर्म-परम्पराओं की पुरानी दृष्टि खबरानी हो तो हमें नीचे लिखे अनुसार कार्य करना होगा।

(१) प्रत्येक धर्मपरम्परा को दूसरी धर्म-परम्पराओं का उतना ही आदर करना जितना वह अपने बारे में चाहती है।

(२) इसके लिए मुख्यतः और पण्डित वर्ग सबको आपस में मिलनेजुलने के प्रसंग पैदा करना और उदारदृष्टि से विचार विनिमय करना; जहाँ ऐकमत्य न हो वहाँ विवाद में न पड़कर सहिष्णुता की वृद्धि करना; धार्मिक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन अध्यापन की परम्पराओं को इतना विकसित करना कि जिसमें किसी एक धर्म परम्परा का अनुयायी अन्य धर्म परम्पराओं की बातों से सर्वथा अनभिज्ञ न रहे और उनके मन्तव्यों को गलतरूप में न समझे।

इसके लिए अनेक विश्वविद्यालय महाविद्यालय जैसे शिक्षा केन्द्र बने हैं जहाँ इतिहास और तुलना दृष्टि से धर्म परम्पराओं की शिक्षा दी जाती है। फिर भी अपने देश में ऐसे सैकड़ों नहीं हजारों छोटे बड़े विद्याधाम, पाठशालाएँ आदि हैं जहाँ केवल साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से उस परम्परा की एकांगी शिक्षा दी जाती है। इसका नतीजा अभी यही देखने में आता है कि सामान्य जनता और हरेक परम्परा के गुह या पण्डित अभी उसी दुनिया में जी रहे हैं जिसके कारण सब धर्म परम्पराएँ मिस्तेज और मिथ्याभिमानि हो गई हैं।

विद्याभूमि विदेह

वैशाली विदेह-मिथिला के द्वारा अनेक शास्त्रीय विद्याओं के विषय में बिहार का जो स्थान है वह हमें पुराने ग्रीस की याद दिलाता है। उपनिषदों के उपलब्ध भाष्यों के प्रसिद्ध आचार्य भले ही दक्षिण में हुए हों पर उपनिषदों के आत्मतत्त्वविषयक और अद्वैतस्वरूपविषयक अनेक गंभीर चिन्तन विदेह के जनक को समा में ही हुए हैं जिन चिन्तनों ने केवल पुराने आचार्यों का हो नहीं पर आधुनिक देश-विदेश के अनेक विद्वानों का भी ध्यान खींचा है। बुद्ध ने धर्म और विनय के बहुत बड़े भाग का असली उपदेश बिहार के जुदे जुदे स्थानों में ही किया है इतना ही नहीं बल्कि बौद्ध त्रिपिटक की सारी संकलना बिहार की तीन संगीतिओं में ही हुई है। जो त्रिपिटक बिहार के सपूतों के द्वारा ही एशिया के दूर दूर अगम्य भागों में भी पहुँचे हैं और जो इस समय की अनेक भाषाओं में रूपान्तरित भी हुए हैं, इन्हीं त्रिपिटकों ने युरोपीय सैकड़ों विद्वानों को अपनी ओर खींचा और जो कई युरोपीय भाषाओं में रूपान्तरित भी हुए। जैन परम्परा के मूल आगम पीछे से भले ही पश्चिम और दक्षिण भारत के जुदे-जुदे भागों में पहुँचे हों, संकलित व लेखबद्ध भी हुए हों पर उनका उद्गम और प्रारम्भिक संग्रहण तथा संकलन तो बिहार में ही हुआ है। बौद्ध संगीति की तरह प्रथम जैन संगीति भी बिहार में ही मिली थी। चाणक्य के अर्थशास्त्र की और सम्भवतः कामशास्त्र की जन्मभूमि भी बिहार ही है। हम जब दार्शनिक, सूत्र और व्याख्या ग्रन्थों का विचार करते हैं तब तो हमारे सामने बिहार की वह प्राचीन प्रतिभा मूर्त होकर उपस्थित होती है। कणाद और अक्षपाद ही नहीं पर उन दोनों के वैशेषिक-न्याय दर्शन के भाष्य, वातिक, टीका, उपटीका आदि सारे साहित्य परिवार के प्रणेता बिहार में ही, खासकर विदेह मिथिला में ही हुए हैं।

सांख्य, योग परम्परा के मूल चिन्तक और ग्रन्थकार एवं व्याख्याकार बिहार में या बिहार की सीमा के आसपास ही हुए हैं। मेरे ज्ञान से भीमांसाकार वैमिनि और बादरायण भी बिहार के ही होने चाहिए। पूर्वोत्तर भीमांसा के अनेक धुरीण प्रमुख व्याख्याकार मिथिला में ही हुए हैं जो एक बार सैकड़ों भीमांसक विद्वानों का घाम मानी जाती थी। बंगाल, ब्रह्मिण आदि अन्य भागों में न्याय विद्या की शाखा-प्रशाखाएँ फूटी हैं पर उनका मूल तो मिथिला ही है। बाचस्पति, उदयन, गंगेश आदि प्रकाण्ड विद्वानों ने दार्शनिक विद्या का इतना अधिक विकास किया है कि जिसका असर प्रत्येक धर्मपरम्परा पर पड़ा है। तक्षशिला के ध्वंस के बाद जो बौद्ध बिहार स्थापित हुए उनके कारण तो बिहार काशी बन गया था। नालन्दा, विक्रमशिला, उदन्तपुरी जैसे बड़े बड़े बिहार और जगत्तल जैसे साधारण बिहार में बसनेवाले मिश्रकों और अन्य दुर्बेक मिश्र जैसे ब्राह्मण विद्वानों ने जो संस्कृत बौद्ध साहित्य का निर्माण किया है उसकी गहराई, सूक्ष्मता और बहुभुतता देखकर आज भी बिहार के प्रति आदर उमड़ आता है। यह बात भली भाँति हमारे लक्ष में आ सकती है कि बिहार धर्म की तरह विद्या का भी सीधं रहा है।

विद्याकेन्द्रों में सर्व विद्याओं के संग्रह की आवश्यकता

जैसा पहले सूचित किया है कि धर्मपरम्पराओं की अपनी दृष्टि का तथा व्यवहारों का युगानुरूप विकास करना ही होगा। वैसे ही विद्याओं की सब परम्पराओं को भी अपना तेज कायम रखने और बढ़ाने के लिए अध्ययन-अध्यापन की प्रणाली में नये सिरे से सोचना होगा।

प्राचीन भारतीय विद्याएँ कुल मिलाकर तीन भाषाओं में समा जाती हैं—संस्कृत, पाली और प्राकृत। एक समय था जब संस्कृत के घुरंघर विद्वान् भी पाली या प्राकृत शास्त्रों को जानते न थे या बहुत ऊपर ऊपर से जानते थे। ऐसा भी समय था जब कि पाली और प्राकृत शास्त्रों के विद्वान् संस्कृत शास्त्रों की पूर्ण जानकारी रखते न थे। यही स्थिति पाली और प्राकृत शास्त्रों के जानकारों के बीच परस्पर में भी थी। पर क्रमशः समय बदलता गया। आज तो पुराने युग ने ऐसा पलटा खाया है कि इसमें भी सच्चा विद्वान् एक या दूसरी भाषा की तथा उस भाषा में लिखे हुए शास्त्रों की उपेक्षा करके नवयुगीन विद्यालयों और महाविद्यालयों को चला ही नहीं सकता। इस दृष्टि से जब विचार करते हैं तब स्पष्ट मालूम पड़ता है कि युरोपीय विद्वानों ने पिछले सवासी वर्ष में भारतीय विद्याओं का जो गौरव स्थापित किया है, संशोधन किया है उसकी बराबरी करने के लिये तथा उससे कुछ आगे बढ़ने के लिये हम भारतवासियों को अब अध्ययन-अध्यापन, चिन्तन, लेखन और संपादन-विवेचन आदि का क्रम अनेक प्रकार से बदलना होगा जिसके सिवाय हम प्राच्यविद्या-विशारद युरोपीय विद्वानों के अनुगामी तक बनने में असमर्थ रहेंगे।

प्राच्य भारतीय विद्या की किसी भी शाखाका उच्च अध्ययन करने के लिये तथा उच्च पदवी प्राप्त करने के लिए हम भारतीय युरोप के जुड़े-जुड़े देशों में जाते हैं उसमें केवल नौकरी की दृष्टि से डिग्री पाने का ही मोह नहीं है पर इसके साथ उन देशों की उस-उस संस्था

का व्यापक विद्यामय वातावरण भी निमित्त है। वहाँ के अध्यापक, वहाँ की कार्य प्रणाली, वहाँ के पुस्तकालय आदि ऐसे अङ्ग-प्रत्यङ्ग हैं जो हमें अपनी ओर खींचते हैं, अपने ही देश की विद्याओं का अध्ययन करने के लिये हमको हजारों कोस दूर कर्ज ले करके भी जाना पड़ता है और उस स्थिति में जब कि उन प्राच्य विद्याओं की एक एक शाखा के पारदर्शी अनेक विद्वान् भारत में भी मौजूद हों। यह कोई अचरज की बात नहीं है। वे विदेशी विद्वान् इस देश में आकर सीख गये, अभी वे सीखने आते हैं पर सिक्का उनका है। उनके सामने भारतीय पुराने पण्डित और नई प्रणाली के अध्यापक अकसर फीके पड़ जाते हैं। इसमें कृत्रिमता और मोह का भाग बाध करके जो सत्य है उसकी ओर हमें देखना है। इसको देखते हुए मुझको कहने में कोई भी हिचकिचाहट नहीं कि हमारे उच्च विद्या के केन्द्रों में शिक्षण-प्रणाली का आमूल परिवर्तन करना होगा।

उच्च विद्या के केन्द्र अनेक हो सकते हैं। प्रत्येक केन्द्र में किसी एक विद्या परंपरा की प्रधानता भी रह सकती है। फिर भी ऐसे केन्द्र अपने संशोधन कार्य में भी पूर्ण तन्नी बन सकते हैं जब अपने साथ संबंध रखने वाली विद्या परंपराओं की भी पुस्तक आदि सामग्री वहाँ संपूर्ण तथा सुलभ हो।

पालि, प्राकृत, संस्कृत भाषा में लिखे हुए सब प्रकार के शास्त्रों का परस्पर इतना घनिष्ठ संबंध है कि कोई भी एक शाखा की विद्या का अभ्यासी विद्या की दूसरी शाखाओं के आवश्यक वास्तविक परिशीलन को बिना किए सच्चा अभ्यासी बन ही नहीं सकता, जो परिशीलन अधूरी सामग्री वाले केन्द्रों में संभव नहीं।

इससे पुराना पंथवाद और जातिवाद जो इस युग में हेय समझा जाता है वह अपने आप शिथिल हो जाता है। इस यह जानते हैं कि हमारे देश के उच्च वर्णमिश्रित विद्यार्थी भी यूरोप में जाकर वहाँ के संसर्ग से वर्णमिश्रित भूल जाता है। यह स्थिति अपने देश में स्वाभाविक तब बन सकती है जब कि एक ही केन्द्र में अनेक अध्यापक हों, अध्येता हों और परस्पर मिलन सहज हो। ऐसा नहीं होने से साम्प्रदायिकता का मिथ्या अंध किसी रूप में पुष्ट हुए बिना रह नहीं सकता। साम्प्रदायिक दाताओं की मनोवृत्ति को जीतने के वास्ते उच्चविद्या के क्षेत्र में भी साम्प्रदायिकता का दिखावा संचालकों को करना पड़ता ही है। इसलिये मेरे विचार से उच्चतम अध्ययन के केन्द्रों में सर्वविद्याओं की आवश्यक सामग्री होनी ही चाहिए।

शास्त्रीय परिभाषा में लोकजीवन की छाया

अब अन्त में मैं संक्षेप में यह दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि उस पुराने युग के राज्यसंघ और धर्म संघ का आपस में कैसा चोली-दामन का सम्बन्ध रहा है जो अनेक शब्दों में तथा तत्त्व-ज्ञान की परिभाषाओं में भी सुरक्षित हैं। हम जानते हैं कि वज्रियों का राज्य गणराज्य था अर्थात् वह एक संघ था। गण और संघ शब्द ऐसे समूह के सूचक हैं जो अपना काम चुने हुए योग्य सम्यों के द्वारा करते थे। वही बात धर्मक्षेत्र में भी थी। जैनसंघ भी सिधु-मिक्षुणी, श्रावक-श्राविका चतुर्विध अङ्गों से ही बना और सब अङ्गों की सम्मति से ही काम करता

रहा। जैसे जैसे जैनधर्म का प्रसार अन्याय्य क्षेत्रों में तथा छोटे बड़े सैकड़ों, हजारों गाँवों में हुआ वैसे वैसे स्थानिक संघ भी कायम हुए जो आज तक कायम हैं। किसी भी एक कस्बे या शहर को लीजिए अगर वहाँ जैन बस्ती है तो उसका वहाँ संघ होगा और सारा धार्मिक कारोबार संघ के जिम्मे होगा। संघ का कोई मुखिया मनमानी नहीं कर सकता। बड़े से बड़ा आचार्य भी ही तो उसे संघ के अधीन रहना ही होगा। संघ से बहिष्कृत व्यक्ति का कोई गौरव नहीं। सारे तीर्थ, सारे मण्डार और सारे धार्मिक सार्वजनिक काम संघ की देखरेख में ही चलते हैं। और उन इकाई संघों के मिलन से प्रान्तीय और भारतीय संघों की घटना आज तक चली आती है। जैसे गणराज्य का भारत व्यापी संघराज्य में विकास हुआ वैसे ही पार्श्वनाथ और महावीर के द्वारा संचालित उस समय के छोटे बड़े संघों के विकास स्वरूप में आज की जैन संघव्यवस्था है। बुद्ध का संघ भी वैसा ही है। किसी भी देश में जहाँ बौद्ध धर्म है वहाँ संघ व्यवस्था है और सारा धार्मिक व्यवहार संघों के द्वारा ही चलता है।

जैसे उस समय के राज्यों के साथ गणशब्द लगा था वैसे ही महावीर के मुख्य शिष्य के साथ 'गण' शब्द प्रयुक्त है। उनके ग्यारह मुख्य शिष्य जो बिहार में ही जन्मे थे वे गणधर कहलाते हैं। आज भी जैन परम्परा में 'गणी' पद कायम है और बौद्ध परम्परा में संघ स्थविर या संघनायक पद।

जैन तत्त्वज्ञान की परिभाषाओं में नयवाद की परिभाषा का भी स्थान है। नय पूर्ण सत्य की एक बाजू को जानने वाली दृष्टि का नाम है। ऐसे नय के सात प्रकार जैन शास्त्रों में पुराने समय से मिलते हैं जिनमें प्रथम नय का नाम है 'नैगम'। कहना न होगा कि नैगम शब्द 'निगम' से बना है जो निगम वैशाली में थे और जिनके उत्कृष्ट सिक्कों में भी मिले हैं। 'निगम' समान कारोबार करने वालों की श्रेणी विशेष है। उसमें एक प्रकार की एकता रहती है और सब स्थूल व्यवहार एक सा चलता है। उसी 'निगम' का भाव लेकर उसके ऊपर से नैगम शब्द के द्वारा जैन परम्परा ने ऐसी एक दृष्टि का सूचन किया है जो समाज में स्थूल होती है और जिसके आधार पर जीवन व्यवहार चलता है।

नैगम के बाद संग्रह, व्यवहार, ऋजुसूत्र, शब्द, समन्वित और एवंभूत ऐसे छह शब्दों के द्वारा आंशिक विचारसरणियों का सूचन आता है। मेरी राय में उक्त छहों दृष्टियाँ यद्यपि तत्त्वज्ञान से सम्बन्ध रखती हैं पर वे मूलतः उस समय के राज्य व्यवहार और सामाजिक व्यावहारिक आधार पर फलित की गई हैं। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि संग्रह व्यवहारादि ऊपर सूचित शब्द भी तत्कालीन भाषा प्रयोगों से लिए गए हैं। अनेक गण मिलकर राज्य व्यवस्था या समाज व्यवस्था करते थे जो एक प्रकार का समुदाय या संग्रह होता था और जिसमें भेद में अभेद दृष्टि का प्राधान्य रहता था। तत्त्वज्ञान के संग्रह नय के अर्थ में भी वही भाव है। व्यवहार चाहे राजकीय हो या सामाजिक वह जुड़े जुड़े व्यक्ति या दल के द्वारा ही सिद्ध होता है। तत्त्वज्ञान के व्यवहार नय में भी भेद अर्थात् विभाजन का ही भाव मुख्य है। हम वैशाली में पाए गए सिक्कों से जानते हैं कि 'व्यावहारिक' और 'विनिश्चय महामात्य' की तरह 'सूत्रधार' भी एक पद था। मेरे क्वाल से सूत्रधार का काम वही होना चाहिए जो जैन तत्त्वज्ञान के

ऋजुसूत्र नय शब्द से लक्षित होता है। ऋजुसूत्रनय का अर्थ है आगे पीछे की गली कुची में न जाकर केवल वर्तमान का ही विचार करना। संभव है सूत्रधार का काम भी वैसा ही कुछ रहा हो जो उपस्थित समस्याओं को तुरन्त निपटावे। हरेक समाज में, सम्प्रदाय में और राज्य में भी प्रसंग विशेष पर शब्द अर्थात् आज्ञा को ही प्राधान्य देना पड़ता है। जब अन्य प्रकार से मामला सुलझता न हो तब किसी एक का शब्द ही अन्तिम प्रमाण माना जाता है। शब्द के इस प्राधान्य का भाव अन्यरूप में शब्दनय में गमित है। बुद्ध ने खुद ही कहा है कि लिच्छवीगण पुराने रीतिरिवाजों अर्थात् रूढ़ियों का आदर करते हैं। कोई भी समाज प्रचलित रूढ़ियों का सर्वथा उन्मूलन करके नहीं जी सकता। सममिस्त्रुनय में रूढ़ि के अनुसरण का भाव तात्त्विक दृष्टि से बताया है। समाज, राज्य और धर्म को व्यवहार गत और स्थूल विचारसरणी या व्यवस्था कुछ भी क्यों न हो पर उसमें सत्य की पारमार्थिक दृष्टि न हो तो वह न जी सकती है, न प्रगति कर सकती है। एवम्भूतनय उसी पारमार्थिक दृष्टि का सूचक है जो तथ्यागत के 'तथा' शब्द में या पिछले महायान के 'तथता' में निहित है। जैन परम्परा में भी 'तहत्ति' शब्द उसी युग से आज तक प्रचलित है जो इतना ही सूचित करता है कि सत्य जैसा है वैसा हम स्वीकार करते हैं।

ब्राह्मण, बौद्ध, जैन आदि अनेक परम्पराओं के प्राप्त ग्रन्थों से तथा मुलम सिक्के और खुदाई से निकली हुई अन्यान्य सामग्री से जब हम प्राचीन आचारविचारों का, संस्कृति के विविध अंगों का, भाषा के अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गों का और शब्द के अर्थों के भिन्न-भिन्न स्तरों का विचार करेंगे तब शायद हमको ऊपर की तुलना भी काम दे सके। इस दृष्टि से मैंने यहाँ संकेत कर दिया है। बाकी तो जब हम उपनिषदों, महाभारत-रामायण जैसे महाकाव्यों, पुराणों, पिटकों आगमों और दार्शनिक साहित्य का तुलनात्मक बड़े पैमाने पर अध्ययन करेंगे तब अनेक रहस्य ऐसे ज्ञात होंगे जो सूचित करेंगे कि यह सब किसी एक बट बीज का विविध विस्तार मात्र है।

अध्ययन का विस्तार

प्राश्चात्य देशों में प्राच्यविद्या के अध्ययन आदि का विकास हुआ है उसमें अविश्रान्त उद्योग के सिवाय वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि, जाति और पन्थभेद से ऊपर उठकर सोचने की वृत्ति और सर्वाङ्गीण अवलोकन ये मुख्य कारण हैं। हमें इस मार्ग को अपनाना होगा। हम बहुत थोड़े समय में अभीष्ट विकास कर सकते हैं। इस दृष्टि से सोचता हूँ तब कहने का मन होता है कि हमें उच्च विद्या के वर्तुल में अवेस्ता आदि जरथुस्त परम्परा के साहित्य का समावेश करना होगा। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि इस्लामी साहित्य को भी समुचित स्थान देना होगा। जब हम इस देश में राजकीय एवं सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से धुलमिल गये हैं या अविभाज्य रूप से साथ रहते हैं तब हमें उसी भाव से सब विद्याओं को समुचित स्थान देना होगा। बिहार या वैशाली-विदेह में इस्लामी संस्कृति का काफी स्थान है। और पटना, वैशाली आदि बिहार के स्थानों की खुदाई में तावा जैसे पारसी गृहस्थ मदद करते हैं यह भी हमें मूलना न चाहिए।

भूदान में सहयोग

आचार्य विनोबाजी की मौजूदगी में सारे देश का ध्यान अभी बिहार की ओर लीन है। मालूम होता है कि वे पुराने और नये अहिंसा के संदेश को लेकर बिहार में बैंगाली की धर्मभावना को भूत कर रहे हैं। बिहार के निवासी स्वभाव से सरल पाए गए हैं। भूदानयज्ञ तो अहिंसा भावना की एक प्रतीक मात्र है। सच्चे अर्थ में उसके साथ कई बातें अनिवार्य-रूप से जुड़ी हुई हैं जिसके बिना नवभारत का निर्माण संभव नहीं। जमींदार जमीन का दान करे, धनधान संपत्ति का दान करे। पर इसके सिवा भी आत्मवृद्धि अनेक रूप से आवश्यक है। आज चारों ओर शिकायत रिश्ततल्लोरी की है। बिहार के राज्यतंत्रवाहक इस क्षति को निर्मूल करोगे तो वह कार्य विशेष आशीर्वाद रूप सिद्ध होगा। और देश के अन्य भागों में बिहार की यह पहल अनुकरणीय बनेगी। ऊपर जो कुछ कहा गया है वह सब महावीर, बुद्ध, गांधीजी बंगरह की सम्मिलित अहिंसामावना में से फलित होने वाला ही विचार है जो हर जन्मजयन्ती पर उपयुक्त है।





प्राचीन वैशाली की स्मृति^१

डॉ० कैलाशनाथ कटारू

गृह-मंत्री, भारत सरकार

हम इस समय जहाँ खड़े हैं, वहाँ किसी समय लिच्छवियों की राजधानी थी। यहीं गणतन्त्र का विकास हुआ था। गौतम बुद्ध को यह स्थान अत्यन्त प्रिय था। भगवान् महावीर तो यहाँ जन्मे ही थे। यहाँ के फल-फूलों और पेदावार की तारीफ चीनी यात्रियों तक ने की है। ऐसे महत्त्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक स्थान के दर्शनों की बड़ी लालसा थी, जो आज पूरी हुई है। इसे मैं अपना अहोभाग्य समझता हूँ।

आज सुबह मैं मैने वैशाली-क्षेत्र की यात्रा की और यहाँ के प्राचीन स्मारक-वस्तुओं को देखा, सब कहता हूँ बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई। अशोक का सिंह स्तंभ भी देखा। उसकी बगल में पालघुम की सुन्दर बुद्ध मूर्ति भी देखी। चकरामदास की शिशुशाला में मैंने बच्चों को अद्भुत कार्य करते देखा। जो इस उम्र के लड़के-लड़कियों के लिये प्रशिक्षण के बिना असंभव है। मुझे बताया गया कि ऐसी और भी कई शिशुशालाएँ इस क्षेत्र में कार्य कर रही हैं। मैंने पहले से इसकी कल्पना नहीं कर रखी थी कि आपने इसना सारा कार्य कर लिया है।

यह आपका दशम वैशाली-महोत्सव है। इतने समय में आपने प्रशंसनीय काम किया है, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। मैं आपकी शिशुशालाओं की तारीफ करते नहीं थकता। आप इस काम को जारी रखें। इससे देश का बड़ा कल्याण होगा।

देश की उन्नति में मेल का बड़ा स्थान है। जब गौतम बुद्ध अपने जीवन के अन्तिम वर्ष में वैशाली आ रहे थे, तब यहाँ आने के पहले वे पाटलिपुत्र में रुके थे। महापरिनिर्वाण सुत में यह कहानी दी हुई है। इस समय उन्होंने पाटलिपुत्र की महत्ता की भविष्यवाणी की और कहा था कि इसके तीन अंतराय (विघ्न) होंगे—अग्नि, जल और आपस की फूट। हमें इन अन्तरायों से बचना चाहिये।

इस समय हमें प्राचीन वैशाली की गरिमा के दिनों की याद हो रही है। यह खुशी की बात है कि आप उसी पुराने स्थान पर यह महोत्सव मना रहे हैं जहाँ गणतन्त्र का

१. दशम वैशाली-महोत्सव के अवसर पर १५ अप्रैल १९५४ को किये गये अध्यक्षीय भाषण के मुख्य अंश।

प्रयोग किया गया था और जहाँ भगवान् महावीर ने जन्म धारण किया था। इन्हीं की याद में इस समय इतना बड़ा जन-समूह उमड़ पड़ा है। आपने मङ्गलसूत्र की तिथि भगवान् महावीर की जन्मतिथि पर रख कर बहुत अच्छा किया है, क्योंकि इसके द्वारा एक साथ ही हम लिच्छवि गणतन्त्र के स्वर्णिम दिनों और जैन धर्म के उद्धारक की याद कर लेते हैं।

भगवान् महावीर जैनों के चौबीसवें तीर्थंकर थे। उन्होंने हमें शांति और विश्वभ्रातृत्व का संदेश दिया। इस प्रकार उन्होंने हमें मोक्ष का एक नवीन मार्ग दिखलाया। आज की दुनिया के लिये महावीर और बुद्ध के उपदेशों और आदर्शों का महत्त्व है, जहाँ चारों ओर से रह-रहकर लड़ाई झगड़े की आवाज सुनाई पड़ती रहती है।

प्राचीन वैशाली में एक अद्भुत सामाजिक-राजनीतिक प्रणाली का विकास हुआ था, जिसमें जनता के सात हजार सात सौ सात प्रतिनिधि शासन करते थे। गौतम बुद्ध ने अपने (बौद्ध) संघ की शासन-प्रणाली लिच्छवियों, मंत्रों और शास्त्रों की राजनीतिक पद्धति से ही ली थी। उस दृश्य का अंदाज कीजिये जब इस भूमि पर जनता के प्रतिनिधि बैठकर शासन-सम्बन्धी निर्णय करते थे, जबकि इसके इर्दगिर्द राजतन्त्र का बोलबाला था। लिच्छवियों की न्याय-प्रणाली खास तौर से जिक्र करने लायक है। जब तक अपराध साबित न होता था, तबतक लोगों को सजा न हो सकती थी। इसके लिये उन्हें कई अवस्थाओं से गुजरना पड़ता था। अन्त में जब अपराध साबित हो जाता और अपील के लिये कोई उच्चतर सत्ता न बचती तब दंड-विधान देखकर सजा दी जाती थी। इस प्रकार की न्याय-प्रणाली हम भी अपना सकते हैं। हाँ यह दूसरी बात है कि समय बदलने के कारण उसमें उपयुक्त परिवर्तन करना पड़ जायगा। आजकल की पंचायतों के जरिये इस प्रकार का प्रयोग संभव है और होना चाहिये। मेरी निश्चित धारणा है कि हमारे गाँवों को, सीमित क्षेत्रों में ही सही, न्याय का प्रशासन स्वयं ही करना चाहिये। तभी हम स्वायत्त शासन का ठीक अर्थ जान सकेंगे।

मैं गत चालीस वर्षों से इस स्थान की यात्रा करने को सोचता रहा था। लेकिन आज ही वह इच्छा पूरी हुई है। मैं वैशाली में एक तीर्थयात्री के रूप में आया हूँ, जिस प्रकार प्राचीन काल में फाहियान और ह्वेनसांग आये थे। मैं इसकी महत्ता का पुजारी हूँ। यहाँ की चीजें देखकर और यहाँ के लोगों से मिलकर मुझे जो खुशो हुई है, उसका मैं शब्दों में ब्यान नहीं कर सकता। मुझे इससे सर्वांगीण संतोष की प्राप्ति हुई है।

अन्त में मैं यह कहकर अपना माध्वन समाप्त करता हूँ कि यदि लोग महावीर और बुद्ध के उपदेशों का पालन करें, तो चोर बाजारी और कचहरियों में झूठ बोलने की आदत तुरंत ही खतम हो जाय।





भगवान् महावीर और उनका लोक-कल्याणकारी सन्देश'

डा० हीरालाल जैन, एम० ए०, एल-एल०बी०, डी० लिट्०

प्रिय बंधुओ,

मैं वैशाली-संघ और उसके सुयोग्य प्रधान मंत्री श्री माधुरजी का बहुत कृतज्ञ हूँ, जो उन्होंने मुझे वैशाली की इस पवित्र भूमि के दर्शन करने और यहाँ एकत्रित जनता के सम्पर्क में आने का आज यह सुअवसर प्रदान किया। वैशाली एक महान् तीर्थक्षेत्र है, और तीर्थसंवेदना का अवसर मनुष्य को बड़े पुण्य के प्रभाव से ही मिला करता है। अतएव इस अवसर को पाकर मैं अपने को बड़ा पुण्यशाली अनुभव कर रहा हूँ।

इस वैशाली-क्षेत्र को तीर्थ की पवित्रता किस प्रकार प्राप्त हुई, यह बात आप सभी मली भाँति जानते हैं। यह वही भूमि है, जिसने भगवान् महावीर जैसे महापुरुष को जन्म दिया। यहाँ भगवान् महावीर का जन्म आज से कोई अढ़ाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व हुआ था। भगवान् महावीर कितने महान् थे, यह इसी बात से जाना जा सकता है कि अढ़ाई हजार वर्षों के दीर्घकाल के पश्चात् भी हम जोर आप सब आज अनेक कष्ट सहकर भी उनकी जन्म-भूमि के दर्शन कर अपने को धन्य और पुण्यवान् बनाने के लिए यहाँ आये हैं। इस सुअवसर पर स्वामावतः हमें यह जानने की कुछ विशेष इच्छा और अभिलाषा होती है कि भगवान् महावीर में ऐसा कौन-सा गुण था और उन्होंने ऐसा कौन-सा महान् कार्य किया, जिसके कारण उन्हें आज भी यह लोक-पूजा प्राप्त हो रही है।

महावीर कौन थे, यह बात विस्तार से बतलाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि उसे आप संभवतः इससे पूर्व अनेक बार सुन और पढ़ चुके होंगे। किन्तु उनकी जन्म-जयंती के इस अवसर पर उनके जीवन का स्मरण कर लेना एक पुण्य-कार्य है। इसलिए संक्षेप में भगवान् महावीर के जीवन-वृत्तान्त की चर्चा कर लेता हूँ।

१. ग्यारहवें वैशाली महोत्सव (अप्रैल ५, १९५५) के अवसर पर दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण।

आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व की बात सोचिए। संसार कितना परिवर्तन-शील है? जहाँ हम और आप इस समय खड़े या बैठे हैं, वहाँ उस समय एक वैभवशाली राजधानी थी और उसी का नाम वैशाली था। वैशाली का एक भाग कुंडपुर या क्षत्रियकुण्ड कहलाता था, जहाँ एक राजमवन में राजा सिद्धार्थ अपनी रानी त्रिशला के साथ धर्म और न्याय-पूर्वक शासन करते हुए सुख से रहते थे। रानी त्रिशला की कुक्षि से एक बालक का जन्म हुआ और राजकुमार के अनुरूप उसका पालन-पोषण और शिक्षण हुआ। इसी राजकुमार की उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ती हुई बुद्धि और प्रतिभा तथा उत्पत्ति-शाली धीरे-धीरे देखकर उसका नाम वर्द्धमान महावीर रखा गया। स्वभावतः यह आशा की जाती थी कि राजकुमार महावीर भी यथा-समय राज्य की विभूति का सुख-भोग करेंगे। किन्तु ऐसा नहीं हुआ। लगभग तीस वर्षों की युवावस्था में उन्हें राजमवन के जीवन से विरक्ति हो गयी, और वे आत्मकल्याण तथा लोकोपकार की भावना से प्रेरित होकर राजधानी को छोड़ वन को चले गये। उन्होंने भोगोपभोग और साज-सजावट की समस्त सामग्री का परिस्थान तो किया ही, किन्तु लेशमात्र भी परिग्रह रखना उन्होंने अपनी शान्ति और आत्मबुद्धि का बाधक समझा। इसलिए उन्होंने वस्त्र का भी परिस्थान कर दिया और वे 'निर्ग्रन्थ' या 'अचेल' हो गये। इस प्रकार बारह वर्षों तक कठोर तपस्या करने के पश्चात् उन्हें सच्चा, शुद्ध और संपूर्ण ज्ञान प्राप्त हुआ, जिसके कारण वे 'सर्वज्ञ' और 'केवली' कहलाने लगे। उस समय मगध देश की राजधानी राजगृह (आधुनिक राजगीर) थी और वहाँ सम्राट् श्रेणिक बिंबिसार राज्य करते थे। भगवान् महावीर बिहार करते हुए राजगृह पहुँचे और विपुलाचल नामक पहाड़ी पर उनका सर्व प्रथम प्रवचन हुआ। उनके उपदेशों को हजारों की संख्या में जनता ने बड़े भाव से सुना और ग्रहण किया। फिर कोई तीस वर्षों तक भगवान् महावीर देश के भिन्न-भिन्न भागों में बिहार करते रहे और इसीलिए इस प्रदेश का नाम 'बिहार' प्रसिद्ध हुआ। उन्होंने मुनि, आर्जिका, श्रावक और श्रविका इस प्रकार चतुर्विध संघ की रचना की, जिसकी परम्परा जैन धर्म के नाम से आज तक भी विद्यमान है। किन्तु मैं यह बात नहीं मानता कि महावीर भगवान् के उपदेशों की परम्परा केवल अपने को जैनी कहनेवाले लोगों में ही विद्यमान हो। भगवान् महावीर ने जो अमृतवाणी वर्षायी, उसका भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता ने पान किया, जिसका प्रभाव आज तक भारतीय जनता भर में कुछ-न-कुछ सर्वत्र पाया जाता है। बिहार करते हुए भगवान् पावापुरी पहुँचे और वहाँ करीब बहूतर वर्षों की अवस्था में उनका निर्वाण हो गया। प्राचीन ग्रंथों में उल्लेख मिलता है कि भगवान् महावीर का निर्वाणोत्सव दीपमालिकाओं द्वारा मनाया गया और आजकल जो दीपावली मनायी जाती है, वह उसी परम्परा की छोटक है।

भगवान् महावीर का उपदेश संक्षेप में यह था कि चेतन और जड़ ये दोनों अलग-अलग पदार्थ हैं, जिन्हें हम जीव और अजीव तत्त्व भी कह सकते हैं। ये दोनों प्रकार के तत्त्व अनादि और अनंत हैं। जीव का जड़ भौतिक तत्त्व के साथ अनादि काल से संबंध चला आता है। यही उसका संसार या कर्म-बंधन है। जीव शुभ कर्म करता है, तो उसे पुण्य का

बंध होता है और वह सुख भोगता है तथा स्वर्ग को जाता है। और जीव यदि अशुभ या बुरे कर्म करता है, तो उसे पाप का बंध होता है, वह दुःख भोगता है और नरक को जाता है। मनुष्य से लेकर पशु, पक्षी, कीट पतंग एवं वृक्ष, वनस्पति आदि सब सचेतन पदार्थों में जीव रहता है। जीव की ये गतियाँ उसके पुण्य और पाप के फल से ही उत्पन्न होती हैं। जब मनुष्य श्रद्धा, ज्ञान और संयम के द्वारा पाप-पुण्य रूपी कर्म-बंध का नाश कर देता है, तब वह इस संसार से मुक्त हो जाता है। यही उसका निर्वाण है, जिसके होने पर आत्मा में सच्चे ज्ञान और निर्बाध सुख की उत्पत्ति हो जाती है। इस प्रकार यही जीव परमात्मा हो जाता है।

अपने इस तत्त्वज्ञान के आधार पर मगवान् महावीर ने जीवन को सुखभय, सुधांति-पूर्ण और कल्याणकारी बनाने के लिए कुछ उपबोधी नियम स्थिर किये। चूँकि सभी जीव-धारियों में परमात्मा बनने की योग्यता रखनेवाला जीव विद्यमान है, अतएव सत्ता की दृष्टि से वे सब समान हैं और अपना-अपना विकास करने में स्वतंत्र हैं। वे सब अपने-अपने कर्मानुसार नाना गतियों और भिन्न अवस्थाओं में विविध प्रकार के सुख-दुःखों का अनुभव करते हैं। इसमें न कोई देवी-देवता उन्हें क्षमा कर सकता है और न दंड दे सकता है। अतएव प्रत्येक मनुष्य को अपनी पूरी जिम्मेदारी का ध्यान रखते हुए अपना चरित्र शुद्ध और उन्नतिशील बनाना चाहिए। अपनी इस जिम्मेदारी को कभी भूलना नहीं चाहिए और न सदाचार में कोई प्रमाद करना चाहिए। प्रमाद, भूल और अपराध करने से केवल अपना ही बुरा होता हो, सो बात नहीं है। अपनी आत्मा का अधःपात तो होता ही है, किंतु साथ ही उसके द्वारा दूसरे प्राणियों के विकास में भी बाधा पड़ती है। और यही यथार्थतः हिंसा है। जब हम क्रोध के वशीभूत होकर, या अहंकार-वश, अथवा छल-कपट-बुद्धि से, या लोभवश कुछ अनाचार या दुराचार करते हैं, तब हम स्वयं पाप के भागी होते हैं और दूसरे प्राणियों को हानि या चोट पहुँचाते हैं, जो हिंसा है। दूसरे जीवों का प्राण-हरण करना तो हिंसा है ही, उनको किसी प्रकार हानि या चोट पहुँचाना भी हिंसा है, जिससे सदाचारी मनुष्य को सावधान रहना चाहिए। किसी का प्राण-हरण करना या चोट पहुँचाना जैसा पाप है, उसी प्रकार चोरी करना, झूठ बोलना, व्यभिचार करना भी पाप है। यहाँ तक कि अपनी और अपने कुटुंब की आवश्यकताओं से अधिक धन-संचय का लोभ करना भी पाप है। इन्हीं पाँच पापों से समाज में नाना प्रकार का विद्वेष, कलह और संघर्ष उत्पन्न होता है। यदि लोग इस पाँच पापों का परित्याग कर दें, तो वे समाज के विश्वासपात्र और प्रेम-भाजन बन जाते हैं और कभी भी किसी देश या काल में किसी अपराध में नहीं फँस सकते हैं।

चूँकि सभी प्राणी परमात्मस्थ की ओर विकास कर रहे हैं, अतएव वे सब एक ही पथ के पथिक हैं। अतः उनमें परस्पर समझदारी और सहयोग एवं सहायता को भावन होनी चाहिए, न कि परस्पर विद्वेष और कलह की। विद्वेष का मूल कारण प्रायः यह हुआ करता है कि या तो हम भूल जाते हैं कि हम मनुष्य हैं, या हमारी लोलुपता हमें मनुष्यता से भ्रष्ट कर देती है। इन्हीं दो प्रवृत्तियों से बचने के लिए मगवान् महावीर ने मद्य और मांस

के निषेध का उपदेश दिया है। घराब पीकर मनुष्य मूल जाता है कि वह कौन है और अन्य जन कौन कैसे हैं। इसी से घराबी का आचरण अविवेक और निर्लज्जतापूर्ण हो जाता है, जिससे वह नाना प्रकार के भयंकर अपराध कर बैठता है। धर्माचार्यों ने सदैव मद्य-पान को पाप बतलाया है। आज सौभाग्य से हमारी राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस तथा सरकार भी मद्यपान के निषेध का प्रयत्न कर रही हैं। उनके इस पवित्र कार्य में सभी विवेकी और धार्मिक व्यक्तियों को सहयोग प्रदान करना चाहिए।

मांस-भोजन का निषेध मद्य-निषेध से बहुत बड़ी समस्या है, क्योंकि उसका संबंध आद्यत के अतिरिक्त भोजन-सामग्री की कमी से भी है। तथापि इस संबंध में हमें प्रकृति के स्वभाव और मानवीय संस्कृति के विकास की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए। प्रकृति में जो प्राणी मांस-भक्षी हैं, जैसे शेर, व्याघ्र इत्यादि, वे क्रूर-स्वभावी और निरुपयोगी पाये जाते हैं। शिक्षा के योग्य, उपयोगी और मृदु-स्वभावी वे ही प्राणी सिद्ध हुए हैं, जो मांस-भोजी नहीं हैं। शुद्ध शाक-भोजी हैं—जैसे हाथी, घोड़ा, ऊँट, गाय, बैल, भैंस इत्यादि। एक वैज्ञानिक शोध के अनुसार मनुष्य-जाति का विकास वानरों से हुआ है, और जैसा कि हम मली माँति जानते हैं, वानर शुद्ध शाक और फल-भक्षी होता है। प्राणिशास्त्र के विज्ञाता बतलाते हैं कि मनुष्य के दाँतों की अथवा उसके हाथ-पाँवों की रचना मांस-भक्षी प्राणियों जैसी नहीं है। इसी से मांस-भोजी मनुष्यों के दाँत जल्द खराब हो जाते हैं और उससे कई बिमारियाँ भी उत्पन्न हो जाती हैं, जिनसे शाक-भोजी मनुष्य बहुधा बचा रहता है। अतएव भगवान् महावीर के अनुयायियों का कर्तव्य है कि वे इन वैज्ञानिक तत्त्वों और शोधों के प्रचार द्वारा तथा शाक-भोजन की सुविधाएँ उत्पन्न करने के प्रयत्नों द्वारा मांस-भोजन की ओर से मनुष्य की रुचि को हटाने का आयोजन करें। अन्न और फलों का उत्पादन बढ़ाना तथा शाक-भोजनालयों की जगह-जगह स्थापना और उनमें रुचिकारक और सस्ते शाकमय खाद्य-पदार्थों को प्रस्तुत करना इस दिशा में उचित प्रयत्न होंगे।

ऊपर जो भगवान् महावीर द्वारा बतलाये गये हिंसा आदि पाँच पाप कह आये हैं, उनमें अन्तिम पाप का कुछ विस्तार से वर्णन करना आवश्यक है। भगवान् ने स्वयं राजकुमार का वेष छोड़कर अकिंचन व्रत धारण किया था। उन्होंने गृहस्थों को यह उपदेश तो नहीं दिया कि वे अपनी समस्त धन-सम्पत्ति का परित्याग कर दें, किन्तु अपने लोभ और संचय पर कुछ मर्यादा लगाना उन्होंने आवश्यक बतलाया। संसार में जितने जीवधारी हैं, उनके खाने-पीने और सुख से रहने की सामग्री भी वर्तमान है। किन्तु मनुष्य में जो अपरिमित लोभ बढ़ गया है, उसके कारण ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो गयी है कि प्रत्येक मनुष्य या जन-समुदाय संसार की समस्त सुख-सम्पत्ति पर अपना अधिकार जमाना चाहता है। इसमें संघर्ष और विद्वेष अवश्यंभावी है। महावीर भगवान् ने इस आर्थिक संघर्ष से मनुष्य को बचाने के लिए ही परिग्रह-परिमाण पर बड़ा जोर दिया है। और गृहस्थों को इस बात का उपदेश दिया है कि वे अपनी आवश्यकता से विशेष अधिक धन-संचय न करें। यदि अपना कर्तव्य करते हुए न्याय और नीति के अनुसार धन की वृद्धि हो ही, तो उस अतिरिक्त धन

को उन्हें बोधधि, शास्त्र, अमय और आहार इन चार प्रकार के लोक-हितकारी दानों में लभ्य देना चाहिए। अर्थात् संपन्न गृहस्थ का उन्होंने यह कर्त्तव्य बतलाया है कि वह अपनी संपत्ति का बहुपयोग लोगों की प्राण-रक्षा के उपायों में, शिक्षा और विद्या के प्रचार में, रोग-व्याधियों के निवारण में तथा दीन-दुःखियों को भोजन-वस्त्रादि प्रदान करने में कर डाले। आज आचार्य विनोबा भावे अपने भूदान-यज्ञ के आन्दोलन द्वारा जिस मनोवृत्ति का निर्माण करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं उसी वृत्ति के निर्माण का उपदेश भगवान् महावीर ने आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व दिया था। यही नहीं, भगवान् के उस शासन को उनके अनुयायियों ने आज से ढेढ़ हजार वर्ष पूर्व ही 'सर्वोदय-तीर्थ' का नाम भी दिया है। आचार्य समंतभद्र ने भगवान् महावीर के सर्वोदय-तीर्थ के जो लक्षण बतलाये हैं, वे सर्वोदय-भावना की वृद्धि और पुष्टि में आज भी बहुत सहायक हो सकते हैं। जब सभी विचार-धाराओं का समन्वय किया जाये, किसी एक मत या दल की पुष्टि और पक्षपात न किया जाये, किन्तु समय और आवश्यकता-नुसार गौण और मुख्य के भेद से एक या दूसरी बात को प्रधानता या अप्रधानता दे दी जाये और दृष्टि रखी जाये सब प्रकार की जन-बाधाओं को दूर करने की तथा जोर दिया जाये, न्याय और नीति के शाश्वत् सिद्धान्तों पर, सभी सर्वोदय-तीर्थ की सच्ची स्थापना हो सकती है। इस सर्वतोमुखी, सर्वहितकारी कल्याण-भावना का विस्तार भगवान् महावीर द्वारा प्रतिपादित अनेकान्त सिद्धान्त में पाया जाता है, जिसके द्वारा सब प्रकार के मतभेदों और विरोधों को मिटाकर एकत्व और सहयोग की स्थापना की जा सकती है। क्या ही अच्छा हो, यदि आज का विरोधी विचारों के कारण सर्वनाश की ओर बढ़ता हुआ मानव-समाज भगवान् महावीर की अनेकान्तात्मक समन्वयकारी वाणी को समझकर उससे लाभ उठाए।

आज संसार में चारों ओर नर-संहार की आशंका फैल रही है। युद्ध के बादल बारंबार उठ-उठकर गर्जन-तर्जन कर रहे हैं, और जिन महामयंकर प्रलयकारी अस्त्र-शस्त्रों का आज के विज्ञान द्वारा आविष्कार हुआ है, उनके नाम और गुण सुन-सुनकर ही निरपराध नर-समाज काँप-काँप उठता है। ऐसे समय में हमारे देश की राजनीति को निर्धारित करनेवाले पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने जो पंचशील की घोषणा की है, वह भारतीय संस्कृति के सर्वथा अनुकूल एवं भगवान् महावीर द्वारा बतलाये गये अहिंसा-प्रधान मार्ग का पूर्णतः अनुकरण है।

खम्मामि सब्ब-जीवानं सब्बे जीवा खमन्तु मे ।

मेत्ती मे सब्ब-भूदेसु वैरं मज्झ न केनवि ॥

सब जीवों से, देशों और राष्ट्रों से हमारा कोई विद्वेष नहीं, और हम चाहते हैं कि वे सब जीव, देश और राष्ट्र हमसे भी कोई विद्वेष न रखें। सबसे हमारी मित्रता है, वैर किसी से भी नहीं। परस्पर आक्रमण नहीं करना, दूसरे की गति-विधि में व्यर्थ हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना, मिलकर रहना, सहयोग रखना, जीना और जीने देना इत्यादि समस्त भावनाएँ अहिंसावृत्ति के व्यावहारिक रूप ही तो हैं, जिसे पुष्टि देकर संसार भर में फैलाना तथा व्यक्तियों, समाजों और राष्ट्रों के जीवन में उतारना हम सबका महान् पुनीत कर्त्तव्य होना चाहिए। यही भगवान् महावीर की जन्म-जयन्ती मनाने का सच्चा फल होगा।

मुझे यह जानकर बड़ा हर्ष है कि भगवान् महावीर के इन्हीं सब विस्मयकल्याणकारी उपदेशों का अध्ययन करने तथा उनके शासन पर आधारित साहित्य का शोध और बठन-पाठन की विशेष सुविधाएँ उत्पन्न करने के लिए उनकी इसी जन्म-भूमि पर एक विद्यापीठ के निर्माण का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। जो सज्जन इस पुण्य-कार्य में विशेषरूप से प्रयत्नशील हैं, उनमें मुझे वैशाली-संघ के प्रधान मंत्री श्री जगदीशचन्द्र माधुर जी का नाम प्रमुखता से ध्यान में आता है। मैं माधुर जी और उनके समस्त सहयोगियों का उनकी इस उत्तम योजना के लिए अभिनन्दन करता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि उनका यह महान् संकल्प पूर्णतः सफल हो।





प्राकृत साहित्य और वैशाली

राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

यह बिहार का सोभाग्य है कि उसका अतीत प्राचीन भारत के इतिहास की पृष्ठभूमि है। इतिहासकालीन भारत के जीवन को समझने के लिये बिहार को समझना आवश्यक है। हमारे गौरवमय अतीत से सम्बन्धित जितने भी प्रमुख स्थल बिहार में हैं, वैशाली निस्सन्देह उनमें से एक है। यह नगरी लिच्छवियों और वृज्जियों के गणराज्य की राजधानी थी। प्राचीनकाल में गणराज्य अथवा प्रजासन्त का यह स्थान प्रसिद्ध केन्द्र था। एक समय था जब इस भूमि में किसी राजा का शासन नहीं था, जबता के सात हजार से अधिक प्रतिनिधि सारा राज-काज चलाते थे और न्याय का बिधान इतना सुन्दर था कि स्वयं भगवान् बुद्ध ने अपने मुक्त से उसकी प्रशंसा की थी। निश्चय ही लोकशासन की सारी चेतना वहाँ मूर्तरूप से देखी जाती थी।

इसके अतिरिक्त वैशाली भगवान् महावीर की जन्मभूमि है और भगवान् बुद्ध को भी बहुत प्रिय थी। स्वयं बुद्ध भगवान् ने इस स्थान को बार-बार अपने चरण-रज देकर पावन बनाया था और इसकी सभा की देवताओं की सभा से तुलना की थी। वैशाली से जो सद्बिचारधारा प्रवाहित हुई उससे समस्त भारत ही नहीं, बल्कि एशिया के निकटवर्ती देश भी लाभान्वित हुए। इसलिए वैशाली का स्थान हमारे प्राचीन इतिहास में महत्वपूर्ण है। मैं समझता हूँ प्राकृत-अनुसन्धानशाला के लिए यह स्थान ही सबसे अधिक उपयुक्त है। हमारे सांस्कृतिक जीवन में और इतिहास के अध्ययन में अनुसन्धानशाला एक बहुत बड़े अभाव की पूर्ति करेगी।

इस अनुसन्धानशाला में जैन-साहित्य और प्राकृत ग्रन्थों के सम्बन्ध में अनुसन्धान और अध्ययन की व्यवस्था होगी। संस्कृति की दृष्टि से ही नहीं, भारतीय इतिहास और चिन्तन की दृष्टि से भी, इस विद्या में प्रयास का विशेष महत्त्व है। चार वर्ष हुए दिल्ली में प्राकृत-ग्रन्थों

१. वैशाली में प्राकृत अनुसन्धानशाला का शिलान्यास करते समय राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण (२३ अप्रैल १९५६ ई०)।

के प्रकाशन के लिये प्राकृत-ग्रन्थ-परिषद् की स्थापना हुई थी। मैं समझता हूँ उस परिषद् का कार्यक्षेत्र इतना विस्तृत नहीं कि वह प्रतापित अनुसन्धानशाला द्वारा किए जाने वाले कार्य का भार भी सँभाल सके।

प्राकृत-ग्रन्थ-परिषद् से मेरा सम्बन्ध सोमनाथ से उसी समय से है जब उसकी स्थापना हुई थी। प्राकृत भाषा में लिखित ग्रन्थों की खोज और टीका सहित उनके प्रकाशन के सम्बन्ध में मेरा सदा यह विचार रहा है कि यह कार्य इतिहास, साहित्य और संस्कृति की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। गत तीस-चालीस वर्षों से ही इतिहासवेत्ताओं और जैन आचार्यों का इस ओर विशेष ध्यान गया है, परन्तु यह कार्य नियमित रूप से हाल ही में आरम्भ किया जा सका है। प्राकृत अनुसन्धानशाला में जो उच्च कोटि का कार्य और अनुसन्धान किया जायेगा उससे प्राकृत-ग्रन्थ-परिषद् के कार्य को पथ-प्रदर्शन और हर प्रकार की सहायता प्राप्त होगी।

आज वैशाली में बैठ कर यह कल्पना करना भी कठिन जान पड़ता है कि ढाई हजार वर्ष पहले यह नगरी एक सम्पन्न और प्रभावशाली गणराज्य की राजधानी थी। विभिन्न भाषाओं में लिखे ग्रन्थों, स्तूपों आदि पर अंकित शिलालेखों से ही इस धारणा की पुष्टि नहीं होती, बल्कि धीरे-धीरे जैसे लुप्त ग्रन्थों की खोज होती जा रही है। इस सम्बन्ध में हमारी जानकारी में वृद्धि होती जा रही है। वैशाली, जो भगवान् महावीर की जन्मभूमि थी और सदियों तक उनके मतावलम्बियों तथा अनुयायियों की धार्मिक और साहित्यिक गतिविधियों का केन्द्र रही, आज जीर्ण-शीर्ण अवस्था में हमारे सामने है। परन्तु ढाई हजार वर्ष की उमर-पुष्कल के बाद भारत में फिर गणराज्य की स्थापना हुई है। आज इस यथस्वी भूमि के रत्नरूप से हमें उत्प्रेरणा मिलती है। यह स्वाभाविक है कि प्राचीन इतिहास के जानकार वैशाली के प्रति श्रद्धांजलि भेंट करें और उन ऊँचे आदर्शों को जीवन में फिर से उतारने का प्रयत्न करें, जो बौद्ध तथा जैन विचारधारा के अनुसार वैशालीके नागरिकों का पथ-प्रदर्शन करते थे।

वैशाली जिस राज्य की राजधानी थी वह यद्यपि देश भर में प्रभावशाली था पर बहुत बड़ा राज्य नहीं था। प्राचीन काल में वह देश के हृदय के समान था। यहाँ के गणराज्य की ख्याति चारों ओर फैली हुई थी और यहाँ की परम्पराओं तथा विचारधारा ने दूरस्थित प्रदेशों को प्रभावित किया था। यहाँ के जैन और बौद्ध आचार्य, जो अपनी भ्रमणशीलता के लिये विख्यात थे, देश के सभी भागों में घूमते थे और बुद्ध तथा महावीर के उपदेशों का प्रचार करते थे। भारत में ही नहीं, तिब्बत, नेपाल, ईरान, इंडोनेशिया, अफगानिस्तान आदि एशिया के दूसरे देशों से भी इन लोगों का सम्पर्क था।

उस समय देश में संस्कृत के अतिरिक्त दो और भाषायें प्रचलित थी, पालि और प्राकृत। महात्मा बुद्ध और उनके अनुयायियों ने अधिकतर पालि को प्रश्रय दिया, और महावीर स्वामी तथा उनके मतावलम्बियों ने प्राकृत को अपनाया। इन दोनों मतों के आचार्यों और अनुयायियों ने कालान्तर में जो कुछ लिखा वह अधिकतर पालि और प्राकृत में ही

उपलब्ध है। सौम्याय से पालि भाषा के क्षेत्र में बहुत कुछ काम हो चुका है जिसके फलस्वरूप प्राचीन-कालीन भारत की राजनीतिक और सामाजिक स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में हमारी जानकारी में काफी वृद्धि हुई है। सौ वर्ष के करीब हुए भारतीय और विदेशी विद्वानों के सहयोग से पालि-ग्रन्थ-परिषद् की स्थापना हुई थी। इस परिषद् ने अनेक ग्रन्थों का सम्पादन कर उन्हें प्रकाशित किया है, किन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश प्राकृत के संबंध में यह बात नहीं कही जा सकती। किन्हीं कारणों से हमारा ध्यान उस ओर अधिक नहीं गया है और विदेशी विद्वानों ने भी प्राकृत साहित्य के महत्त्व को बीसवीं सदी के आरम्भ में ही समझा है। यह बताने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं समझता कि किन कारणों से प्राकृत के क्षेत्र में उतना कार्य नहीं किया जा सका जितना पालि साहित्य के संबंध में किया जा चुका है। यही कह देना पर्याप्त होगा कि इस अभाव को दूर करना और देश भर में बिखरे हुए प्राकृत ग्रन्थों को प्राप्त कर सम्पादन के बाद उन्हें प्रकाशित करना, प्राकृत अनुसन्धानशाला तथा ग्रन्थ परिषद् का उद्देश्य होगा।

प्राकृत साहित्य के महत्त्व और उसकी विशालता के संबंध में दो शब्द कह देना आवश्यक जान पड़ता है। जहाँ पालि साहित्य की परम्परा अधिक से अधिक सात शताब्दियों तक चली, वहाँ प्राकृत की परम्परा की अवधि करीब पन्द्रह शताब्दियों तक चलती रही। भाषा-विज्ञान की दृष्टि से यह कहा जा सकता है कि इंडो-आर्यन परिवार की भारतीय भाषाओं का पालि की अपेक्षा प्राकृत से कहीं अधिक निकट का संबंध है। वास्तव में इस देश की आधुनिक भाषायें पूर्व मध्य युग में प्रचलित विभिन्न प्राकृतों तथा अपभ्रंश की ही उत्तराधिकारिणी हैं। हिन्दी, बंगला, मराठी आदि किसी भी भाषा को लीजिए, उसका विकास किसी न किसी प्राकृत से ही हुआ है। विकास काल में कुछ ऐसे ग्रन्थों की रचना भी हुई जिनका वर्गीकरण निहायत कठिन है, अर्थात् जिनके संबंध में सहसा यह कह देना कि उनकी भाषा प्राकृत है अथवा किसी आधुनिक भाषा का पुराना रूप, आसान काम नहीं। इस दृष्टि से देखा जायें तो आधुनिक भाषाओं की उत्पत्ति और पूर्ण विकास समझने के लिये प्राकृत साहित्य का सम्यक् ज्ञान आवश्यक है।

अपनी परम्परा के अनुसार जैन आचार्य एक स्थान में तीन-चार महीनों से अधिक नहीं ठहरते थे और बराबर भ्रमण करते रहते थे। उन्होंने जो उपदेश दिये और जिन ग्रन्थों की रचना की वे देश भर में बिखरे पड़े हैं। सौम्याय से उनमें से अधिकांश हस्तलिखित आलेखों के रूप में मंडारों में आज भी सुरक्षित हैं। ये ग्रन्थ सौराष्ट्र-गुजरात, राजस्थान, कर्नाटक और उत्तर तथा पूर्व में अनेक स्थानों में पाए गये हैं। इन सबको एकत्र करना और आवश्यक अनुसन्धान के बाद आधुनिक ढंग से उनके प्रकाशन की व्यवस्था करना एक आवश्यक कार्य है।

जैन आचार्यों और विद्वानों की एक और विशेषता उनकी रचनाओं की व्यापकता है। प्रायः सभी की भाषा प्राकृत है, परन्तु उनकी साहित्यिक परिधि महावीर स्वामी के उपदेश और धार्मिक विषयों के विवेचन तक ही सीमित नहीं। जैन भ्रमणों ने लोक भाषा को साहित्य का वाहन बनाया था। उन युगों की देश की लोक भाषा प्राकृत थी। इस कारण प्राकृत भाषा

में आज विपुल साहित्य मिल रहा है, थिलाकेल मिल रहे हैं, सिक्के मिल रहे हैं। सुनते हैं कि इस भाषा में छोटे-बड़े, प्रत्येक विषय के मिलाकर एक हजार के करीब ग्रन्थ हैं। महावीर के उपदेश संबंधी धार्मिक ग्रन्थसूत्र नियुक्तियाँ, चूर्णियाँ, भाष्य, महाभाष्य, टीका आदि के ३०० से ३५० ग्रन्थ हैं। धार्मिक साहित्य के अतिरिक्त लौकिक साहित्य भी, जैसे काव्य, छन्द, नाटक, कोष, गणित, मुद्राशास्त्र, रत्नपरीक्षाशास्त्र ऋतुविज्ञान, जातीय विज्ञान, भूगोल, ज्योतिष, शिल्पकल्पानियाँ, चरित्र कथानक, प्रवास कथा आदि मानव जीवन से संबंध रखने वाले सभी विषयों पर उत्तम-उत्तम ग्रन्थ जैन श्रमणों ने प्राकृत भाषा में लिखे हैं, और जो भी उन्होंने लिखा, बड़ी बारीक छानबीन के साथ विस्तार से लिखा है।

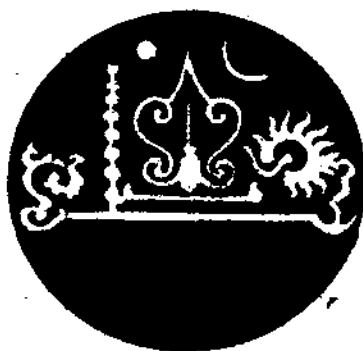
इस व्यापकता के कारण जैन साहित्य अथवा प्राकृत साहित्य का महत्त्व और भी बढ़ जाता है। जैसे मैंने अभी कहा, ईसा से पूर्व सातवीं शताब्दी से लेकर इधर आठवीं शताब्दी तक प्राकृत में ग्रन्थों की रचना होती रही। हमारे इतिहास के इस महत्त्वपूर्ण काल में देश के विभिन्न भागों में जो राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक स्थिति रही है, उस पर इस साहित्य द्वारा काफी प्रकाश पड़ता है। प्राकृत साहित्य का अधिकांश भाग अभी भी इतिहास के साधारण विद्यार्थी की पहुँच से बाहर है और हमारी साहित्य संबंधी धारणायें प्राकृत साहित्य में दिए गए तथ्यों और विवरणों से अभी प्रभावित नहीं हो पाई हैं। इस बात से आशा होती है कि भारत के साहित्य में जो सब से अधिक अन्धकारमय काल है, अर्थात् जिस काल के संबंध में हमारी जानकारी बहुत कम है अथवा अधिकतर अटकल पर आधारित है, उस काल के संबंध में प्राकृत साहित्य से प्रकाश पा, संभव है, हमारे इतिहास की अनेक गुत्थियाँ सुलझ जायें और दूटी हुई शृंखलायें जुड़ जाएँ।

इन सभी दृष्टियों से प्राकृत साहित्य की खोज तथा अवलोकन और प्राकृत ग्रन्थों के प्रकाशन का महत्त्व असाधारण है। भारतीय विद्वानों के अतिरिक्त डा० शूब्रिन आदि विदेशी विद्वानों का भी यही मत है। उनका कहना है कि प्राकृत साहित्य का पूर्ण ज्ञान प्राप्त किए बिना भारत के साहित्य का हमारा ज्ञान सदा अधूरा रहेगा। यदि स्वाधीन होने के बाद भी हम प्राकृत के छूस और विस्मृत प्रायः ग्रन्थों की पूरी खोज कर, उन्हें साधारण ज्ञान की सरिता में न मिला सकें, तो आश्चर्य ही नहीं लगना चाहिए।

भगवान् महावीर के सन्देश और उनके लौकिक जीवन के संबंध में अधिक से अधिक जानकारी प्राप्त करने का भी हमारे लिये ही नहीं समस्त संसार के लिये विशेष महत्त्व है। 'अहिंसा परमो धर्मः' का सन्देश उनकी अनुभूति और तपस्वर्या का परिणाम था। महावीर के जीवन से मालूम होता है कि कठिन तपस्या करने के बाद भी वे धुँक तापसी अथवा प्राणियों के हित-अहित से उदासीन नहीं हो गये थे। दूसरों के प्रति उनकी आत्मा स्नेहाद्रं और सहृदय रही। इसी सहानुभूतिपूर्ण स्वभाव के कारण जीवों के सुख-दुख के बारे में उन्होंने गहराई से सोचा है और इस विषय में सोचते हुए ही के वनस्पति के जीवों तक पहुँचे हैं। उनकी मूर्ख दृष्टि और बहुमूल्य अनुभव, जिसके आधार पर वे अहिंसा के आदर्श पर पहुँचे, साधारण जिज्ञासा का ही विषय न रहकर वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन तथा अनुसंधान का विषय होना चाहिये।

मगधान् महावीर के जीवन से एक और तत्त्व हमें ग्रहण करना चाहिये, वह है उनकी समन्वय-दृष्टि। अपने विचारों को उदार रख दूसरों को सहानुभूतिपूर्वक उनकी दृष्टि से समझने की क्षमता और अपने में मिलाने की शक्ति ही समन्वय दृष्टि है। महावीर की समन्वयात्मक दृष्टि भारतीय धर्म तथा दर्शनशास्त्र के लिये बहुत बड़ी देन है। इस सिद्धांत की गहराई और इसके उच्च व्यावहारिक पहलू को हम महावीर के जीवन से ही समझ सकते हैं।

इन सभी कारणों से, मैं समझता हूँ, वैशाली में प्राकृत अनुसन्धानशाला की स्थापना बहुत ही सामयिक है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि यहाँ जो अध्ययन होगा और जो खोज की जायेगी, उसके परिणाम स्वरूप जहाँ भारतीय इतिहास की टूटी हुई शृंखलाओं के जुड़ने की आशा है, वहाँ हम एक अत्यन्त प्रतापी और यशस्वी विभूति की जीवन-कथा तथा विचार-धारा का पूर्ण ज्ञान प्राप्त कर अपने आपको कृतकृत्य कर सकेंगे। मुझे विश्वास है कि यह प्राकृत अनुसन्धानशाला, जिसके शिलान्यास का दायित्व आपने मुझे सौंपने की कृपा की है, शीघ्र बनकर तैयार हो जायगी। मुझे इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि कालान्तर में इस शाला के कारण वैशाली फिर विद्या और संस्कृति का केन्द्र बन जायगी। बिहार सरकार और दूसरे जिन लोगों ने इस अनुसन्धानशाला की स्थापना में आर्थिक तथा अन्य प्रकार की सहायता की है, हमारे धन्यवाद के अधिकारी हैं। आगे भी इस पुण्य कार्य में सभी का पूर्ण सहयोग रहेगा, ऐसी मेरी आशा है।





वैशाली और दीर्घप्रज्ञ भगवान् महावीर'

डॉ० वासुदेव शरण अप्पवाल, काशी विश्वविद्यालय

सबसे नमः,

वैशाली महोत्सव के पुण्य अवसर पर आमंत्रित होकर आना मेरे लिये आपके अनुग्रह का फल है। यह पवित्र राजधानी भारत के सांस्कृतिक और राजनैतिक इतिहास में चिर-विश्रुत है। यहीं लिच्छवि गणराज्य ने मानव की व्यक्तित्व-गरिमा, समता और स्वतंत्रता के महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रयोग किए और इसी के समीप कुण्डग्राम में जन्म लेकर ज्ञातृवंशीय भगवान् महावीर ने मानव को चिरप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त करानेवाले उस महान् बुद्धिपरायण एवं साधनाप्रधान धर्म का उपदेश दिया जो, कहा जाता है, देवों में भी निष्कल गया था। विक्रम संवत् से ४७० वर्ष पूर्व महावीर का निर्वाण हुआ था। वे ७२ वर्ष की आयु तक जीवित रहे। अतएव ५४२ विक्रम पूर्व में उनका जन्म हुआ। उस दिन चैत्र शुक्ल त्रयोदशी थी। वही भगवान् महावीर की जयन्ती तिथि है। यह तिथि मानव के लिये नवीन आस्था और संकल्पवान् व्रतों का सन्देश लाती है। सत्य, अहिंसा और ब्रह्मचर्य के प्रति नूतन निष्ठा की जयन्ती के रूप में इस तिथि का महत्त्व है। अदत्तादान-परित्याग और अपरिग्रह रूपी महाव्रतों की विजय-पताका के रूप में यह जयन्ती तिथि बार-बार हमारे समक्ष आती रही है और प्रतिसंवत्सर में इसके भास्वर तेज का दर्शन हमें मिलता रहेगा। भगवान् महावीर महात्मा आदर्श के प्रतीक हैं। महाव्रतों की अलख साधना से उन्होंने जीवन का बुद्धिगम्य मार्ग निर्धारित किया और स्थूल जड़ शरीर से ऊपर उठकर भावों की शाश्वत विजय का नवीन मानदंड स्थापित किया। मन, वाणी और कर्म की साधना उच्च अनन्त जीवन के लिए कहीं तक कोई प्राणी कर सकता है इसका उदाहरण तीर्थंकर महावीर का जीवन था। उस महान् धर्म-समुद्र के मेघजल सुदीर्घ काल तक बरसते रहे हैं। आगे भी वह अभूत जल प्रत्येक के जीवन को सींच सके इसके लिये आवश्यक है कि हम उस आदर्श को अपने जीवन में यथाशक्ति उतारने का प्रयत्न करें।

१. बारहवें वैशाली महोत्सव पर २३ अप्रैल १९५६ को दिया गया भाषण।

हमारे सदाचार की शीत वायु पाकर ही धर्म का दिव्य जल आकाश से पृथ्वी पर आया करता है। अव्यक्त धर्म-तत्त्व को जीवन में व्यक्त बना लेना ही मानव का बड़ा कौशल है।

धर्म-तत्त्व

यह धर्म-तत्त्व बहुत ही सूक्ष्म, नित्य, व्यापक, देशकाल में सर्वत्र वित्त महनीय भाव है। इसी की पूर्णतम सशक्त अभिव्यक्ति मानव का अध्यात्मजीवन, नैतिक जीवन और सदाचार पर प्रतिष्ठित सामाजिक जीवन है। उसे ही सत्य कहते हैं। सत्य और धर्म पर्यायवाची हैं। प्रत्येक आचार्य, सिद्ध, केवली, जानी, ऋषि, बुद्ध, महात्मा, तीर्थंकर, महामानव इसी नित्य धर्म-तत्त्व का निज प्रयत्न से जीवन में प्रत्यक्ष करता है और उनका वह धर्ममय जीवन ही मानव का पथ-प्रदीप बनता है। शुद्ध धर्म-तत्त्व सम्प्रदायों की सीमा से सीमित नहीं होता। वह तो उन सब में अविभक्त रहता है। आकाशचारी मेघों के अमृत जल जिस प्रकार पृथ्वी के स्वच्छ सरोवरों में संचित हो जाते हैं, वैसे ही शाश्वत धर्म-तत्त्व के भाव मानवीय मन में पहले प्रत्यक्ष रूप में आते हैं और उसी शक्ति से भौतिक जीवन में अवतीर्ण होते हैं। धर्मान्वेषी संप्रदाय तो सत्य की प्रयोगशालाएँ मात्र हैं। किसी मत या पंथ का अनुयायी बनने मात्र से व्यक्ति का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। वह एकांगी गति है। मन, वचन और कर्म में सत्य की एक साथ गति सर्वांगीण गति है। वही सत्य सत्य है जो 'तिसत्य' हो, अर्थात् जो मन का सत्य है, वह वाणी का सत्य हो और जो मनवाणी का सत्य है वही कर्म का भी सत्य बना हो। इस प्रकार का सत्य या धर्म विश्व का सच्चा आलोक है। वह विश्वमानव के जीवन का चमकीला प्रकाश है। उसी के लिये कहा गया है—

नमो धर्माय महुते धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः

जिस तत्त्व से लोक में प्रजाओं के जीवन को सच्ची प्रतिष्ठा मिलती है, वे ही धारणात्मक निबन्ध धर्म हैं। मनु, वेद-व्यास, वाल्मीकि, इसी महाधर्म धर्मतत्त्व को आराधना करते हैं। वाल्मीकि के 'रामो विप्रह्वान् धर्मः' इस अनुभव में उस गुणसमष्टि की संज्ञा धर्म है, राम का जीवन जिसका प्रतीक मात्र है। भगवान् बुद्ध और तीर्थंकर महावीर ने उसी धर्म-तत्त्व को जीवन रूपी समुद्र के मंथन से प्राप्त किया था। यह अखंड दृष्टि धर्मों के समवाय की दृष्टि है। समवाय ही संप्रति सहिष्णुता और सम्मिलन है। वह दिव्य असीम भाव है जिसकी छाया में व्यक्ति का मन विश्व के साथ एक होने के लिये उमगता है। आज के मानव को इस समवाय दृष्टि की सबसे अधिक आवश्यकता है। विश्व के सिद्धिज पर आज जिस नये मानव का जन्म हो रहा है, वह श्रेष्ठप्रज्ञा, शील, मानव-प्रेम, सहानुभूति, मैत्री, कठणा आदि भावनाओं से प्रतिपालित विश्व मानव का स्वरूप है। जो धर्म इस विश्व मानव का निर्माण करने की क्षमता रखता है, वही उपादेय है। इस समय प्रत्येक धर्म को आत्मशुद्धि की अग्नि में तपना होगा। प्रत्येक धर्म इस कसौटी पर कसा जा रहा है। विश्व-प्रेम की कंचनवर्णी रेखा धर्म के छरे-खोटेपन को प्रमाणित करानेवाली होगी। अतएव यह युग आत्मप्रशंसा या महता कंठ से अपने गुण-बखान करने का नहीं है। धर्म या मत-

महान्तरो को अपने शुद्ध हिरण्य तेज को प्रकाशित करने की आवश्यकता जैसी इस समय है वैसी पहले कभी नहीं हुई थी। धार्मिक चमत्कारों से, महात्माओं की सिद्धियों से, अथवा स्वर्ग-नरक की कल्पनाओं से मानवी बुद्धि को व्यामोहित करने का युग सदा के लिये चला गया। सिद्धि और चमत्कार मानवी प्रज्ञा के शत्रु हैं। महावीर को आगमों में दीर्घप्रज्ञ कहा गया है। बुद्ध प्रज्ञा के महान् स्कंध या वृक्ष कहे गए हैं। कृष्ण का सबसे बड़ा बरदान बुद्धि-योग की शिक्षा है। बुद्धि या प्रज्ञा या ज्ञान की आराधना ही मानव की मानवता है। भावुक व्यक्ति सिद्धि को दूँता है। नैष्ठिक व्यक्ति स्वयं अपनी बुद्धि के धरातल पर आरुढ़ होकर प्रयत्न करता है और कर्मसिद्धि प्राप्त करता है। बुद्धिनिष्ठ मानव संघर्ष का आवाहन करता है। मनोजुगत मानव अनुकूलता या आराम से अभीष्ट पा लेना चाहता है। ऐसी भावना प्रज्ञाशून्य मानव की वृत्ति है।

श्रमण धर्म

जातुपुत्र महावीर को श्रमणधर्मा कहा गया है। प्राचीन भारतीय श्रमण धर्म की वास्तविक परम्परा जैसी महावीर के साधना-प्रधान धर्म में सुरक्षित पाई जाती है वैसी अन्यत्र नहीं। किन्तु इस श्रम का व्यापक अर्थ था। शरीर का श्रम श्रम है। बुद्धि का श्रम परिश्रम है। आत्मा का श्रम आश्रम है। एकतः श्रमः श्रमः। परितः श्रमः परिश्रमः। आ समन्तात् श्रमः आश्रमः। एक में जो शरीर मात्र से अधूरा या अवयव श्रम किया जाता है वह श्रम है। एक में जो मन और शरीर की सहयुक्त शक्ति से पूरा धर्म किया जाता है, वह परिश्रम है। और सबके प्रति चारों ओर प्रसृत होनेवाला जो श्रम भाव है वह आश्रम कहलाता है। ये तीन प्रकार के मानव होते हैं। केवल जो धर्मिक हैं, वे सीमित, बड़-भावापन्न, दुःखी और क्लान्त रहते हैं। जो अपने केन्द्र में जागृक शरीर और प्रज्ञा से सतत प्रयत्नशील रहते हैं वे दूसरी उच्चतर कोटि के प्राणी हैं। वे सुखी होते हुए भी स्वार्थनिरत होते हैं। किन्तु तीसरी कोटि के उच्चतम प्राणी वे हैं जिनके मानस केन्द्र की रश्मियों का बितान समस्त विश्व में फैला है और जिनका आत्मभाव सबके दुःख-सुख को अपना बना लेता है। ऐसे महानुभाव व्यक्ति ही सच्चे मानव हैं। वे ही विश्वमानव, महामानव या श्रेष्ठ मानव होते हैं। ऐसे ही उदार मानव सच्ची श्रमण-परम्परा के प्रतिनिधि और प्रवर्तक थे। वे किसी निजी स्वार्थ या सीमित स्वार्थ की प्राप्ति या भोगलिप्सा के लिये अरुणवास नहीं करते थे, वह सुख स्वार्थ तो उन्हें गृहस्थ जीवन में भी प्राप्त हो सकता था। अनन्त सुख की संयम द्वारा उपलब्धि ही श्रमण जीवन का उद्देश्य था जिसमें समस्त सीमा-भाव विगलित हो जाते हैं। काश्यप महावीर द्वारा प्रवेक्षित धर्म एवं शाक्य-श्रमण गौतम द्वारा प्रवेक्षित धर्म दोनों इस लक्ष्य में एक सहृदय हैं। दार्शनिक जटिलताओं को परे रखकर मानवता की कसौटी पर दोनों पूरे उतरते हैं।

शम का मार्ग

विश्व को अपने आत्मभाव की परिधि में समेट लेने की दृढ़ आधार-भूमि शम की उपासना है। शम या शान्ति विश्वमानव की सबसे महती संप्राप्ति है। एक ओर शम का तात्पर्य पूर्ण इन्द्रिय-निग्रह और आत्मविजय का मार्ग है। यही आध्यात्मिक साधना कही गई

है। इस पथ का यात्री सर्वथा निर्विकार और शुद्ध बनने का प्रयत्न करता है। इसी के अन्तर्गत महाव्रत और अणुव्रतों का जीवन है जिनका उपदेश अरण्यवासी भिक्षु और आगारिक गृहस्थों के लिये किया जाता है। अहिंसा की भावना शम का मूल है। जो व्यक्ति सर्व भूतों के हित में निरत है, जो सबको आत्मवत् मानता है, वह सबके प्रति अद्रोह की भावना ही जीवन में रख सकता है। अपने प्राणों के उत्सर्ग करके भी वह दूसरों का कल्याण करने का प्रयत्न करता है। किन्तु अहिंसा निराकरणात्मक धर्म नहीं है। कर्तव्य के रूप में प्राणीमात्र के प्रति प्रेम और हितबुद्धि की भावना सच्ची अहिंसा है जिसकी मानव को आवश्यकता है। जो व्यक्ति शुद्ध अहिंसा-वृत्ति में प्रतिष्ठित हो जाता है वह सारे विश्व के लिये चुनौती है। वह स्वकेन्द्र की परिधि का अनन्त विस्तार कर लेता है। उसका अविद्याली भाव उसे अमय प्रदान करता है। वह मृत्यु, भय और शोक से ऊपर उठ जाता है। ऐसे व्यक्ति का जीवन सब प्रजाओं के लिये उन्मुक्त हो जाता है।

किन्तु व्यक्तिगत जीवन की यह विमूर्ति व्यावहारिक जीवन को भी प्रभावित करती है। समाज और राष्ट्र का जीवन एवं अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जीवन, इनका भा सच्चा आधार शम की नीति ही हो सकती है। शम की नीति का उल्टा मार्ग साम्राज्यवाद है। आज हमारे राष्ट्र ने जान-बूझकर शम की नीति का अवलम्बन लिया है और सब प्रकार के साम्राज्यवाद को जहाँ भी वह सिर छिपाए हैं, मावात्मक चुनौती दी है। धर्मभावना, अहिंसाभावना या शम भावना एक ही मूल प्रवृत्ति के रूप हैं। जहाँ धर्मनीति और राष्ट्रनीति का संगम है, उसी रसपूर्ण स्रोत से इस जीवन-मार्ग का जन्म होता है।

गणराज्य की शम नीति

यह कहना उचित होगा कि राष्ट्र में शम की नीति का नाम गणतंत्र प्रणाली है और युद्ध या पर-उत्पीड़न की नीति का नाम साम्राज्यतन्त्र है। वास्तव्य गणतंत्र का रक्ते हुए भी गण साम्राज्यवादी बन सकते हैं। पर जो गण विधुद्ध शम की नीति अपना चुके हैं उनका तेज और धील दूसरे ही प्रकार का हूे जाता है। इस प्रसंग में महामारत समा-पर्व के उस प्रकरण (१४, २—६) की ओर ध्यान जाता है जिसमें साम्राज्य शासन पद्धति और गण-शासन पद्धति के मौलिक भेद और तारतम्य का विवेचन किया गया है। मगध के साम्राज्यवाद का अन्त करने के लिये यात्रा का विचार मन में लाकर कृष्ण युधिष्ठिर के साथ इन दोनों नीतियों के गुण दोषों का तुलनात्मक विचार करते हैं। हमारे आज के इसी क्षेत्र में एक ओर लिच्छवि या वृज्जियों के गणराज्य और दूसरी ओर मगध के प्रबल साम्राज्यवाद की लीलास्थली थी। इसीलिए भी यह प्रसंग मार्मिक और अवसरोचित है। प्राचीन परिभाषा में संघ-पद्धति के लिये पारमेष्ठ्य शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ था। तदनुसार पारमेष्ठ्य और साम्राज्य दोनों की निम्न-लिखित विशेषताएँ बताई गई हैं :—

(१) पारमेष्ठ्य शासन में प्रत्येक गृह या कुल में एक-एक राजा होता है। कुल-पद्धति पारमेष्ठ्य शासन का मूलधार है; ऐश्वर्यसत्ता कुलों में समान रूप से बँटी रहती है (गृहे गृहे हि राजनः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः)।

(२) साम्राज्य-पद्धति सबको हड़प कर सारा अधिकार एक व्यक्ति में केन्द्रित कर देती है (साम्राट् शब्दो हि कृत्स्नभाक्)। गणों की भावना इसके ठीक विपरीत होती है। गण शक्ति के एकत्र केन्द्रित होने को सहन नहीं कर सकते (न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते)।

(३) पारमेष्ठ्य या गणशासन में सब लोग एक दूसरे के अनुभव या व्यक्तिगतिमा को स्वीकार करते हैं (परानुभावज्ञ) और परस्पर मिलजुलकर व्यवहार करते हैं (परेण समवेतः)। वे स्वयं अपनी शक्ति की डींग नहीं हाँकते, जैसा साम्राज्यवादी किया करते हैं।

(४) गण राज्य में जनपद या देश की विशाल भूमि भीतर तक जीवन के कल्याणों से भरी पूरी रहती है अर्थात् राज्य की समृद्धि का बरदान दूर-दूर तक प्रजाओं के घर-घर में फैल जाता है। इसके विपरीत साम्राज्य में सब कुछ साम्राट् के राजकुल या उसकी राजधानी में सिमट कर रह जाता है। राजकुल के व्यक्ति या जिनकी बहाँ तक पहुँच हो जाती है, वे ही साम्राज्य में कल्याण के भागी बनते हैं।

(५) पारमेष्ठ्य शासन में शम या शांति शासन का मुख्य आधार होती है। जो लोग यह कह सकते हैं कि शम की नीति मोक्ष या निर्वाण के मार्ग पर चलनेवालों के लिये है, मैं उनसे सहमत नहीं (शममेव परं मन्ये ननु मोक्षाद् भवेच्छमः)। राष्ट्रनीति में यदि साम्राज्य की मनोवृत्ति को छोड़ दिया जाय और पारमेष्ठ्य आदर्श स्वीकार कर लिया जाय तो निश्चय ही शम या शांति की प्राप्ति सम्भव है। साम्राज्य का मूल बल है, पारमेष्ठ्य या गणतंत्र का मूल शम है, तभी तो जरासन्ध बलपूर्वक ही साम्राज्य चलाता था।

(६) यह निश्चित है कि सैनिक पराक्रम से पारमेष्ठ्य आदर्श की प्राप्ति कभी नहीं हो सकती (आरम्भे पारमेष्ठ्यं तु न प्राप्यमिति मे मतिः)।

(७) पारमेष्ठ्य शासन में सदा एक व्यक्ति सर्वोपरि या श्रेष्ठ नहीं रहता। जो गण के प्रतिनिधि हैं, उनमें कभी कोई और कभी कोई श्रेष्ठ बन जाता है (कश्चित् कदाचिदेतेषां भवेच्छ्रेष्ठो जनार्दन), अर्थात् कुलों की शासन-प्रणाली में श्रेष्ठता या परमत्ता कभी किसी के पास चली जाती है, कभी किसी के पास।

१. गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः।

न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते साम्राट् शब्दो हि कृत्स्नभाक् ॥२॥

कथं परानुभावज्ञः स्वं प्रशंसितुमर्हति।

परेण समवेतस्तु यः प्रशस्तः स पूज्यते ॥३॥

विशासा बहुला भूमिर्बहुरत्नसमाधिता।

दूरं गत्वा विजानाति श्रेयो वृष्णिकुलोद्भवह ॥४॥

शममेव परं मन्ये ननु मोक्षाद् भवेच्छमः।

आरम्भे पारमेष्ठ्यं तु न प्राप्यमिति मे मतिः ॥५॥

एवमेवाभिजानन्ति कुले जाता मनस्विनः।

कश्चित् कदाचिदेतेषां भवेच्छ्रेष्ठो जनार्दन ॥६॥ (सभापर्व अ० १४)

ऊपर जिन विशेषताओं का उल्लेख किया गया है, वे वैशाली के गणराज्य में पूर्ण-मात्रा में विकसित थीं अर्थात् वैशाली संघ में कुलसंस्था का शासन, व्यक्ति का अनुभाव या गरिमा और धर्म की नीति; इन तीनों विशेषताओं का वर्णन लिच्छवियों के इतिहास से प्राप्त होता है। लिच्छवियों के ७७०७ कुल थे। प्रत्येक कुल का कुलवृद्ध या प्रतिनिधि 'राजा' की पदवी धारण करता था—एकैक एवं मन्यते अहं राजा अहं राजेति (ललितविस्तर)। इसे ही महाभारत में 'गृहे गृहे हि राजानः' कहा गया है। प्रत्येक 'राजा' या कुल के प्रतिनिधि क्षत्रिय को गण के ऐश्वर्य या प्रभुसत्ता में समान अधिकार प्राप्त था। लिच्छवियों के वैशाली नगर में गण के अन्तर्गत राजाओं के जितने कुल थे उनके राज्याधिकार पर अभिवेक करने का जल एक विशेष पुष्करिणी या कुण्ड से लिया जाता था, जिसे मंगलपुष्करिणी कहते थे (वैशालीनगरे गणराजकुलानं अभिवेकमंगलपोषकरणी, जातक ४।१४८)। उस पुष्करिणी का जल राज्य के ऐश्वर्य का प्रतीक था। अतएव जिन कुलों में प्रभुसत्ता पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी चली आती थी, उन्हें ही मंगलपुष्करिणी से भूषाभिषिक्त बनने के लिये जल प्राप्त करने का अधिकार था। गण की सभा में वे ही बैठ सकते थे, जो विधिवत् भूषाभिषिक्त होते थे। यह अभिवेक किस अवसर पर किया जाता था, इस प्रश्न का उत्तर इस प्रकार है। प्रत्येक कुल का बड़ा बूढ़ा या कुलवृद्ध उसका प्रतिनिधि होता था। कुलवृद्ध पिता के अनन्तर उसका पुत्र इस पदवी का अधिकारी बनता था। उस अवसर पर उसका भूषाभिषेक समस्त समाज की उपस्थिति में समारोहपूर्वक किया जाता था। आजकल की भाषा में इस लोक-प्रथा को 'पगड़ी बांधना' कहते हैं। समस्त कुल एक दूसरे की तुलना में समानाधिकार रखते थे—जात्या च सदृशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा, अर्थात् सब भूषाभिषिक्त क्षत्रिय जन्म और कुल इन दोनों बातों में सर्वथा समान थे। कोई किसी तरह की विशिष्टता का दावा न कर सकता था। लिच्छवि संघ या वृज्जि जनपद में जो चिरन्तन परम्पराएँ पोषित हुई थीं, उनके अनुसार जातीय स्वाभिमान समत्वभाव, वैयक्तिक गरिमा और स्वातन्त्र्य भावनाओं की प्रधानता थी—ऐसा बौद्ध साहित्य से विदित होता है। पारिवारिक जीवन की शुद्धि और आदर्श स्थापना के उनमें कठोर नियम थे। कहा जाता है कि यहाँ के क्षत्रिय कुमार एक-से रथों पर एक समान वेश पहन कर एक से अनुभाव से निकलते थे। यहाँ की कुलपद्धति के लिये भाषा में विशेष शब्द ही प्रचलित हो गया था, जिसे कात्यायन ने 'वृजिगार्हपतम्' कहा है (सूत्र ६।२।४२)। सभापर्व में जिसे जनपद का श्रेय कहा है, उस कल्याण रूप की पूर्ण मात्रा का दर्शन लिच्छवि संघ में उस समय उपलब्ध था। उनके जीवन के रोचनात्मक वर्णन बौद्ध और जैन साहित्य में उपलब्ध हैं।

लिच्छवि उस समय की संघ-शृंखला में केवल एक कड़ी थे। वस्तुतः महाजनपद युग में संघों की यह परम्परा मिथिला से लेकर बाह्लीक तक फैली हुई थी। वह राष्ट्रीय जीवन का अभूतपूर्व प्रयोग था। मानवीय स्वतन्त्रता और वैयक्तिक गरिमा का जो अनुभव राष्ट्र ने उस युग में किया, वैसा फिर देखने में नहीं आया। जनपद या संघराज्य संस्कृति की सच्ची धात्रियाँ बन गईं। देश का अधिकांश क्षेत्र जनपदीय संगठन के प्रभाव में आ गया। उस युग

में तीन बातें विशेष रूप से प्रकट हुईं। एक आर्थिक समृद्धि, दूसरे नैतिक गुणों का विकास और तीसरे प्रज्ञा या बुद्धि के आकस्मिक स्फोट द्वारा साहित्य और ज्ञान का चरम उत्कर्ष। अनेक शिल्पों का ताना-बाना पूर्व से पश्चिम तक फैले हुए, जनपदों में छा गया था, जिन्हें उस समय की भाषा में जनपदी वृत्ति कहते थे। यास्क और पाणिनि ने उसका उल्लेख किया है और बौद्ध एवं जैन साहित्य में उन शिल्पों की लम्बी-लम्बी सूचियाँ भी पायी जाती हैं। समता और स्वतन्त्रता की भावना का परिपाक व्यक्ति के नैतिक गुणों में देखा जाता है। उस भावना की झलक बुद्ध और महावीर के उपदेशों में तथा महाभारत के नीति-प्रधान स्थलों में पाई जाती है। चरित्र की उच्चता का वह आदर्श अश्वपति कौक्य के इस वाक्य में अभिव्यक्त होता है—

न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः ।

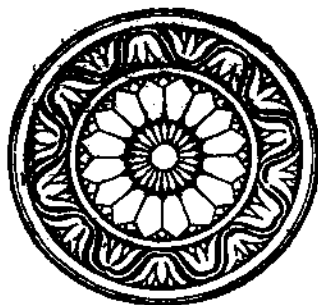
नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान् न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः ॥

वस्तुतः जनपदों के जीवन की नई प्रेरक शक्ति ही वह महान् धर्म थी, जिसकी ओर हमने आरम्भ में संकेत किया था। वही बुद्ध और महावीर के नीति-प्रधान धर्म के रूप में प्रकट हुईं। धर्म रीति-रिवाज वाला प्राचीन समयाचारिक धर्म न था, जो किसी-न-किसी रूप में सभी जगह मिलता है। धर्म का तात्पर्य उन धारणात्मक नियमों से था, जो प्रजा और राष्ट्र को धारण करते हैं। जनपदों में उत्कृष्ट बुद्धिवाद का एक नया आदर्श पोषण पा रहा था, जिसे उस युग के साहित्य में प्रज्ञा कहा गया है। सामान्य नागरिक और शासन का भार वहन करने वाले अधिकारी दोनों के लिये प्रज्ञा या बुद्धिप्रधान जीवन का उल्लेख प्राचीन साहित्य में, विशेषतः महाभारत में आता है। इस प्रज्ञा का उन्मेष साहित्य, धर्म और दर्शन के क्षेत्र में विशेष रूप से हुआ। ब्राह्मणों का उपनिषत् साहित्य, जैनों का अंग साहित्य, और बौद्धों का त्रिपिटक साहित्य उसी जनपदीय युग के प्रज्ञाशील व्यक्तियों की देन है। तीन धाराओं में अभिव्यक्त होने पर भी यह महीन साहित्य एक ही प्रज्ञा भावना से ओतप्रोत है। तत्त्वचिन्तन, सत्यान्वेषण, तथ्यात्मक व्यावहारिक कौशल ये इस साहित्य की समान विशेषताएँ थीं।

जनपदों और संघों में विकसित मानवीय जीवन के उच्चस्तर की कुछ कल्पना यास्क धाकटायन, आश्वि, श्वेतकेतु, याज्ञवल्क्य, जनक, बुद्ध, महावीर, मंजलि-मोक्षाल आदि-आदि अनेक आचार्यों के कार्य और विचारों से की जा सकती है।

भारतीय इतिहास में लगभग १००० ई० पू० से ५०० ई० पू० तक का युग महाजनपदयुग के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। इसी के गर्भ में लिच्छवि, शाक्य, कुश, मगध, गन्धार, मालव, क्षत्रक आदि महामायाली गणों और जनपदों का जीवन अन्तर्निहित है। वस्तुतः उस युग का पूरा महत्त्व अभी तक समझा नहीं जा सका है। यूनान के इतिहास में जो स्थान वहाँ के जग-प्रसिद्ध पुरराज्यों का था, कुछ उससे भी अधिक व्यापक और चिरस्थायी पद भारतीय इतिहास में जनपद राज्यों का है। भारतीय जनपद राज्यों का प्रयोग यूनान देश से कहीं अधिक विस्तृत और महान् था। दोनों के विकास और उन्नति का समय भी लगभग एक ही था। यूनान के पुरराज्य जनपदों के समान ही नीतिधर्म के आदर्श को दिव्यगुण और ईश्वरीय सत्ता का सर्वोत्कृष्ट

रूप मानते थे । दोनों में जीवन के उच्चतम परिष्कार का स्रोत नीतिधर्म ही था । सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से जनपद युग में भारतीय संस्कृति की जो मूल प्रतिष्ठा हुई, उस का जो क्षेत्रीय रूप उस युग में संपन्न था, उसी के आधार पर कालान्तर में जनपद संस्कृतियों के मिलने से राष्ट्रीय संस्कृति का स्वरूप विकसित हुआ । पुरुराज्यों में कुछ छोटे और कुछ अधिक शक्तिशाली होठे थे । वैसे ही जनपद और संघराज्य को भी कई कोटियाँ थीं । जिस प्रकार एबेन्स और स्पार्टा के बढ़ते हुए साम्राज्यों ने पुरुराज्यों को हड़प लिया उसी प्रकार भारत में बहुत से जनपदों के राजनैतिक प्रभुत्व और ऐश्वर्य सत्ता पर बौद्ध धर्म की मजबूत विद्रोह साम्राज्य का उदय हुआ । यद्यपि संघों की शम-प्रधान नीति समुदीर्घ साम्राज्य शक्ति के सामने विरुद्ध हो गई, किन्तु अमरता और स्वतंत्रता, समता और व्यक्तिमहिमा, प्रज्ञा और शील के जिन आदर्शों का उस समय विकास हुआ, उनके सौरभ से आज भी मानवीय सम्पत्ता सुरक्षित बनी हुई है । यही धर्म की चिरन्तन विजय है ।





वैशाली का सांस्कृतिक महत्त्व

श्री रंगनाथ रामचन्द्र बिवाकर, राज्यपाल, बिहार

आज का दिन केवल हम भारतवासियों के लिये ही नहीं, बल्कि समस्त मानव-जाति के लिये बड़े ही सौभाग्य एवं गौरव का दिन है। आज से लगभग ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व, इसी पवित्र भूमि पर, जहाँ अभी हम लोग एकत्रित हुए हैं, कभी उस महापुरुष का आविर्भाव हुआ था, जिसने सिर्फ मानव-समाज में ही नहीं, वरन् सृष्टि के समस्त जीवधारियों में, शान्ति, समता, सहृदयता और सह-अस्तित्व की स्थापना के लिए, अपने समस्त राजसी सुखों को लात भार कर संन्यास लिया था। कल्पना कीजिये, उस समय की, जब ३० वर्ष के राजकुमार ने अपने अग्रज के समक्ष, लोक-कल्याण की मंगल-कामना से अग्रिमृत होकर प्रव्रज्या ग्रहण करने की अनुमति देने के लिए आग्रह किया होगा और जरा उस स्थिति पर भी विचार कीजिए जब दिन के तीसरे पहर, यहाँ के ज्ञातृ क्षण्ड बन में, उस समय, जब समस्त वैशाली के नगर निवासी, बाल, वृद्ध, युवा, स्त्री, पुरुष, सभी उपस्थित होंगे, उसने प्रव्रज्या ग्रहण की होगी, उस समय उपस्थित जन-समुदाय के साथ-साथ स्वयं उस राजकुमार की अर्द्धाङ्गिनी, यशोदा, और पुत्री प्रियदर्शना की मानसिक अवस्था कैसी होगी, सोचने पर आज भी आँसु आ जाते हैं। आत्मोत्सर्ग का यह महान् आदर्श निरूपित करनेवाले, महापुरुष, जिस मिट्टी में पैदा हों, सचमुच वह धरती धन्य है, और धन्य हैं वहाँ के रहनेवाले वे लोग।

वैशाली, इस नाम में ही जाड़ का असर है। यह स्थान पुजपफरपुर से लगभग तेईस मील की दूरी पर अवस्थित है। छठी शताब्दी ई० पू० में ही यह वज्जियों का गणतंत्र-संघ से सम्बन्धित था। वज्जि संघ की यही राजधानी थी। साथ ही, वज्जि संघ के आठ गणतंत्रों में से सर्वाधिक शक्तिशाली लिच्छिवियों की राजधानी भी यहीं थी। सभी गणतंत्रों का संचालन बहुत ही व्यवस्थित एवं उत्कृष्ट ढंग से होता था। कहा जाता है कि भगवान् बुद्ध ने बुद्धधर्म को संघटित करते समय वज्जियों की गणतंत्र-प्रणाली की बहुवचनी बातों को हू-बहू स्वीकार कर लिया था।

१. बारहवें वैशाली महोत्सव के अवसर पर २३ अप्रैल १९५६ ई० को दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण।

किन्तु वैशाली के राजनीतिक महत्त्व तथा उसके अविस्मरणीय नागरिकों, लिच्छवियों की अपेक्षा, वहाँ के धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक महत्त्व अधिक प्रभावशाली हैं। वैशाली भगवान् बुद्ध का प्रिय स्थान था। उन्होंने अपना अधिकांश समय यहीं धर्मोपदेश में व्यतीत किया। उन्होंने यहाँ की जनता को त्रायस्त्रिंश देव की संज्ञा से अभिहित किया था। उन्होंने यहाँ की जनता की एकता, उनके प्रजातंत्र तथा उनकी धर्म-भावना की प्रशंसा की थी। यहीं की सर्वाधिक वैभवशालिनी एवं सुन्दरी वारांगना आम्बपाली ने स्वयं अपने आपको तथा अपनी सारी सम्पत्ति को भगवान् बुद्ध के चरणों में अर्पित कर दिया था और इसके द्वारा उसने यह सिद्ध कर दिया था कि व्यक्ति एवं वैभव के आकर्षण की अपेक्षा आन्तरिक शान्ति तथा अखण्ड व्यक्तित्व का महत्त्व कहीं अधिक है। इसी के निकट कोलुआ का एक स्तूप है, जो भगवान् बुद्ध के प्रियशिष्य आनन्द को समर्पित किया गया है।

जन्मभूमि

आज, २३ अप्रैल १९५६ ई० का दिन एक अन्य दृष्टि से भी बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है। इसी क्षेत्र का बसुकुण्ड, अन्तिम जैन तीर्थंकर वर्द्धमान महावीर का जन्म-स्थान है। आज ही उनका जन्म-दिवस है। वर्द्धमान महावीर आज के जैनधर्म के संस्थापक के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हैं। आपने संन्यास लेने के पूर्व ३० वर्षों तक तथा संन्यास ग्रहण करने के बाद बारह वर्षों का समय यहीं व्यतीत किया था। लगभग दो हजार वर्षों से भी अधिक समय से बसुकुण्ड ग्राम का यह छोटा-सा क्षेत्र, भगवान् महावीर की जन्म-भूमि होने के कारण, उन्हें समर्पित है। यह जमीन यों ही पड़ी है। इस पर किसी प्रकार की खेती नहीं की जाती। वह ज्यों-की-स्थों सुरक्षित पड़ी है। यहीं आज हमारे श्रेष्ठ राष्ट्रपति द्वारा, भगवान् महावीर के स्मारक भवन का शिलान्यास किया गया है।

वैशाली की यही राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमि के महत्त्व के कारण विद्वानों तथा जन-साधारण का ध्यान इस ओर विशेष रूप से आकृष्ट हुआ है। आज इस स्थान का महत्त्व पुरातत्त्व एवं सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से सर्वोपरि है। डॉ० श्रीकृष्ण सिंह के प्रेरणादायक पथ-प्रदर्शन से वैशाली संघ यहाँ वैशाली-महोत्सव का आयोजन करने लगा, तब से तो यह स्थान एक तीर्थ के रूप में ही परिणत हो गया है।

आज इसी पवित्र भूमि पर हमारे राष्ट्रपति द्वारा, प्राकृत जैनधर्म तथा अहिंसा के स्नातकोत्तर अध्ययन एवं शोध के निमित्त एक संस्थान का शिलान्यास किया गया है।

अहिंसा

यह विशेष रूप से ध्यान देने की बात है कि शोध-कार्य के लिए अहिंसा सर्वथा नया तथा अत्यन्त ही लाभदायक विषय है। यहाँ अहिंसा का सम्बन्ध केवल उसके आध्यात्मिक एवं धार्मिक पक्ष से नहीं है। अपितु, अहिंसा के सैद्धांतिक पक्ष से है। इसी के अन्तर्गत प्रेम का सिद्धान्त भी निहित है, जो सभी प्राणियों का आधार तथा सभी चेतन तत्त्वों का सम्बन्धसूत्र है। अपनी गौरवपूर्ण परम्परा पर ध्यान देने से, तथा हिन्दू-धर्म, जैन-धर्म

एवं बुद्ध-धर्म ने इस पर जितना जोर दिया है, उसे समझकर जब हम इस ओर ध्यान देते हैं, तब इस विषय का शोधकार्य बड़ा-ही महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रतीत होने लगता है। जैन-धर्म की रीढ़ अहिंसा ही है। वर्तमान युग में महात्मा गांधी ने अपने जीवन में, तथा उन्होंने जो कुछ भी कहा तथा किया, सबमें अहिंसा को ही प्रमुख स्थान दिया था। यहाँ तक कि विभिन्न राष्ट्रों के पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध में भी उन्होंने अहिंसा को ही प्रमुखता दी थी। आज अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में जिस पंचशील की शर्चा है, वह अहिंसा से ही उद्भूत है। डॉ० अलबर्ट जेविस्वर ने अपने लेखों में यह लिखा है कि यदि हमें अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा करनी है, तो जीवन के नये मूल्यों की आधारशिला के रूप में जीवन के प्रति आस्था को ग्रहण करना अनिवार्य है। ये सभी तत्त्व यही संकेत करते हैं कि अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त कितने गहन एवं आकर्षक हैं, अहिंसा का प्रवाह कितना विस्तृत है तथा मनुष्य जैसे सामाजिक प्राणी के लिए अहिंसा का अर्थ कितना व्यापक है।

संस्थान का शिलान्यास

उक्त संस्थान का शिलान्यास बिहार की भूमि में हुआ, यह इस तथ्य का स्पष्ट प्रमाण है कि बिहार-सरकार अपनी संस्कृति तथा दर्शन के प्रति यथेष्ट सजग है। इसका कारण भी है, समस्त भारत में बिहार ही प्राचीन परम्परा और संस्कृति की दृष्टि से वैभवशाली रहा है। उपनिषदों के याज्ञवल्क्य और मैत्रेयी, मिथिला के जनक, बुद्ध, महावीर, चन्द्रगुप्त, चाणक्य, अशोक तथा अनेकानेक महापुरुषों की भूमि बिहार ही थी। यही कारण है कि यहाँ बरजंगा में संस्कृत में शोधकार्य करने के लिए मिथिला संस्थान तथा पाठि और बुद्ध-धर्म में शोधकार्य करने के लिये नालन्दा में नालन्दा संस्थान स्थापित करने की प्रेरणा लोगों को मिली। उक्त संस्थान तो पहले से ही कार्यरत है, साथ ही कुछ दिन पूर्व नालन्दा बिहार की भी स्थापना की गई है जिसका उद्घाटन डॉ० राधाकृष्णन् ने किया था। इसके अतिरिक्त, फारसी और अरबी में शोधकार्य करने के लिये खुदाबक्स लाइब्रेरी में एक संस्थान खोला गया है।

अब बैथाली में प्राकृत, जैन-धर्म तथा अहिंसा के लिए यह संस्थान खुला है। यहाँ पर मैं अपने जैन मित्र श्री शान्ति प्रसाद जैन की प्रशंसा किए बिना नहीं रह सकता। श्री शान्ति प्रसाद जैन बिहार के एक प्रमुख उद्योगपति हैं। इस संस्थान की स्थापना इतनी जल्दी हो सकी, इसका पूरा श्रेय उन्हें और उनके सहयोगियों को ही है। इस संस्थान के मवन-निर्माण आदि के लिए उन्होंने पाँच लाख रुपये की राशि दी है, साथ ही आगामी पाँच वर्षों तक आवर्त्तक व्यय का भी कुछ हिस्सा आप देंगे।

सरकार इस संस्थान को भी बैसे ही चलायेगी तथा इसका भी बैसे ही सारा खर्च वहन करेगी, जैसे इसी प्रकार के अन्य संस्थानों को चला रही है। यह आशा की जाती है कि जैन-समुदाय, जो यथेष्ट समृद्ध और उदार है, इस ओर पर्याप्त ध्यान देगा, ताकि इस संस्थान की ओर न केवल भारत की ही विद्वन्मंडली आकर्षित होगी, अपितु समस्त संसार की विद्वन्मंडली इस संस्थान की ओर आकृष्ट होगी, क्योंकि इस संस्थान में अहिंसा जैसे विषय में शोधकार्य किया जायगा, जिसका महत्त्व सम्पूर्ण विश्व में अक्षुण्ण है।

नालन्दा में तो अनेकानेक बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी देशों के विद्वान् आकृष्ट हो रहे हैं। किन्तु मुझे इसमें संदेह नहीं कि वैशाली प्रोद्योक्त करनेवाले विद्वानों के लिए एक वैसा ही अच्छा-बुरा केन्द्र सिद्ध होमी, जैसा भारत या कहीं भी कोई अच्छा-से-अच्छा केन्द्र हो सकता है।

इस अवसर पर हम अखिल राष्ट्रपति डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी के अत्यन्त आभारी हैं, जिन्होंने हमारे आग्रहपूर्ण निमन्त्रण पर, चैत की इस चिलचिलती धूप, धूल और पछिया के मीषण शकोरों में हमारे बीच पधार कर, हमें गौरवान्वित किया है। डॉ० वासुदेव धरण जी अप्रवाह के भी हम अनुगृहीत हैं, जिन्होंने अपना अमूल्य समय देकर इस आयोजन को सफल बनाया है। अन्त में मैं इस समारोह के आयोजकों को, साक्षर श्री सोहनी को, जो राग-रंग की अपेक्षा वैशाली के नव-निर्माण कार्य को अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण मानते हैं और कुछ महीनों में ही वैशाली की कायापलट करने पर तुले हैं, धन्यवाद देता हूँ, जिन्होंने इस सभा की अध्यक्षता करने का गुह्यतम कार्यभार सौंपकर, मुझे भी मानवता के इस महान् सांस्कृतिक तीर्थ के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने का अवसर प्रदान किया है।

अथ हिन्द





THE CARDINAL TENETS OF MAHĀVĪRA AND JAINISM*

Dr. S. MOOKERJEE, M. A., Ph. D.

I must express my sincere gratitude to the organizers of the Vaiśālī Mahotsava and the Vaiśālī Saṅgha for conferring on me the privilege of participating in the cultural function of today. The Vaiśālī Saṅgha has already assumed historical importance and is bound to go down in future history as the centre of a momentous cultural movement sponsored that it is by Dr. S. K. Sinha who is better known as the 'Lion of Bihar' and his worthy colleagues Sri Deep Narain Sinha, the Vice-President and others. It shows their appreciativeness of merit and service of the Saṅgha that Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S. is its permanent Chief Secretary though he is now placed far away from Vaiśālī in the larger interests of the nation. The honour that has been bestowed upon me shows the confidence of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha but none is more conscious than myself of my limitations. The honour may prove an invidious distinction when my performance will be compared with that of my predecessors. I have accepted this offer not because of the supposed honour, but because of the sacred occasion which must attract a pilgrim who wants to derive a spiritual benefit. It again augurs favourably for the future that the function has received the blessings of our beloved Rajyapal, Dr. Zakir Hussain, who is admired by all for his keen appreciation of the cultural values of our country.

Vaiśālī is one of the names in India's history to conjure with. Its glories have been celebrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Later on it became the centre of a cultural renaissance and was noted in the past for its spiritual upsurgence, the heroism of its warriors, the sagacity and self-restraint of its administrators and super-abundant prosperity and wealth. It has the prerogative of having given birth to Mahāvīra, the last prophet of the Jaina religion and of being the place of Gautama Buddha's austerities and missionary activities. It is extremely appropriate that Vaiśālī is again

* Address delivered at the fourteenth Vaiśālī Festival (2-4-'8).

coming to the focus of the nation's attention. It was the cradle of the ancient Republican confederacy of the Licchavis, Vṛjjis and the Mallas. It is a remarkable feature of the history of Vaiśālī that the mighty Licchavi clans were equally jealous of their political independence and their spiritual glory. Buddhism and Jainism, both have had their roots in its soil and both these religious movements contributed to the developments of balanced mentality which saved the people from the corrosive influence of martial power and material prosperity.

We are commemorating today the birth of Mahāvīra, the historical prophet of the Jaina religion. It is a matter of congratulation that the Jaina religion still maintains its distinctive individuality both in the organisation of order of ascetics, and the lay community which is remarkable for its commercial enterprise and its super-abundant wealth. Though Jainism cannot claim to have the patronage and support of the Kṣatriya rulers as in the past, it still maintains its hold on a considerable part of the mercantile community of India. The lay followers of Mahāvīra's creed have won the admiration of all and sundry for their strict adherence to the principle of '*Ahiṃsā*', non-injury to living beings.

The contributions of the Jaina monks in the fields of Logic, Ethics, and Metaphysics have not been inconsiderable, although they did not attract the attention of the intellectual classes in proportion to their importance. From the 7th century A. D. down to the 12th century A.D. the Jaina scholars entered the intellectual arena and produced works of stupendous merit and strength. But the cultivation of these disciplines was confined to the monks, some of whom gained royal patronage in South India and Gujarat. So far as the lay community were concerned they were fully occupied with the pursuit of trade and commerce and acquisition of wealth, a part of which was utilised in the building of Jaina temples of exquisite artistic perfection and the maintenance of the monastic order whose wants, however, were few and limited. It is a happy sign of the resurgence of India's national spirit that the lay community now realises the necessity of cultivating the rich treasures of knowledge, that have been preserved by the labour of the Jaina monks.

I trust that I shall not be misunderstood when I voice a word of warning and precaution in this momentous striving for the revival of the ancient creed of Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra was far and away the greatest apostle of '*Ahiṃsā*'. Fortunately the emphatic preaching of the doctrine of non-violence by Mahatma Gandhi and his employment of it as a weapon of the national fight for the recovery of political independence broke the placid contentment of the Jaina community, who were stirred to enthusiasm

by the success achieved by the 'Father of the Nation'. Mahatma Gandhi's appraisal of the power of non-violence was based upon a rigorous logical assessment which was not coloured by emotionalism. Mahatmaji was a nationalist in every inch and fibre of his being. Though susceptible to powerful emotions he always conquered them by logic. If emotionalism gets the upper hand of the intellect there is a risk of wastage and ultimate collapse and exhaustion. We must beware of emotional outbursts which, however noble and admirable, may lead us away from the goal.

We must study the life and activities of Mahāvira in a calm, detached and dispassionate spirit. We find him firm as a rock, and unshakable in his convictions. Both Mahāvira and the Buddha are noted for their self-possession and perfect control of the animal passions. Not a word of abuse, no curse and no word of vituperation escaped their lips. They endured the worst calumny and condemnation by their opponents with perfect equanimity and ease. Mahāvira, we must recall, gained the hearts of his enemies by his self-mastery. He could not bring himself to injure the life of even the most dangerous enemy, be it man or beast or vermin.

Next to '*Ahimsā*' he preached the supreme necessity of truthfulness (*Satya*). Non-violence without love of truth is only a misnomer. It is no better than a pretence. This was also the position of the Buddha. It is a remarkable coincidence that Mahatma Gandhi laid equal stress upon both. We must remember that the vow of non-violence cannot be observed by lying and untruthfulness. The message of the Vedas '*Satyameva Jayate*' which has been adopted as our national motto after independence, is not a mere pious exhortation, an ideal to be striven after but unrealized in practical life. Lying involves deception and deception is a necessary concomitant of violence; they are bound to go together. Let us remember on this solemn occasion this article of creed preached by Mahāvira and the prophets of India and the world.

The third cardinal truth as an essential prerequisite of higher moral and spiritual life, which was preached by Mahāvira, is the vow of non-stealing (*asteya*). Stealing has infinite varieties and its subtler shades and nuances may deceive even the practisers. Black marketing, profiteering and exploitation of the poor are different forms of stealing. We must remember that is a subtler of violence more virulent than mere physical injury and assault. To rob a man of his means of subsistence even by the most persuasive tricks of mellifluous speech is worse than taking away his life. Physical murder may be a *coup de grace*. I fervently wish that mankind should realise the enormous gravity of this sin. It is incumbent upon the professional followers of Mahāvira to set an example. Love of

wealth has become the obsession of the reading community, and like an infectious disease it has spread its contagion upon all and sundry. It is high time that we should realise the futility of the excess of wealth, which has no use for the possessor.

The fourth cardinal creed of *aparigraha*, the vow of non-possession, lays its finger upon the root of the preceding evil. The possessive and acquisitive instincts are the most degrading passions of humanity. It springs from and feeds upon undue self-love and self-esteem. It only strengthens the animal ego. It fosters greed and avarice which leads to the emasculation of the intellectually weaker sections of humanity. It deprives our unfortunate fellow-beings of their means of self-development. We should ponder over the far reaching evil consequences of this vain love of possession. There is not enough of material good in the world and the enormous hiatus in the living standards of the rich and the poor will not be tolerated by the forces of nature. The present political and economic maladjustment is the result of this unethical proclivity. The desire for having more than others and what is necessary is a crime and a sin. The trends of modern thought and policies of the states all over the world are definitely set against this psycho-ethical malady. Mahāvīra went to the root of the problem of evil when he gave it a co-ordinate status with non-violence.

Observance of celibacy (*Brahmacarya*) has been recommended for the monastic order. But the psychology of celibacy goes deeper than the outward observance. Adultery has been denounced by all the prophets of the world. The impulse of race preservation must be canalized in proper channels. Conjugal relationship must be based upon and fostered by mutual love and love of posterity. It is in the interest of the future generations that a man must learn to control his sex life.

These are the cardinal tenets of the Jaina creed, and happily they have been equally emphasised by the Buddha and the apostles of the orthodox Brahminical creed. It will be a travesty of truth and grievous error of judgement if we delude ourselves into the belief that these were the teachings of one particular religion. They constitute the universal basis of all religions in the true sense of the term. Institutionalised religions may have erred in their emphasis upon the one or the other. That was because they had to accommodate themselves to the political exigencies of the time. Every religion has its genesis in the realisation of the highest truth, which, however, becomes enervated by the impact of material forces and misapplied enthusiasm. The rot must be checked and corrected by a deeper philosophy of life. It is a matter of inspiration that Mahāvīra and the

Buddha did not lose sight of the need of this philosophy. Mahāvira preached the philosophy of *anekānta* and the Buddha the philosophy of the middle path (*Madhyamā pratipadā*).

It will not be out of place if we try to understand the significance of these two allied philosophical doctrines. The doctrine of *anekānta* as well as the Middle Path is not a temporizing device of practical compromise. Both deprecate extremism and both stress the need of attending to the other side of the issue, whether in the philosophical, ethical or practical plane of day-to-day affairs. Though the developed form of *syādvāda* or *anekāntavāda* may not be historically traceable to Mahāvira, it is undoubtedly a logical corollary of his fundamental standpoint. Truth has its many facets and aspects, and to erect one such aspect into the whole and full truth is not only logically wrong, but practically self-stultifying. Mahāvira did not condemn the world. He did not dismiss it as a deceptive appearance calculated to fasten within its coils the condemned soul of men. What makes our existence in the world a source of worry and frustration is our misdirected ethical and psychological dispositions. One must not harm another because the retribution is sure though not swift. To do mischief is to invite it back on one's own head. This is the moral law, the law of *Karma*, from whose orbit no one can run away as a fugitive. It constitutes the paramount distinction of the Jaina creed that it does not admit any hierarchy in the field of living beings, and holds the life of an insect as sacred as that of a spiritually developed man. Not only this, it believes in the sanctity of vegetable life which also is an exponent of the similar conscious entelechy as that of higher beings. Deliberate mischief must be avoided. True, that absolute non-injury to life is not feasible in this imperfect world. But we must refrain from inflicting pain and death on living beings when avoidable. Mahāvira has accordingly drawn a distinction between deliberate (*bhāva*) and unavoidable injury (*dravyahimsā*). After all he also recognises the truth which was emphasised by the Buddha that it is the motive and intention that are the morally decisive factors and ultimate springs of moral actions. We must not kill any living being out of greed or anger or pride. These base impulses have been classed under the most comprehensive concept called '*Pramāda*'. Situated as we are, it is not possible for us to frustrate mass-violence by the spiritual power of love, which is the prerogative of exceptional men like the Buddha or Mahāvira. We are compelled to neutralize violence with violence and this is our limitation. The preservation of national autonomy, freedom of faith and culture call for utmost sacrifice and a temporary lowering down of the ideal of non-violence. But the course of

evolution may reach its summit, and peoples of all countries may one day reach the same level of moral elevation, which will make resort to violence and arbitrament of arms, things of past history. The present endeavours in the inter-national plane for settlement of disputes by mutual understanding are good omens for the future consummation.

The philosophy of *anekānta* necessarily entails respect for the other possible view-points. Our differences mostly spring from our inability to appreciate the justice of the standpoint of others. If we cannot agree and reach unanimity, we must educate ourselves to agree to differ. We must not be intolerant. Intolerance breeds fanaticism which is the worst passion of the human mind and which has been responsible for untold miseries in the past. We are sure to hasten the course of devolution if we ponder over the failure of our ancestors and try to avoid the fallacies which checkmated the progress of mankind. I am happy to remind you of the exhortations of our Rajyapal who has in his different addresses emphasised the need of patience and of appreciating the spirit which creates differences.

Our old religions were of great service to mankind through long centuries of history. They brought solace and spiritual satisfaction to their followers. They conferred benefits on mankind, because they are founded upon eternal truths. But the differences and rivalries between one religion and another arose only when the attention of the adherents was diverted from the eternal to ephemeral and from the essential to the unessential. So far as the eternal principles are taken into consideration there is very little room for quarrel over religion. But as religion necessarily expresses itself in formal observance of rituals, which are determined by the exigencies of historical and geographical circumstances, differences arise. Every religious man is justified in clinging to his faith, and the observance of the time-honoured modes of worship. But when one endeavours to impose his mode of religious practice upon others who have their different codes of religious conduct, religion becomes a scourge and curse. This aberration is directly engendered by the exuberance of enthusiasm and emotion. Emotionalism untrammelled by rational thought is a prolific source of mischief. In these days of advanced scientific and philosophic speculations, this sort of emotionalism has become an anachronism. We must be content to resort to persuasion, and shun coercion or exploitation. We must realise the limitations incident to the flesh, and must not let ourselves behave as perfect models and patterns, and look down upon others who, for want of proper milieu and educational opportunities, may not have reached the standard of the

advanced sections of mankind. The Buddha preached the necessity of love and friendship and he used them as the weapons of persuasion. Though Mahāvīra's emphasis upon '*Ahiṃsā*' has been interpreted more in the negative than in the positive aspect, I believe that he had not a fundamental difference with the Buddha in this regard. The Buddha made non-violence the exponent of love and friendship and compassion. Mahāvīra was also activated by these noble impulses. We have emphasised in the past the subtle shades of difference, and magnified them out of all proportion. We sometimes put the telescope on our blind eye, and the result is misunderstanding. We have quarrelled over ethical principles and religious doctrines without the least compunction, and the result has been that on this unhappy earth which is too easily obnoxious to the natural calamities of disease, decay and death, religion has made the cup of our suffering full to the brim. I invite the attention of all right thinking men and women to realise the necessity of revising our old way of contact and thought. Let us sincerely try to understand the fundamental unity of the human mind, and imbibe the eternal truths which have inspired the different religious creeds. Let us assess the results of history, and examine whether the truths inculcated by the prophets have been validated by the verdict of history. Has violence ever succeeded for long? Has the need of love and understanding and friendship become defunct? I am persuaded to think that these truths have always triumphed over selfishness and hatred. The successes achieved by hatred in the past have been ephemeral because they did violence to the inner spirit of man. We will honour Mahāvīra to our own benefit, if we endeavour to enter into the philosophy of the fundamental tenets preached by him. Even if we make due allowances for the moral weaknesses of man, we cannot but recognise the truth that the elevated code of ethics and religion preached by him will ensure the survival of mankind and the growth of civilization in the true sense of the term. Civilization has grown in its material content, and the paramount need of the present and the future generations will be to enrich the spiritual content of it.

Before I resume my seat I must again give voice to my feelings of thankfulness to the Vaiśālī Saṅgha for the opportunity they have given me for participating in the momentous celebrations of the day on this sacred spot. In spite of my advancing age and declining health I have not become a cynic. I am optimistic of the future glory and intellectual and spiritual triumphs of our nation. We have made a good beginning and our leaders and administrators are laying the foundation of the future edifice. I have unshakable faith in their sincerity and patriotism. I have

again implicit faith, though I cannot logically justify it, that the catastrophe of the third world-war will be averted, and poverty in any shape, physical, intellectual and moral, will pass away like a mist before the sun. In conclusion, I appeal to you to permit me to combine my homage with yours to the spirit which embodied itself in Mahāvīra, the great prophet whom we are commemorating by this function.





THE GLORY THAT WAS VAIŚĀLĪ*

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

On this holy occasion which has gathered us all at this unique place in India's history, I am happy and grateful indeed for the opportunity given to me to pay tribute of worship to that great religious leader, Lord Mahāvira.

It may, with truth, be said that in the not long list of India's illustrious and eventful cities, few there are that have better earned a niche in the temple of fame and a place in the hearts of their citizens than the intrepid, prosperous and accomplished city Vaiśālī. The history of this place is deep rooted in the very remote past.

The greatest intellectual thinker, Ādi Śaṅkara, begins with the city of Viśālā in his list of cities, whose names he dextrously utilises to bring out the characteristics of Devi's looks. The verse from *Saundaryalaharī* (49) runs as :

“विशाला कल्याणी स्फुटरुचिरयोध्याकुवलयैः
कृपाधाराधारा किमपि मधुराभोगवतिका ।
अवन्ती दृष्टिस्ते बहुनगरविस्तारविजया
घ्रुवं तत्तन्नामव्यवहरणयोग्या विजयते” ॥४९॥

PRE-BUDDHISTIC VAIŚĀLĪ

Vaiśālī (Basāḍha, in Hajipur Sub-division of Muzzaffarpur) is the birth-place of Lord Mahāvira, the 24th Tirthaṅkara of Jainism. It was the capital of the Licchavi Clan, related by marriage to the Magadha kings and the ancestors of the kings of Nepal, of the Mauryas and of the Guptas. It was the seat of Vajjian confederacy, afterwards defeated by Ajātaśatru. It was a great and flourishing city within the territories of the free clans that constituted the social and political life of ancient India of the 7th-6th Century B. C. Though Vaiśālī represents the conflu-

* Address delivered at the Seventeenth Vaiśālī Festival (30-3-61).

ence of Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist streams of life and thought, it has its roots in a remote past.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bāla*, *Sar.* 47, vv. 11-12) Alambuṣā, the Ikṣvāku Queen, bore a son, named Viśāla, who founded the city and called it Viśālāpuri.

इक्ष्वाकोस्तु नरव्याघ्रः पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः ।

अलंबुषायामुत्पन्नो विशाल इति विस्तृतः ॥

तेन चासीदिहस्थाने विशालेति पुरीकृता ।

This is corroborated by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (9th Sk. Adh. 2, Verse 33) as

‘विशालो वंशकृद्राजा वैशालीं निर्ममे पुरीम्’

The splendour of the city receives due notice at the hands of sage Vālmīki who describes Lord Rāmacandra as passing one night in the city on his way to Janakapura and as enjoying the hospitality of the then ruling king, Sumati.

The route to the of city Vaiśālī and Mithilā from the āśrama of Viśvāmitra known as *Caritra-vana* (at Buxar) is described in *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bāla*, 26) as, from *Caritra-vanā* to the Sona river, a journey of 12 hours, from the Sona banks to the city of Girivraja with its five peaks, and Sumāgadhī hill-stream between the peaks, then along the Sona's west bank northwards, a journey of 6 hours, to where Sona joined the Ganga, thence crossing Ganga to its north bank where lay Vaiśālī city. The landing place of Śrī Rāma on the north bank appears to have been Hajipur from where Rāma is described by Vālmīki as having had a glimpse of the towers of Vaiśālī, a beautiful, celestial capital of the *Vaiśālīkaḥ rājānaḥ*. This landing place of Rāma is said to be the present Rāma temple to the west of Hajipur. It is also believed that Rāma visited for 3 nights the *Gajendra-mokṣa-tīrtha* in Viśālakṣetra, which is now marked by the Sonapur temple. Proceeding north from Vaiśālī, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Viśvāmitra came to *Ahalyāśrama* (modern Ahisri), 24 miles south of Janakapur and beheld Mithila city (Janakapur—Jayanagar?).

Subsequently but long prior to the birth of the last Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvira, Vaiśālī became a republic and a noteworthy seat of democratic ideas. The Licchavi republic with Vaiśālī as its capital is referred to in the old Pāli records of the 6th century B. C. as one of the clan republics, the others being the Sakiyas, the Bulis, the Kalamas, the

Bhaggai, the Koliyas, the Mallas of Pāvā, the Mallas of Kuśinārā and the Moriyas.

Such was the state of the country (republic), east of Kośala between the Himālayas and the Ganga in the 7th and 6th centuries B. C., when two great leaders of humanity, Lord Mahāvira and Lord Buddha, appeared on the horizon to spread the gospel of peace (*Śānti*), love, kindness (*Karunā*) and (*Ahiṃsā*).

With the conquest of the country and the occupation of Vaiśālī by Bimbisāra's son, Ajātaśatru, Vaiśālī ceased to be a republic and the entire region came under the sovereignty of Magadha.

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic is shrouded in mystery.

It is too well known to be recounted here that both the spiritual leaders Lord Mahāvira and the Buddha lived when Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru were ruling in Magadha. Mahāvira was related to Ajātaśatru. Their advent was none too soon and was well timed. It was at a critical time when the republics were crumbling, empires were being founded, avarice for power and cynical disregard of quiet life, disturbed the peace of the people to the extent of making them loose their faith in the values of religion, theology, philosophy and the like, emanated these two great leaders from a background of penance, discipline and renunciation. Both were enlightened, Mahāvira as a *Kevalī* and the Buddha with *Bodhi*. Mahāvira was born in Kuṇḍagrāma or Kuṇḍapura in Vaiśālī proper. The centre of Kuṇḍagrāma was a place called Kollāga or *Nāya-Kula* which was the home of the *Jñātrikas*, in whose family Mahāvira was born. He was hailed as the Jina of Vaiśālī :

विशाला जननी यस्य विशालं कुलमेव च ।

विशालं वचनं चास्य तेन वैशालिको जिनः ॥

—सूत्रकृताङ्ग शीलिकाचार्यटीका, अ० २, उद्दे० ३.

MAHĀVĪRA AND VAIŚĀLĪ

The life story of Mahāvira is briefly as follows :

Vardhamāna or Mahāvira, as he is popularly called, had, like the first Tirthāṅkara Ṛṣabhadeva, previous existences or *Bhavas*., viz., (1) a lion, (2) a deva, (3) *Kanako jvala*, a Vidyādhara king, (4) a deva, (5) Hariśeṇa, king of Ayodhyā, (6) a deva, (7) Priyamitra, a monarch (*Cakravartin*), (8) a deva by name Sūryaprabha, (9) Nanda, king of Cakrakaranagara, (10) Acyutendra. He was born to King Siddhārtha of the Nātha-Lineage (*Vaṃśa*), who was the lord of Kuṇḍapura (Kuṇḍa-

grāma), and his wife Priyakārīṇī. Just as the first Tirthāṅkara entered the face of Marudevī in the form of a bull, so also Vardhamāna Mahāvira entered the face of Priyakārīṇī in the form of an elephant.

As soon as he was born the gods headed by Saudharmendra came to the city and took him to mount Meru to anoint him with celestial waters (*Janma-abhiṣeka*). When the celestial waters were poured on him, he sneezed and the sneezing was so very forcible that many *devas*, that were near-by were pushed down by the strong wind issuing out of his nostrils. Thereupon the gods named him *Vira* (i. e., a hero) and *Vardhamāna* (ever increasing) and took him back to his parents.

Gradually he grew into a handsome youth and became renowned for his might. While, one day, Saudharmendra, was holding court, he spoke very highly of Vardhamāna's strength. On hearing this, one of the *devas*, Saṅgama by name, became curious and wanted to put it to the test. He came to the city (which was included in Vaiśālī) where Vardhamāna lived and was wondering how to get an opportunity for the desired test. Vardhamāna, just then happening to be sporting with his friends in a garden, Saṅgama took the form of a big snake and stood in his way twisting himself round a tree with the tail down and the hood over the tree. Vardhamāna, on perceiving the snake, walked over its body, crushing it at every step. When he reached the region of the hood and began to crush the hood, even as Kṛṣṇa of the Hindu mythology crushed the serpent Kālīya, Saṅgama could no longer bear the pain nor disbelieve Saudharmendra's statement regarding Vardhamāna's strength. He assumed his real form and begged Vardhamāna's pardon for the trial he had put him to.

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition he married a lady called Yaśodā and a daughter was born to them named Anujā or Priyadarśanā. But the *Śrī Purāṇa* which is a Digambara text makes no mention of Vardhamāna marrying. Modern research would seem to favour the Śvetāmbara belief that Mahāvira had married, but this the Digambaras strenuously deny for an ascetic who has never married moves on a higher plane of sanctity than one who has known the joys of wedded life.

His parents died when he was twenty-eight years old and at the age of thirty he felt a longing to dissociate himself from worldly life, a longing which every Tirthāṅkara shared. No sooner did he experience such a longing than the *Laukāntika-devas* came down from their heavens and reminded him of *vairāgya* or world-flight and of the initiation ceremony called *dīkṣā* that had to be performed before he could become a Tirtha-

ākara. This ceremony consists of the observance under trees or in parks or forests, of certain rigorous austerities like the plucking out of hair, (loch) etc.

Accordingly Mahāvira repaired to a garden outside Kuṇḍapura, mounted on a divine palanquin called Candraprabhā and performed *dikṣā* seated on a crystal stone under a tree. After discarding dress and ornaments he plucked out the hair of his head with his fingers in five handfuls (*pañcamuṣṭi*) and commenced a rigorous penance, sometimes standing and sometimes sitting under trees. Even as he had discarded dress he discarded hunger and thirst. Once in every six months, he came to cities, where men lived, in accordance with the practice among the Tirthaṅkaras, called “caryā” to visit cities periodically and to partake of food, if offered. The first time he went out for “caryā” he happened to pass through the city of Kūlagrāma, whose king, Kūla offered him food in the prescribed manner. After twelve years of rigorous *dikṣā* intermixed with periodical visits to the cities for “caryā” he obtained *kevala-jñāna* or omniscience while seated on a stone under a *śāla* tree in a garden called Manohara on the banks of the river Rjugati and adjoining a village called Tṛimbhika. When the devas learnt that he had become a *kevalī* they raised the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly pavilions, worshipped him there and along with all other beings heard discourses on *Dharma* from him. About a year after gaining omniscience Mahāvira became a Tirthaṅkara, “one of those who show the true way across the troubled ocean of life”, the true way that he showed to his followers being that they should become members of one of the four Tirthas, a monk or nun, if possible, otherwise a devout lay-man or lay-woman. He died in his seventy-second year, in the village of Pāpā, the modern Pāvāpurī near Rājagṛha, sitting with clasped hands and crossed knees (the *samparyāṅka* position). With regard to the date of his death there are differences in the Jaina traditions, one giving it as B. C. 502, another as B. C. 526 and a third as B. C. 539.

Such in brief is the life account of Lord Mahāvira, which is important in our study of the cultural history of India, and the city of Vaiṣālī played, an important part in the great spiritual effort which Mahāvira made. Modern researches and excavations in and around here have definitely proved the correctness of identifying the present site with ancient Vaiṣālī. Outside Vaiṣālī is Kuṇḍagrāma, at present represented by the modern village of Vasukuṇḍa. Here it was that Siddhārtha of the Nātha-Vamśa married Triśalā, sister of Ceṭaka, who was then

the President of the Licchavi Republic. To them and in this place was born Mahāvira.

To the question that is very often raised "why Jaina vestiges are poor as compared to Buddhist and other vestiges here"?, the answer is that the creed of Jainism, such as the Tirthaṅkaras propounded, stood on the bed rock of abandonment, renunciation and detachment (मानकषाय-वर्जन). The climax is reached by the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras when they prescribe absolute nudity as an indispensable factor of holiness, renunciation and detachment. There can be no greater or more effective demonstration of these great truths than by the pose of nudity, such as we find associated with the images and sculptures of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. There is no addition of any decorative or iconographic features to this rigid pose of *naked frontality*, to confuse the beholder in regard to the idea underlying it or to lead him astray.

TERRACOTTAS OF VAIŚĀLĪ

This nude pose for which Jainism is chiefly noted both in its physical and metaphysical stages, does not warrant a spectacular or quantitative residue or a survival of a large number of Jaina vestiges; as such one need not look for sculptural or architectural quantity in the locality. But quite a mass of materials including terracottas, pottery, clay seals and coins hail from Vaiśālī which supply us with a wealth of information about the life of the people of Vaiśālī in the first 4 or 5 centuries preceeding and following the birth of Christ.

The terracottas of Vaiśālī in particular, on being compared with those found at Mathura, Buxar, Pāṭaliputra, Kasia, Kauśāmbī and Belwa, show that they are better records of the metaphysical longings and experiences of the people of the times than the bewildering philosophical and literary works contemporaneous with the terracottas will make us believe. In short, these terracottas are the visual records of the religious and social conditions of the times. They assure us that in the matter of costume, almost the same pattern prevailed throughout northern India for well nigh eight centuries beginning with the Mauryas.

The head-dress, necklaces, the undergarment going round the waist with one end pressed by the chain behind and the other end hanging down in front between the thighs and legs upto ankles, the waist-girdle, anklets, no cover for the breasts, in case of males no cover for the thighs and legs too, this is the norm at Vaiśālī. Such a style stands in clear contrast to what is our dress to-day these 800 years or so, perhaps begin-

ning with the advent of the Muslims from the west. Such a difference is easily noticed in womens' dress. It would be difficult to think of womens' dress to-day in northern India without any cover for the body between the neck and the waist. Art critics have been giving us a number of reasons to account for such a portrayal in Vaiśālī terracottas. But the one fundamental reason for the exposure of the upper part of the body is the climatic conditions which were then the same as they are to-day, requiring few clothes. The excellent execution of the anatomical features of the figures, particularly of the female as revealed in these terracottas suggests another factor, no less important than the first. The desire to look more "attractive" from the point of view of physical anatomy appears to have influenced the artist and craftsman of Vaiśālī, though nowhere there is any attempt to cover the parts vital and sensitive to cold.

A picture of the *common* man of Vaiśālī and his environment or surroundings is not so much obtained from the gold coins of the Guptas or the coins of the earlier Kuṣāṇas (1-2 centuries A.D.) as it is obtained from these terracottas. The tunic and trousers that we find associated with the figure of the King as portrayed on the Gupta gold coins are not seen in the Vaiśālī terracottas, nor do we meet with the *veil* or cover for the face of the female, such as has been believed to have been the fashion of the times by scholars while trying to interpret Kālidāsa's description of Śakuntalā when she stands before Duṣyanta in his court—

कास्त्रिद अवगुण्ठनवती

नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या ।

मध्ये तपोधनानां किसलयमिव पाण्डुपत्राणाम् ॥

—अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, V-V, 13

"WHO IS THIS LADY WITH THE VEIL ?"

If अवगुण्ठन is veil, the female figures as depicted in Vaiśālī terracottas do not show it. Yet the forest-maiden Śakuntalā, who was brought up by innocent sages like Kaṇva amidst innocent deer (मृगसममेघितो जनः) and trees and gardens wears the अवगुण्ठन or veil and that even before her own Nāyaka. Surely, the absence of (अवगुण्ठन) in Vaiśālī terracottas reflects state of ancient Indian Society and by inference suggests that the Vaiśālī terracottas are *ageless* but certainly earlier than the Gupta and the Kuṣāṇa. Coins and seals which have also been found at Vaiśālī point to a period 300 A.D. to 500 A.D. and have helped to show that Vaiśālī was the seat of the Governor of the Province of Tirabhukti (Tirhut) under the Guptas. Coins of the Kuṣāṇas, Kadphises II, Kaniska

and Huviṣka found at Vaiśālī show that the Kuṣāṇas also ruled here (1-2 centuries A. D.).

VAIŚĀLĪ AND BUDDHA

The association of Buddha with Vaiśālī is yet another interesting chapter in the history of Vaiśālī. Vaiśālī is mentioned in the Gilgit manuscripts as the scene of many sūtras and very interesting light is shed on Licchavi life of the 6th Century B. C. According to these manuscripts the Buddha visits Vaiśālī and there are many stories of Vaiśālī narrated in them. The first is that of the marriage of Bimbisāra with Cellanā, who was the daughter of Simha, the Licchavi Senāpati. The second story is that of Āmrāpālī, the daughter of Mahānāma. She was a courtesan loved by Bimbisāra and she bore him a son, named Abhaya.

The contact of Āmrāpālī with Buddha has acquired importance in all Buddhist texts. At the age of 80, when Buddha was on his way to Kuśinagara where he was to pass into *parinirvāṇa*, he passed through the pleasant city of Vaiśālī and took his final leave of that city. An interesting thing happened to enhance the repute of that city. The princes and Rājās of the Licchavi family who had hoped to entertain him before his departure were forestalled by this most elegant courtesan of the capital, Āmrāpālī. For she also, the pride of the town as she is described, had been eager to honour the Buddha before his departure and by presenting her invitation first she had snatched the privilege from the princes. The Buddha then departed from the city with Ānanda. And when he paused for a moment to rest on one of the hills nearby, looking over the pleasant scenery with its many sanctuaries, holy tree and shrines (*cāityas*) he told Ānanda—'colourful, rich, resplendent and attractive is India', and 'lovable, charming is the life of men'.

चित्रं जंबूद्वीपं मनोरमं जीवितं मनुष्याणां

He felt in harmony with life and the universe, having overcome both, in bidding adieu to both, somewhat in the spirit of Nietzsche ("one should leave life as Ulysses left Nausikaa; rather blessing than enamoured"). The third story revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts is that of Jīvaka. Incidentally information is cast on Buddha designing a special dress *Cīvara* for the Buddhist monks when Bimbisāra mistook an Ājīvaka for a Buddhist Bhikṣu. Buddha admonishing the Buddhist monks to keep their articles clean, his directions regarding seats, bed-covers, bandages for the wounded, segregation of leprous monks, what should be done if the property of the Saṅgha is misappropriated by a monk, are some of the matters also referred to in those manuscripts,

and the monks to whom these instructions were addressed were the monks of Vaiśālī. We get in the texts also an account of the Government of Vaiśālī. We have there a vivid contrast between republican (गणराज्य) and monarchical (एकाधीन) forms of Government.

The Buddhist Jātaka, 149 describes the constitution of the Licchavis as :

तत्त्व निचकालरज्जं कारेत्वा वसन्तानं एवं राज्ञं
सत्त सहस्सानि सत्त सतानि सत्त च राजानो होंति ।
तत्रका एवं उपराजानो तत्रका सेनापतिनो तत्रका भण्डागारिका ॥

"Of the kings who were permanently residing and ruling there (i. e., in Vaiśālī) the number was seven thousand, seven hundred and seven. The number of Uparājans was the same, as also the number of Senāpatis and Treasurers".

The Pāli Jātaka text containing the stories of Buddha's former births narrated by the Buddha himself contains a lot of interesting information about the Licchavi.

Jātaka No. 108, which is *Bāhiya Jātaka* was told by the Buddha while he was dwelling in the gabled chamber at the great grove near Vaiśālī, about a Licchavi Prince who had embraced the truth. This prince invited the Buddha and the Saṅgha to his house. Now his wife was a very fat lady, bloated in appearance and she was badly dressed. Yet, the prince was very fond of her. After enjoying his hospitality, the Master returned to the monastery with the brethren. The brethren expressed their surprise that such a handsome man as the Licchavi prince should have such a fat badly-dressed woman for his wife and yet be so fond of her. Hearing what they were discussing, the Master said "Brethren, not only now, but also in former times the prince was fond of a fat woman". At their request the Buddha narrated the *Bāhiya Jātaka*, the story of the past.

Once on a time when Brahmadaṭṭa was reigning in Benaras, the Bodhisatva was one of his courtiers. And a fat and badly-dressed country woman, who worked for hire, was passing near the courtyard of the palace, when pressing need of nature came upon her. Bending down with her cloth decently gathered round her, she accomplished her purpose and was erect again in a trice. The king chanced to be looking out on to the courtyard through a window at the time and saw this. Thought he, "A woman who could manage this with so much decency must enjoy good health. She would be sure to be cleanly in her house;

and a son born into a cleanly house would be sure to grow up cleanly and virtuous. I will make her my queen-consort". And accordingly the King, first assuring himself that she was not another's sent for her and made her his queen. And she became very near and dear to him. Not long afterwards a son was born, and this son became an Universal Monarch.

Observing her fortunes, the Bodhisattva took occasion to say to the King, "Sire, why should not care be taken duly to fulfil all proper observances, when this excellent woman by her modesty and decency in relieving nature won your majesty's favour and rose to such fortune?" And he went on to utter this stanza :

Learn thou betimes, though headstrong folk there be;
The rustic pleased the King by modesty.

Thus did the Great Being commend the virtues of those who devoted themselves to the study of proper observances.

His story ended, the Master identified the Birth by saying, "The husband and wife of to-day were also the husband and wife of those times, and I the wise courtier".

Jātaka No. 149, *Ekapanna Jātaka*, was told by the Buddha about a Licchavi prince called Wicked, of Vaiśālī. In those days Vaiśālī enjoyed marvellous prosperity. A triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers. In that city there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven Kings to govern the kingdom, and a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. Among the kings' sons was one known as Wicked Licchavi Prince, a fierce, passionate and cruel young man, always punishing, like an enraged viper. Such was his passionate nature that no one could say more than two or three words in his presence; and neither parents, kindred, nor friends could make him better. So at last his parents resolved to bring the ungovernable youth to the All-Wise Buddha realising that none but he could possibly tame their son's fierce spirit. So they brought him to the Master, whom, with due obeisance, they besought to read the youth a lecture. Then the Master addressed the Prince and gave him a sermon. Such was the power of the sermon upon the prince that he lost his pride, arrogance, selfishness and his heart became kind and loving.

Jātaka No. 152, i. e., *Sigāla Jātaka* was narrated by the Buddha while he was staying in his gable chamber, about a barber who lived at Vaiśālī, whose son fell in love with a Licchavi girl of high birth and

pined away for her, as being a barber's son, his father could not help him to get this high-born girl as wife. So he pined and pined away and lay there until he died. From the story narrated, it would appear that Licchavi girls were fine, grand and beautiful like nymphs.

Jātaka No. 301, i. e., *Callakālīṅga-Jātaka*, is a story told by the Buddha at Jetavana about the admission of four Licchavi female ascetics to the religious life.

Tradition says that Licchavis of the ruling family to the number of seven thousand seven hundred and seven had their abode at Vaiśālī. And all of them were given to arguments and disputation.

Now, a certain Jaina, skilled in maintaining five hundred different theses, arrived at Vaiśālī and met with kind reception there. A female Jaina too of a similar character also came to Vaiśālī. And the Licchavi chiefs got up a disputation between the two. And when they proved well matched as disputants, the Licchavis were struck with the notion that such a pair would be sure to have clever children. So they arranged a marriage between them, and as the issue of this union in due course, four daughters and a son were born. The daughters were named Saccā, Lolā, Avavāḍakā, and Patacārā, and the boy was called Saccaka. These five children when they reached years of discretion learned a thousand different theses, five hundred from the mother and five hundred from the father. And the parents schooled their daughters after this manner, "If any layman refutes your thesis, you are to become his wives, but if a priest refutes you, you must take orders at his hands".

After a time their parents died. And when they were dead, the Jaina Saccaka lived on in the same place at Vaiśālī studying the lore of the Licchavi. But his sisters took in their hands a branch of the rose-apple tree, and in the course of their wanderings from city to city for purposes of disputation, at last reached Sāvattthī. There they planted the rose-apple branch at the city gate and said to some boys who were there, "if any man, be he layman or priest, is equal to maintaining a thesis against us, let him scatter with his foot this heap of dust and trample under foot this branch". And with these words they went into the city to collect alms.

Now the venerable Śāriputta, after sweeping up whenever it was necessary, and putting water into the empty pots and tending the sick, later on in the day went into Sāvattthī for alms and when he had seen and heard about the bough, he ordered the boys to throw it down and trample upon it. "Let those", said he, "by whom this bough has been

planted, as soon as they have finished their meal, come and see me in the gable-chamber over the gate of Jetavana”.

So he went into the city, and when he had ended his meal, he took his stand in the chamber over the monastery gate. The female ascetics too, after going their rounds for alms returned and found the branch had been trampled on. And when they asked who had done this, the boys told them it was Sāriputta, and if they were anxious for a disputation, they were to go to the chamber over the gate of the monastery.

So they returned to the city, and followed by a great crowd went to the gate-tower of the monastery and propounded to the priest a thousand different theses. The priest solved all their difficulties and then asked them if they knew any more.

They replied, “No, my Lord”.

“Then I”, said he, “will ask you something”.

“Ask on, my Lord”, they said, “and if we know it, we will answer you”.

So the priest propounded just one question to them, and when they had to give it up, the priest told them the answer.

Then said they, “We are beaten, the victory rests with you”.

“What will you do now ?” he asked.

“Our parents”, they replied, “admonished us thus” :

‘if you are refuted in disputation by a layman, you are to become his wives, but, if by a priest, you are to receive orders at his hands’— ‘Therefore’, said they, “admit us to the religious life.”

The priest readily assented and ordained them in the house of the nun called Uppalavaṇṇā. And all of them shortly attained Sainthood.

Then one day they started the topic in the Hall of Truth how that Sāriputta proved a refuge to the four female ascetics, and that through him they all attained to Sainthood. When the master came and heard the nature of their discourse, he said, “Not now only, but in former times too, Sāriputta proved a refuge to these women. On this occasion he dedicated them to the religious life, but formerly he raised them to the dignity of queen consorts”. Then he told them an old-world story.

Jātaka No. 465 is *Bhadda-sāla Jātaka* narrated by the Buddha in Jetavana. King Bimbisāra’s Commander-in-Chief was a man named

Bandhula. His wife, Mallikā, was barren, and he sent her away to Kuśinārā, telling her to return to her own family. "I will go", said she, "When I have saluted the Master". She went to Jetavana, and greeting the Tathāgata stood waiting on one side. "Where are you going?", he asked. She replied, "My husband has sent me home, Sir". "Why" asked the Master. "I am barren, Sir, I have no son". "If that is all", said he, "there is no reason why you should go. Return". She was much pleased, and saluting the Master went home again. Her husband asked her why she had come back. She answered, "The Daśabala sent me back, my lord". "Then", said the Commander-in-Chief, "the Tathāgata must have seen good reason". The woman soon after conceived, and when her cravings began, told him of it. "What is it you want?" he asked. "My lord", said she, "I desire to go and bathe and drink the water of the tank in Vaiṣālī City where the families of the kings get water for the sprinkling". The Commander-in-Chief promised to try. Seizing his bow, strong as a thousand bows, he put his wife in a chariot, and left Sāvattī, and drove his chariot to Vaiṣālī.

Now, at this time there lived close to the gate a Licchavi named Mahāli, who had been educated by the same teacher as the king of Kośala's general, Bandhula. This man was blind, and used to advise the Licchavis on all matters temporal and spiritual. Hearing the clatter of the chariot as it went over the threshold, he said, "The noise of the chariot of Bandhula the Mallian! This day there will be fear for the Licchavis." By the tank there was set a strong guard, within and without; above it, was spread an iron net; not even a bird could find room to get through. But the general, dismounting from his car, put the guards to flight with the blows of his sword, and burst through the iron network, and in the tank bathed his wife and gave her to drink of the water; then after bathing himself, he set Mallikā on the chariot, and left the town, and went back by the way he came.

The guards went and told all to the Licchavis. Then were the kings of the Licchavis angry; and five hundred of them, mounted on five hundred chariots, departed to capture Bandhula the Mallian. They informed Mahāli of it, and he said, "Go not! for he will slay you all". But they said, "Nay, but we will go". "Then if you come to a place where a wheel has sank up to the nave, you must return. If you return not then, return back from that place when you hear the noise of a thunderbolt. If then you turn not, turn back from that place where you shall see a hole in front of your chariots. Go no further!" But they did not turn back according to his word, but pursued on and on. Mallikā espied them and

said, "There are chariots in sight, my lord". "Then tell me", said he, "when they all look like one chariot"; when they all in a line looked like one, she said, "My lord, I see as it were the head of one chariot." "Take the reins, then." said he, and gave the reins into her hands; he stood upright in the chariot and strung his bow. The chariot-wheel sank into the earth nave-deep. The Licchavis came to the place, and saw it; but turned not back. The other went on a little further, and twanged the bow-string; then came a noise as the noise of a thunderbolt, yet even then they turned not, but pursued on and on. Bandhula stood up in the chariot and shed a shaft and it cleft the heads of all the five hundred chariots, and passed right through the five hundred kings in the place where the girdle is fastened, and then buried itself in the earth. They not perceiving that they were wounded pursued still, shouting, "Stop, holloa, stop!" Bandhula stopped his chariot, and said, "You are dead men, and I cannot fight with the dead". "What!" said they, "dead, such as we now are?" "Loose the girdle of the first man", said Bandhula. They loosed his girdle, and at that instant the girdle was loosed, he fell dead. Then he said to them, "You are all of you in the same condition; go to your homes, and set in order what should be ordered, and give your directions to your wives and families, and then doff your armour". They did so, and then all of them gave up the ghost.

And Bandhula conveyed Mallikā to Sāvattihī. She bore him twin sons sixteen times in succession.

From the Jātaka and other contemporary literature we learn that true democratic spirit prevailed in Vaiśālī, that important matters were discussed in the assembly and "what was desired by 10 was opposed by 20", that the Senāpati was the head of the State and that the executive was controlled by the Assembly even in minute details. Simha, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra, became Senāpati being elected to that post by the Assembly. The city of Vaiśālī was divided into three residential quarters based on wealth. There was restriction of marriage between equals in each quarters. Thus the constitution, though it was democratic, did not imply social equality. Of great social interest is the news that a foreigner, Khaṇḍa by name, and the courtesan Āmrāpālī were assigned quarters in the highest quarters of the city. The Gaṇa declared that Āmrāpālī being the most accomplished woman in Vaiśālī (*Vaiśālī-strīratna*) should not marry, but remain a common object of pleasure. This coupled with the fact that Āmrāpālī was assigned residence in the highest quarter, shows the flexibility of social rules on merit and special circumstances. We are told that in order Rājagṛha, the Magadhan capital, might not

lag behind Vaiśālī, a similar courtesan was installed there under orders of Bimbisāra.

THE BUDDHIST COUNCIL OF VAIŚĀLĪ

Students of Buddhist religion will be glad to know that a council held at Vaiśālī, a hundred years after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, resulted in a complete schism between two groups of monks quarrelling over 10 points of discipline. The conservative party, upholding traditional views, was the minority and separated from the main assembly. When it had left in the majority held a council of its own, known as the *Mahāsaṅgha*, or the *Mahā-Saṅgīti* ("the great assembly or Great Recitation") and we may be justified in detecting in this designation a fore-runner of the term *Mahāyāna*. The occurrence of such a schism should not surprise us when we remember that it was again at Vaiśālī that the Buddha permitted the foundation of the order of nuns (against his own personal wishes) at the instance of Ānanda and his foster-mother *Prajāpati Gautamī*, who became the first Buddhist nun.

In the fifth year after his enlightenment Buddha stayed in the *Kūṣāgāra-śālā* at Vaiśālī. At this time his father *Śuddhodana* died. Buddha flew through the air and preached to his father on the death bed. The widowed *Mahāprajāpati*, foster-mother of Buddha, went to Buddha and asked that women might be allowed to leave the world under the doctrine and discipline of the *Tathāgata*. Buddha refused three times and returned to Vaiśālī. *Prajāpati Gautamī* then cut off her hair, put on yellow robes and followed him with other *Śākya* women. Being of delicate frame, they arrived at Vaiśālī with swollen feet and covered with dust. Poor Ānanda who was noted for his compassion, found them all weeping outside the door and begging him to intercede with Buddha for their admission. Ānanda fared no better, and Buddha refused his request three times. Then Ānanda, with his characteristic appeal, asked Buddha "Oh, Lord, is a woman who has gone forth from her house to a houseless life to a doctrine and discipline declared by you, capable of realising the fruit of entering the stream, or of the once-returner, or of the non-returner, or of Arhatship?" The Buddha replied "a woman is capable." "If so, My Lord, *Prajāpati Gautamī*, your aunt was of great service to you, she was your nurse, and when your own mother died, fed you from her own breasts. It were good, My Lord, for women to be allowed to go forth.....". Such was the appealing question of Ānanda. The Buddha answered "If, Ānanda, *Mahāprajāpati* will take upon herself the eight Strict Rules (*Gurūḍhammā*), let this be her ordination". Ānanda duly imparted the Buddha's decision to the old lady who immediately said "just as, oh, Ānanda, a woman or a man who is young and fond

of adornment, after washing his head receives a garland and lotus, jasmine or atimuktaka flowers, takes it with both hands and puts it on his head, even so, I take upon myself this eight Strict Rules not be transgressed as long as my life lasts". Ānanda thereupon explains to her the Gurūdharmā or eight Strict Rules which are—

1. A nun even of a hundred years' standing shall (first) salute a monk and rise-up before him, even if he is only just ordained;
2. A nun shall not spend Retreat in a place where there is no monk;
3. Twice a month a nun shall ask from the Order of monks the time of Uposatha (bi-monthly meeting), and the time when a monk will come to give admonition;
4. After Retreat the final ceremony (pavāranā) is to be held by the nuns both in the assembly of the monks and of the nuns;
5. Certain offences are to be dealt with by both assemblies;
6. A novice who has been trained in the six rules for two years is to ask for ordination from both assemblies;
7. A nun is not to rebuke or abuse a monk on any pretext;
8. From this day forth utterance (i. e., official statement) of nuns to monks is forbidden, of monks to nuns is not forbidden."

Ānanda was happy and returned to Buddha and sitting down at one side saluted Buddha and pleaded for Prajāpati Gautamī on the ground that she had accepted the eight Strict Rules. Buddha replied, "if women had not received the going forth in the doctrine and discipline, the religious system (*brahmacarya*) would have lasted long, the good doctrine would have stayed for a thousand years; but as women have gone forth now the religious system will last only five hundred years. For just as houses, where there are many women and few men, are easily broken into by robbers, even so in the doctrine and discipline in which a woman goes forth the religious system will not last long. And just as a man might in anticipation make a dyke for a great reservoir, so that the water should not overflow, even so, Ānanda have I in anticipation prescribed these eight Strict Rules for the nuns, not to be transgressed while life shall last". To Vaiśālī goes the credit of the institution of the *Bhikkhunī Saṅgha*. There seems to have been something edifying in the very atmosphere of Vaiśālī that entire woman-kind should have felt that their salvation was if the Buddha would include them in the Saṅgha. The example of the courtesan Āmrāpālī is to the point. Her request was accepted by the Buddha. She gave Buddha her mango-grove, a deed that was followed up by some other rich ladies of the city like Bālīkā, placing at Buddha's disposal, other resting places. The Buddha testified to the young men of Vaiśālī being handsome, strong, fond of sports,

training elephants, hunting, but free from luxury and laziness. He says that these youths who slept with logs of wood as pillows, were soft in arms and legs, yet not delicate nor tender but active in archery. They were also lovers of education.

THE MIRACLE OF VAIŚĀLĪ

In short, the very atmosphere of Vaiśālī was so surcharged with health, bloom, peace and spiritual fervour that the artist at Sāñcī has epitomised the spirit of Vaiśālī in a sculpture on the rail of the Sāñcī Stūpa in which he has depicted what is called the *miracle of Vaiśālī*. Indeed this miracle is nothing more than a monkey spontaneously taking the Buddha's begging bowl and after filling it with the syrup extracted from a neighbouring palm tree, bringing it back to the Buddha as its offering. The monkey is shown in the Sāñcī carving twice, once presenting the bowl to the invisible Buddha and again raising its arms in sheer joy for the Buddha had accepted it while the Rājās of Vaiśālī and a group of children marvel at this.

It was here again that the Buddha announced his approaching nirvāṇa, and after the nirvāṇa the Licchavis are said to have erected a Stūpa over their share of the remains of the Master. A little over a hundred years after the nirvāṇa, the Second Buddhist Council was held here.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

The site of Rājā Viśāla kā Gaḍha is believed to represent the citadel of Vaiśālī. It consists of a large brick-covered mound, about 8 feet above the surrounding level and slightly less than a mile in circumference. Originally surrounded by a ditch, it was approached by a broad embanked causeway from the south. Early trial diggings have exposed the foundations of old buildings of irregular plan which may date back to the Gupta period. All these buildings were of purely secular character. The most interesting finds consist of a large number of clay seals, official and private, the latter bearing the names of individuals or guilds of merchants, bankers and traders. The official seals indicate that Vaiśālī was an important administrative headquarters in the Gupta period, and an interesting seal, engraved in characters of the Maurya period, refers to the patrol outpost at Vaiśālī.

The K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, under Dr. A. S. Altekar, conducted excavation at two sites, the periphery of an ancient tank and

a Stūpa, both about half-a-mile to the north-west of the ruins of the fortified city of Vaiśālī, now known as Rājā-Viśāla-kā-gaḍha.

The first site, that of the tank, now called Kharaunāpokhara, with a length of 1420 ft. and width of 660 ft. is locally believed to represent the ancient abhiṣeka-puṣkariṇī of the Licchavis, in which none but the Licchavi chiefs were allowed to bathe.

Several trenches were laid all round the tank to find out whether it had been anciently surrounded by any wall. It was established by excavation that while no wall existed at the top of the tank-embankment, there had been one, 3 ft. 4 in. wide, along its slope, very near the present-day water-level during the month of March. Its foundation, with one or two brick-courses, could be followed over a stretch of 72 ft. on the south, but it was found to be best preserved on the north-east, where it was traced over a length of 95 ft. up to seven to thirteen courses in height. The meeting points of the southern, eastern and western sides of the wall were also located. The use of brick of a uniform size (15×9×2 in.) throughout showed that the wall had been built in one operation.

Near the centre of the southern embankment was found a concrete platform 2 ft. below the foundation-level of the wall, and hence antedating it. The antiquities deposited on its embankment included cast coins and terracotta figurines stylistically assignable to the Śuṅga age, which were indicative of the date of the wall.

The original tank of the Licchavis might have been a smaller one, which was subsequently enlarged and surrounded by a wall, represented by its present remains, in about the 2nd century B. C. when the Licchavis might have once more become powerful after the downfall of the Maurya empire.

The accounts of Yuan Chwang indicate that during his time the Buddhists of Vaiśālī believed that the Stūpa built by the Licchavis over the relics of Buddha lay somewhere to the north-west of the city and south-east of the pillar of Aśoka. It was further thought that the Stūpa had been opened up by Aśoka for its relic-contents. A small mound to the north-east of the tank, conforming to this location, was therefore taken up for excavation which revealed that the mound represented the ruins of a Stūpa, enlarged four times after its initial construction.

The original was a small structure, 25 ft. in diameter; it was built of layers of piled-up mud separated from one another by thinner layers of cloddy clay (*gaṅgar*) over a deposit which contained the Northern Black Polished Ware. Sherds of the same were also found in fairly large

quantities in the core of the Stūpa as well as in the deposits between the Stūpa and its first enlargement.

The first enlargement was in the shape of a fairly substantial structure, in which burnt bricks, $15 \times 9 \times 2$ in., were used. In the debris outside the enlargement were a few fragments of polished Chunar sandstone, suggesting that it had been carried out in the Mauryan period, probably in the reign of Aśoka. On the western side was noticed a breach, subsequently filled up with earth.

The second enlargement was relatively flimsy, being almost entirely of re-used burnt bricks and brick-bats, along with a few mud-bricks. The third enlargement, also of burnt bricks and brick-bats, increased the diameter of the Stūpa to 40 ft. The fourth and last enlargement was mainly in the nature of buttressing the preceding one. Excavation in the core of the Stūpa showed that it had in its southern sector a breach, 2'-6" in width. Within the area disturbed by the breach, near the centre of the Stūpa, was discovered a soapstone casket, cracked by the pressure from above and only one-fourth full of ashy earth, together with a small conch, two glass beads, a small piece of gold-leaf and a copper punch-marked coin.

As will be evident from the foregoing, the Stūpa was initially built during the currency of the N. B. P. Ware, i. e., any time between 600 and 200 B. C., but as its first enlargement probably took place in Mauryan times, its origin went back to pre-Mauryan times. The excavator therefore feels that the Stūpa could have been the one built by the Licchavis over their share of the relics of Buddha immediately after his death. The fact that the relic-casket was found within a breach and was only partially full seems to confirm this identification, for, as tradition says, the Stūpa of the Licchavis had been opened up for its relics by Aśoka, who is also said to have left behind a portion of the relics for worship by the Licchavis. Further, the breach on the western side of the first enlargement (mentioned above) may be ascribed to the post-Aśokan ruler who, according to Yuan Chwang, made an attempt to rife the Stūpa but gave it up out of fear. Thus, the archaeological and traditional evidences combine to indicate, suggests the excavator, that the excavated Stūpa represented the original Licchavi Stūpa though the absence of any inscription on the casket makes it difficult to be definite on the point.

In 1958-59, this historical city was re-excavated under Dr. A. S. Altekar. The re-excavations showed that the defences had three periods, the earliest overlying deposits with the Northern Black Polished ware

and the latest believed to belong to the late Kuṣāṇa and early-Gupta age. In the core of the earliest defences were a few grey pot-sherds with paintings, identical pottery, having been found with the N. B. P. Ware in a habitation site as well.

A trench, 135 ft. long and 21 ft. wide, at one of the highest points in the south-eastern corner of the fort, revealed that the defences fell into three Periods. In period I, the defence-wall was made of baked bricks, as evidenced by thick brick debris, and possibly belonged to the Śunga period, as it rested on a deposit with N. B. P. Ware and wares associated with it. The debris suggested that the breadth of this wall had been about 20 ft. in thickness.

In Period II, the defences consisted of a massive rampart, 68 ft. in width at the base, 21 ft. in width at the extant top and 13 ft. in extant height; it was made of earth, the digging of which left a moat around the fort.

A sealing of Agnimitra found in one of the post-rampart layers, with characters of the 2nd century B. C., was a pointer to the date of the erection of the rampart.

In Period III, probably of the late Kuṣāṇa and early-Gupta age, a brick rampart, 9 ft. wide was constructed, with military barracks, some of them built of bricks measuring $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ at least in the south-eastern corner of the fort; spear and arrowheads and other iron implements unearthed from the area of the barracks proved that they had been used by soldiers. A few Kuṣāṇa coins were found in this area. The open space between the barracks and the defence-wall, about 30 ft. wide, might have been used as a road.

In some trenches excavated within the fort a network of structures belonging to three Periods, was met with. Period I, with but a single structure of bricks measuring $19'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ probably belonged to the Śunga age. Period II, associated with the sprinkler and deep bowl and probably attributable to the Kuṣāṇa age, had extensive brick buildings; one of the walls was traced to a length of 77 ft. Period III, which yielded Gupta sealings again had a substantial brick wall running north-south over a length of 57 ft. with rooms of varying dimensions attached to it. The building represented by them probably had a roof of tiles, fragments of which were found in the debris.

A few broken pottery jars, in a few cases placed vertically one above the other, similar to those in Period III, of Hastināpura, were found in a trench.

In another trench, near the centre of the fort, were found sherds of the N. B. P. Ware along with two sherds of grey-ware painted in black. (Four sherds of the latter ware, one of them with a fine lustre, were also found in the mud rampart, where they must have been redeposited from earlier levels). Their fabric was coarser than that of the typical Painted Grey Ware, though the painted leaf-design on one of the sherds from the rampart had its parallels on the Painted Grey Ware from Hastināpura.

Among the other notable finds from different trenches, mention may be made of gold and silver objects found in small pot near which was another pot containing silver amulets and one hundred and twenty-one beads of semi-precious stones. The gold objects consisted of two ear-ornaments, their interior filled with copper, with artistic designs in repousse, two ear-rings, two humped bulls, a standing human figure in the Kuṣāṇa-Mathurā style and a hair-clip of armlet, the last three with hollow tubes behind.

Excavation continued at Vaiśālī during 1959-60, by the K. P. Jayswal Research Institute at three sites in the Vaiśālī area, viz., Rājā-Viśāla-kā-gaḍha, Bhimsena-kā-paliā and Cakramdāsa.

Four trenches each measuring 60×21 ft. were laid at the centre of Rājā-Viśāla-kā-gaḍha beside the site excavated last year. Another trench, 60×21 ft., was excavated at the centre of the western defence of the fort.

At the first site brick structures of three Periods were encountered at last year with the difference that a single one-brick wall was found this year to belong to the earliest stage of Period I, not represented previously.

In Period I, the bricks normally measured 1' - 7" × 10" × 3"; those in the earliest wall referred to above were 11" × 1' - 1" × broad and 3" thick, the length being unknown. Terracotta figurines occurred in abundance. Period II was associated with the sprinkler and deep bowl in red and grey wares of medium fabric. The bricks measured 1' - 3" × 10-11" × 2½".

The structures of Period III were made of broken and re-used bricks. Terracotta figurines, associated with the Gupta period, were among the small finds.

No modification in the dates of the Periods proposed last year was called for as a result of the present excavation, except that the earliest wall of Period I, could be regarded as belonging to an age earlier than the Śuṅga—the date ascribed to that period.

Each period yielded terracotta seals and sealings with Brāhmī legends. A few cast copper coins and iron objects, such as spears, bangles, etc., were recovered from Period II.

The nature and dates of the three Periods of the defensive wall, evidenced in the excavation of (1958-59), were confirmed in 1959-60.

A fragmentary gold necklace was found in the mudfilling of Period II.

Two mounds lying in a north-south row near the pillar of Aśoka at Kolhua, 3 miles to the north of the fort, respectively measuring 183 and 179 ft. in basal diameter and 25 and 23 ft. in height, were taken up for excavation. Both proved to be mud Stūpas.

At the centre of the northern mound, at a depth of 16 ft. from the top, were found a few copper utensils, viz., a spouted pot, a shallow basin with two handles, an incense-burner and a large spoon, along with a black-ware dish having four circles with dotted borders and *nandi-pādas* within and a red-ware bowl of medium fabric. One of the copper pots-contained relics, presumably of a Buddhist saint. The southern Stūpa was badly disturbed.

While the Northern Black Polished Ware was absent, pottery associated with the Ware was found both in the core of the Stūpas and below them. The Stūpas may, therefore, date from the pre-Christian centuries.

The site of Chakramdāsa, 2 miles to the northwest of the fort, revealed, as a result of the excavation, two periods of occupation below a badly disturbed deposit with mixed up objects of diverse ages.

Period I was represented by the dish, bowl, basin, lipped bowl and trough in coarse black-and-red and red-wares. The Northern Black Polished ware associated with grey and red-wares, made its appearance in Period II, the other objects of the period being a few bone pins.

Two Stūpas adjoining the pillar of Aśoka were excavated, and one of them had interesting pre-Christian relics. The sealing of Agnimitra reading as "Agimita-va-mi-ya-ye-agna karasa" amidst tree and railing and Ujjayini symbols, found in one of the post-rampart layers is a pointer to the date of the erection of the rampart, as of Śuṅga period. Agnimitra is the Śuṅga Agnimitra.

Within the fort was a net-work of structures and Period III structures yielded Gupta sealings reading as "Viśva-vedasa, Dhanavatasa, Nagasya, Sibi, Avilaṅghasa, and Vasudatasa." Other interesting sealings have the following legends"

श्रेष्ठि सार्यवाह प्रथम कुलि (क) निगमः मूलसेनस, देवसेन[स],
etc.

To sum up the results of Dr. Altekar's excavations at Vaiśālī, we are proud to find that the Stūpa excavated at Vaiśālī by Dr. Altekar had

its origin in pre-Mauryan times and was probably one of the eight traditional Stūpas built over the relics of Buddha immediately after his death.

The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, visited Vaiśālī in the course of their travels. The latter described the city as covering an area of 10 to 12 square miles. He wrote that, within and without and all around the town of Vaiśālī, the sacred monuments were so numerous that it was difficult to mention them all.

Unfortunately, the area is now practically denuded of any visible remains of religious edifices.

At Kolhua, two miles to the northwest of Rājā-Viśāla-kā-gaḍha, there stands the monolithic pillar (locally known as Bhimsena's Lāṭhī) of highly polished sandstone surmounted by a bell shaped capital that supports the sedent figure of a lion on a square abacus. It is about 22 feet above the present ground level, a considerable portion having sunk underground in the course of time. In style it resembles the edict pillars of Aśoka, but digging around the shaft have failed to reveal any Aśokan inscription. Nevertheless, it can be identified with one of the Aśoka pillars mentioned by Yuan Chwang at the site of ancient Vaiśālī. The line of pillars in the Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts—at Ramapurva, Lauriya Areraj, Lauriya Nandangadh, and Kolhua—is believed to have marked the stages of a royal journey from Pāṭaliputra to Lumbini which Aśoka undertook in the 20th year of his consecration. Nearby to the south, there is a small tank, called Rāmakunḍa, identified by Cunningham with the ancient *Markaṭa-hrada* (monkey's tank), believed to have been dug by a colony of monkeys for the use of the Buddha.

To the north-west there is a ruined mound, at present only 15 feet high and with a diameter of about 65 feet at the base, which has been identified with the remains of the Aśoka Stūpa mentioned by Yuan Chwang. On the summit of this mound stands a modern brick temple enshrining a mediaeval image of crowned Buddha.

VAIŚĀLĪ FROM 1st CENTURY A. D.

Traditions declared that the Vaiśālīans invaded Magadha when Bimbisāra was ruling, but that Ajātaśatru, Bimbisāra's son, destroyed the Vajjian confederacy and annexed North Bihar to the Magadhan Empire.

According to the Mahāvastu, which claims to be the first book in mixed Sanskrit of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Lokottaravāda branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Mahāsāṅghikas were the first batch to go away from the orthodox group of Theravādins about a century after Buddha's passing

away. They lived mostly at Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra and migrated in due course to Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the land of the Śātavāhanas and the Śrīparvatīya Āndhras. Representations of the city of Vaiśālī occur on the Amarāvati sculptures of 1st century B.C.

We next hear of the Licchavis as ruling over parts of the whole of Nepal upto 879 A.D. when Rāghavadeva conquered the country and initiated the Nepalese era. Many coins and seals of the Guptas found at Vaiśālī go to show that Vaiśālī played, in the wake of Kuśāṇa decline, a significant part in the founding and consolidating of the Gupta empire from early 4th century onwards. Candragupta I (320-35 A.D.) the founder of the Gupta kingdom of Magadha married a Licchavi princess Kumāradevī by name, and the famous Samudragupta (335-76 A.D.) was their son. Kumāradevī was perhaps the daughter of a Licchavi king of Nepal. The legend "Licchavayah" in the plural occurring on the reverse of some of the coins whose obverse bears the names and figures of Candra Gupta and Kumāradevī would however suggest that the Licchavi relatives of the Guptas belonged to a republican clan ruling over some parts of Bihar. The imperial position of Candragupta I was obtained by his espousing a Licchavi princess. An inscribed Mukha-līṅga showing the faces of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya respectively on its four sides, and a Kārtikeya stone image speak for a golden age of Vaiśālī under the Guptas.

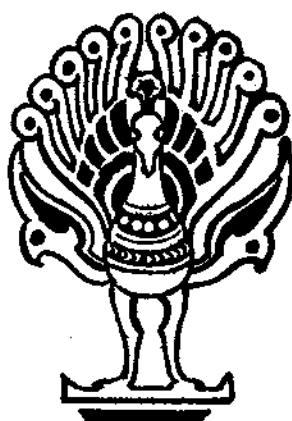
Both Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang visited Vaiśālī. The latter calls Vaiśālī Fei-she-li and distinguishes it from Fe-li-shi which is the Vṛjji country.

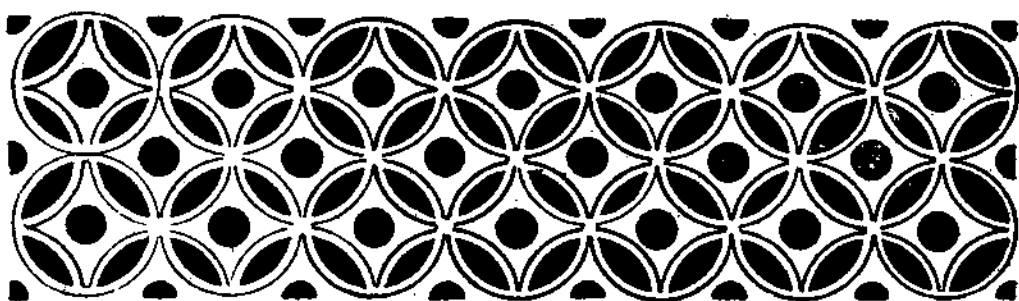
Last but by no means the least, is the fact that Vaiśālī attracted also Islam as proven by the erection of a mausoleum there of a distinguished Muslim saint Shah Quasim (1435-95 A.D.) who came from Maner in Patna District.

CONCLUSION

Vaiśālī maintained its position for several centuries as one of India's greatest cities like Kāñcīpuram in the south, Bhuvaneśwara in the east and Dwārakā in the west. Vaiśālī was great not by its military strength but by its display of spiritual fervour. Such greatness was well deserved as it had the supreme honour and fortune of having served as the cradle of that great spiritual leader, Lord Mahāvira, that soothed the aches of humanity with the enduring lullaby of अहिंसा परमो धर्मः.

I am grateful indeed to the *Vaiśālī Saṅgha* and its energetic Founder and General Secretary, Mr. J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., Director General, All India Radio, for giving me an opportunity to speak a few words on the occasion of the Vaiśālī Festival. We are on the threshold of rediscovering ourselves. The gaps in our knowledge of Vaiśālī's past are shrinking if not shrunk, thanks to many sided efforts of scholars, archaeologists and research bodies such as the Vaiśālī Saṅgha, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute and the frontiers of our knowledge are ever on the increase.





वैशाली की महिमा*

डॉ० हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी

महान् है यह नगरी वैशाली, महान् है इसकी परम्परा, जैसा कि आपने सुना है। हिन्दू-धर्म के सर्वश्रेष्ठ पुरुष मर्यादापुरुषोत्तम राम ने इसको पवित्र कहा है। जैनधर्म के प्रवर्तक या आचार्य, प्रवर्तक तो नहीं; क्योंकि उनके पहले भी कई प्रवर्तक आचार्य हो चुके हैं, महावीर की तो यह जन्मभूमि ही रही है। भगवान् बुद्धदेव के मन में जब वैराग्य का उदय, हुआ तब पहले योग और ज्ञान की शिक्षा उन्होंने इसी नगरी में प्राप्त की। बुद्धत्व-प्राप्ति के बाद भी वे कई बार यहाँ पधारे।

यह वही नगरी है, जिसमें हमारी परम्परा के सर्वश्रेष्ठ पुरुष बराबर आते रहे हैं। उनकी चरण-रज से पवित्र इस भूमि में आने पर आदमी थोड़ा मानुष हो जाता है। यहाँ का एक-एक वृत्तिकण, जिसमें भगवान् बुद्ध, महावीर और विश्वामित्र जैसे महान् पुरुषों के चरण की धूल लगी हुई है, न जाने कहाँ से क्या सन्देश देता है। आज भी यह मेला है, उत्सव है यह शायद अपने ढंग का भारतवर्ष का अनोखा मेला है। मुझे यह देखकर बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई और मैं वैशाली-संघ के सदस्यों की, उनके उद्योग की प्रशंसा करता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस स्थान को जाग्रत करने का प्रयास किया है, तथा यहाँ के लोगों में इतिहास के प्रति चेतना जाग्रत की है। यहाँ उपस्थित प्रत्येक नर-नारी के चित्त में एक आनन्द है, एक उल्लास है, हजारों वर्ष के उत्तराधिकारी होने का गौरव उनमें है, यह देखकर मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई। इस साल के उत्सव को मैं बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण मानता हूँ। हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए, अभी से कुछ क्षण पहले जैसा कि माथुर साहब ने बतलाया कि चौदह वर्ष पहले से ही यहाँ के लोग परिचित थे कि वे कितनी बड़ी परम्परा के उत्तराधिकारी हैं, परन्तु चौदह वर्ष पहले भी कुछ पढ़े-लिखे लोग ही जानते थे कि वैशाली नाम की कोई जगह है, लेकिन आज से सौ सवा सौ वर्ष पहले लोग इतना भी नहीं जानते थे।

आज से ठीक सौ वर्ष पूर्व सन् १८६१ ई० में यहाँ कनिंघम साहब पधारे थे, कनिंघम उन विदेशी ज्ञानियों में हैं, उन ज्ञान-पिपासुओं में हैं, जिन्होंने हमारे देश की प्राचीन सभ्यता के उद्धार में बड़ा काम किया है। इतनी लगन के साथ, इतने साहस के साथ, इतने दर्द के

* अट्टारहवें वैशाली महोत्सव (१७ अप्रैल १९६२) में प्रमुख वक्ता के रूप में किया गया भाषण।

साथ किया कि शायद ही किसी भारतीय ने वैसा किया हो। भारत के पुरातत्त्व के उद्धार करने में, उनकी प्रेरणा से भारत-सरकार ने आर्कोलॉजिकल सर्वे का आरम्भ किया। जिस समय कनिंघम यहाँ आये थे, उन्हें यह भी पता नहीं था कि उनके पहले और भी बहुत से विद्वान् आये थे और उन्होंने यह अनुमान लगाया था कि यही स्थान पुरानी वैशाली नगरी होगी। लेकिन, कोई निश्चित प्रमाण उन्हें नहीं मिला था। कनिंघम साहब में बड़ी दिव्य दृष्टि थी। उन्होंने एक दैवी प्रेरणा से सत्य प्रमाणित किया और यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि प्राचीन वैशाली का स्थान यही होना चाहिए। आप कल्पना कीजिए कि उन दिनों यात्रा की कितनी अनुविधा थी, सरकारी सहायता प्राप्त नहीं थी, वे यहाँ की भाषा नहीं समझ सकते थे, लोग उन्हें अजनबी समझते थे, लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने इस सुदूर देहात में आकर अध्ययन किया और सप्रमाण यह बतलाने का साहस किया कि वर्तमान बसाढ़ गाँव ही प्राचीन वैशाली है। डॉ० कनिंघम सन् १८६२ से १८८४ ई० तक यहाँ कई बार आये। उनका यहाँ आना हमारे लिए बहुत महत्त्व की चीज है। इसलिए इस उत्सव को हम कह सकते हैं कि यह कनिंघम साहब के धुमागमन की शताब्दी है। इस दृष्टि से इस उत्सव का बड़ा महत्त्व है। डॉ० कनिंघम से पूर्व सन् १८३४ ई० में श्रीएस्टीवेनान नामक एक दूसरे विदेशी विद्वान् यहाँ आये थे और इस भूमि के सम्बन्ध में अनुमान किया था कि यहीं वैशाली है। लेकिन कनिंघम साहब ने बड़ी खोज के साथ यहाँ के गाँवों को, यहाँ के स्थानों को देखकर फाहियान, हुएनसांग के यात्रा-विवरणों को पढ़कर पहले-पहल दृढ़ता के साथ यह कहा था कि वैशाली यही है। परन्तु, फिर भी वैशाली है, यह सिद्ध नहीं हो सका। यह केवल कल्पना की बात रही, अनुमान की बात रही। कनिंघम साहब के कुछ उद्योग करने पर भारत-सरकार ने आर्कोलॉजिकल विभाग स्थापित किया और सन् १९०३-४ ई० में और सन् १९१३-१४ ई० में दो और विदेशी विद्वानों का आगमन हुआ, जिनमें एक का नाम डॉ० ब्लॉस और एक का नाम डॉ० स्पून्र था। उन्होंने यहाँ कई जगह खुदाईयाँ कीं। उस खुदाई में बहुत पुरानी चीजें तो नहीं मिल सकीं; क्योंकि पानी आ जाने के कारण आगे बढ़ना सम्भव नहीं था। लेकिन खुदाई में प्राप्त मिट्टी की मुहरों पर उत्कीर्ण लेखों से यह सिद्ध हो गया कि यही प्राचीन वैशाली है।

वैशाली ज्ञान, कर्म और राजशक्ति की त्रिवेणी रही है। ब्राह्मण, बौद्ध और जैन परम्परा की त्रिवेणी रही है। ज्ञानशक्ति, आत्मशक्ति और धनशक्ति की त्रिवेणी रही है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इस स्थान पर ज्ञान की बड़ी भारी साधना थी। बुद्धदेव ज्ञान की खोज में निकले, तो उन्हें और कोई स्थान नहीं दिखा, वैशाली में आकर ही उन्होंने शिक्षा ग्रहण की। ज्ञान की साधना के लिए यह बड़ी ही पवित्र भूमि मानी जाती रही है। बीरता के लिए तो यज्जियों और लिच्छवियों की चर्चा करना बेकार है। यह तो इतिहास-प्रसिद्ध है कि लिच्छवि अजेय शक्ति थे। यहाँ फूट डालकर अजातशत्रु ने उन्हें पराजित किया था। लिच्छवियों की शक्ति गुप्तकाल तक अक्षुण्ण रही, तभी समुद्रगुप्त जैसा सम्राट् अपने को 'लिच्छवि-वोहित्र' कहने में गर्व अनुभव करता था।

गुप्तकाल के राजा का इतना प्रभुत्व जमा, उसका एक बहुत बड़ा कारण लिच्छवियों के साथ उसका वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध था। ज्ञानशक्ति और राज्यशक्ति के अलावा एक तीसरी शक्ति भी यहाँ पर थी, वह बड़ी जबरदस्त थी जो खुदाई में प्राप्त सामग्री से मालूम होती है, पुराने ग्रन्थों से जिनका पता चलता है। यह स्थान व्यापार का एक बड़ा केन्द्र था। बड़े-बड़े सेठ यहाँ रहते थे। यहाँ के नाविक दूर-दूर से धनराशि-संग्रह करके ले आते थे। कला का भी यह स्थान एक प्रमुख केन्द्र था। ज्ञान और शक्ति का तो यह गढ़ ही माना जाता था। लिच्छवियों के भय से बड़े-बड़े राज्य काँपते थे। जहाँतक व्यापार का सवाल है, यहाँ के जो निगम थे, जो कारपोरेशन थे, सेठों के काम करनेवाले जो संघ थे, उनकी इतनी धाँसाएँ थीं कि सारे संसार में उनकी हुण्डियाँ चलती थीं।

इन सेठों के जो निगम या कारपोरेशन थे, सब अलग-अलग थे। शरीफों के अलग थे, श्रेष्ठियों के अलग थे, अमीकों के अलग थे, इन सबका मिला हुआ संघ भी था। सन् १९१३-१४ ई० की खुदाई में तो अधिक गहराई तक नहीं जाया जा सका, इसलिए ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा आज से षेड पौने दो हजार वर्ष तक की चीजें ही मिल पाईं। लेकिन, हमारे जिन ग्रन्थों में वैशाली की चर्चा मिलती है, वे उससे काफी प्राचीन हैं। पिछले वर्षों की खुदाई में उससे भी पुरानी चीजें प्राप्त हुई हैं। वे निश्चित रूप से आज से ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व की वैशाली के सम्बन्ध में गवाही देती हैं। लेकिन, यह नगरी उससे भी पुरानी है। वैशाली की परम्परा यही समाप्त नहीं होती है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि क्या यही वह महिमामयी वैशाली है? आज जो मैं देख रहा हूँ, क्या यहीं उन लिच्छवियों और वज्जियों की सन्तानें हैं, यहीं वे मनुष्य थे? उनमें कौन-सी विशेषता थी कि सारी दुनिया में उनका सिक्का चलता था, उनकी ध्वजा फहराती थी। भारतवर्ष में कोई ऐसा महान् सम्राट् भी हिम्मत नहीं कर सकता था कि लिच्छवि और वज्जि उनके भीतर आया था। आदमी तो वे भी थे। बुद्ध भगवान् ने खुद इसका विश्लेषण किया है। एक बार अजातशत्रु के महामन्त्री ने बुद्धदेव से पूछा था कि वे उनपर चढ़ाई करें या न करें, उनको जीता जा सकता है या नहीं। बुद्धदेव ने बड़ी चतुरता के साथ अपने शिष्य, आनन्द, जिनके नाम पर तथाकथित आनन्दपुर गाँव है, प्रश्न किया, क्यों आनन्द, क्या वज्जि लोग एक साथ उठते, बैठते हैं? एक होकर काम करते हैं? क्या ऐसा तुमने सुना है? आनन्द ने कहा—हाँ भगवन् सुना है कि वैशाली के लोग एक साथ उठते हैं, एक साथ बैठते हैं, एक साथ समा-पंचायत करते हैं। बुद्धदेव ने फिर पूछा कि क्या तुमने यह भी सुना है कि एक बार जो अपनी पंचायत में तय कर लेते हैं, उसको सभी मानते हैं, ऐसा तो नहीं होता कि बाद में कोई कहे कि हमने तो बोट नहीं दिया था? मैं क्यों मानने जाऊँ। आनन्द ने कहा हाँ ऐसा ही सुना है कि इस वैशाली नगरी के रहने वाले जो एक बार निश्चय कर लेते हैं, उससे एक बच्चा भी नहीं हिलता, सब उसका पालन करते हैं। फिर बुद्धदेव ने पूछा—अच्छा आनन्द तुमने यह भी सुना है कि वैशाली के लोग अपने बुद्धों का सम्मान करते हैं, अपने बुजुर्गों की कद्र करते हैं, उनकी बातों को मानते हैं। आनन्द ने कहा—हाँ, भगवन् सुना है। बुद्ध ने फिर कहा—आनन्द, तुमने सुना है कि वैशाली के लोग अपनी स्त्रियों का सम्मान करते हैं, अपनी कुल-कुमारियों का सम्मान करते हैं। उनके प्रति कोई जोर-जबरदस्ती तो नहीं करते?

आनन्द ने कहा—भगवान्, सुना है कि वैशाली के लोग अपनी स्त्रियों की बड़ी कद्र करते हैं। उनका सम्मान करते हैं, उनपर कमी-जोर-जबरदस्ती नहीं करते, उनपर अत्याचार नहीं करते। भगवान्, मैंने सुना है। फिर भगवान् बुद्ध ने पूछा—आनन्द, सुना है कि वहाँ जो पूजा का स्थान है जो पूज्य है, जो मन्दिर है, उसमें बाधा-व्यवधान तो नहीं पड़ता ? आनन्द ने कहा—हाँ, भगवान् ऐसा ही सुना है कि वैशाली के लोग, जो उनके पूज्य स्थान हैं, उनकी निरन्तर पूजा करते हैं और जो एक बार मन्दिर को दिया, उसमें किसी प्रकार कमी नहीं करते हैं। अन्तिम-बार भगवान् बुद्ध ने कहा कि आनन्द यह सुना है कि वैशाली के लोगों के पास जो अर्हत् लोग जाते हैं, जो ज्ञानी लोग हैं, गुणी हैं, वे उनका सम्मान करते हैं। हाँ भगवान्, मैंने सुना है कि वे अर्हत्तों का, ज्ञानियों का, जो बाहर से आते हैं, उनका सम्मान करते हैं और सबको स्वच्छन्द विचरण करने देते हैं। सबको स्वच्छन्द रूप से विचार प्रकट करने का मौका देते हैं। बुद्धदेव ने कहा—आनन्द, तुम्हें बताता हूँ कि जिनमें ये सात गुण हैं, संसार की कोई शक्ति उन्हें पराजित नहीं कर सकती है। इस प्रकार, उन्होंने वर्षकार से कहा कि माई वर्षकार, तुम्हारा वैशाली पर दाँत गड़ाना सम्भव नहीं है। यहाँ के लोग एक साथ बैठते हैं, उठते हैं, जो करते हैं उसपर दृढ़ रहते हैं और अपने बुजुर्गों की कद्र करते हैं, अपनी स्त्रियों का सम्मान करते हैं, अपने पूज्य स्थानों की पूजा करते हैं, ज्ञानी गुणियों का समादर करते हैं। बाहर से आये हुए लोगों को स्वतन्त्रतापूर्वक अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर देते हैं। ऐसे गुणी लोगों पर कोई राजा, कोई सम्राट् कभी शासन नहीं कर सकता है, उनका बाल बाँका नहीं कर सकता।

यह था वैशाली का गुण। इन्हीं गुणों के कारण वैशाली अजय रही। जैसा कि भगवान् बुद्ध ने कहा था कि जितने दिनों तक ये गुण वैशाली में रहेंगे, उतने दिनों तक वैशाली का कोई बाल-बाँका नहीं कर सकता और यह बात वर्षकार ने गाँठ बाँध ली और लौट गया। वर्षकार ने वैशाली के नागरिकों में फूट पैदा कर दी और फूट के कारण वैशाली का गौरव जाता रहा। परन्तु, बुद्धदेव के बाद भी वैशाली एकदम लुप्त हो गई, ऐसा नहीं हुआ। बुद्धदेव के कोई आठ-दस सौ वर्ष के बाद तक वैशाली का गौरव जैसा-का-तैसा बना रहा। आप कल्पना कीजिए कि सौ वर्ष पहले के लोग जानते भी नहीं थे कि वैशाली कहाँ है। मैं तो भूल ही गया था एक तरफ इतना बड़ा गौरव है, जिसकी कोई तुलना नहीं कर सकता। संसार के इतिहास को इस भूमि ने प्रजातन्त्र दिया। पंचायती राज स्थापित किया। इस भूमि ने, एकमत होकर रहना सिखलाया। इस भूमि ने, स्त्रियों का सम्मान करना सिखाया। आपको मालूम होगा कि बुद्धदेव आजीवन इस बात पर अडिग रहे कि स्त्रियों का संघ में प्रवेश नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन, वैशाली में आकर उन्होंने यह भी निश्चय किया कि स्त्रियों को भी इतना अधिकार मिलना चाहिए जितना पुरुषों को है। निश्चय ही, वैशाली की महिलाओं को देखकर उनके मन में यह बात आई होगी कि यह गलत बात है कि स्त्रियों को अधिकार नहीं दिया जाय। वैशाली के नागरिक स्त्रियों का आदर करते थे, सम्मान करते थे, चाहते तो, जोर-जबरदस्ती भी कर सकते थे उनके साथ, किन्तु इतिहास इसका प्रमाण है कि ऐसा उन्होंने नहीं किया।

आम्रपाली यहाँ कि एक गणिका थी, बड़ी मशहूर गणिका थी, हमारे बेनीपुरीजी ने उसका बड़ा सुन्दर वर्णन किया है। अगर आप लोगों ने नहीं पढ़ा हो, तो एक बार अवश्य पढ़ें। एक बार आम्रपाली ने बुद्ध भगवान् को निमन्त्रण दिया। बुद्ध भगवान् मोलानाथ थे, उन्होंने स्वीकार कर लिया निमन्त्रण। इसके बाद वैशाली के नागरिकों ने आम्रपाली से कहा कि देखो आम्रपाली, जिसको तुमने आमन्त्रित किया है, जिसने तुम्हारा निमन्त्रण स्वीकार किया है, उसे तुम मेरे हाथ बेच दो, मैं तुम्हें एक लाख मुद्राएँ दूँगा। आम्रपाली ने कहा— मैं ऐसा नहीं चाहती। कई लोगों में यह होड़ मच गई कि उससे किसी प्रकार इस अधिकार को ले लिया जाय। किसी ने एक लाख, सवा लाख, किसी ने दो लाख रख दिया, हमें तुम यह अधिकार दे दो और भगवान् बुद्ध को हमारे घर भोजन करने दो। आम्रपाली ने कहा— नहीं, मैं क्यों बेचने जाऊँ। मैंने उन महात्मा को बुलाया है, मैं उन्हें अपने यहाँ भोजन कराऊँगी। लेकिन, किसी ने उसको यह नहीं कहा कि मैं तुमसे जबरदस्ती यह काम करवाऊँगा। उसके बाद आम्रपाली भगवान् बुद्ध को अपने आम्रकुंज में ले गई, जहाँ वे कई बार आ चुके थे। एक और मशहूर बाला थी, उसने भी अपने यहाँ भगवान् को आमन्त्रित किया था। इस नगरी की इतनी बड़ी महिमा है।

यह नगरी पंचायती राज की जन्मभूमि है, एक तरफ इतनी बड़ी कीर्ति और गौरव, दूसरी तरफ इतनी बड़ी कृतघ्नता कि नाम भी भूल गये, हम जानते भी नहीं कि आज से सौ वर्ष पहले यहाँ क्या था। एक तरफ इतनी बड़ी महिमा और दूसरी तरफ भूले, तो ऐसा भूले कि खुद को ही भूल गये।

वैशाली के इतिहास का पता लगाया बड़े-बड़े धुरन्धर विद्वानों ने, कुछ विदेशी विद्वानों ने कुछ भारतीय विद्वानों ने, मैं उनकी श्रद्धा और निष्ठा को देखकर लज्जित रह जाता हूँ। परन्तु, बड़ी कृतज्ञता के साथ उनका नाम लेता हूँ—कितने प्रेम से, कितनी निष्ठा से, कितनी कठिनाई से काम करके उन्होंने इन चीजों का उद्धार किया है, उन विदेशी विद्वानों के प्रति हमें हार्दिक कृतज्ञता प्रकट करनी चाहिए।

लेकिन सवाल यह है कि वैशाली में तो पहले इतना उल्लास नहीं था, आज क्यों उल्लास है। पहले वे वैशाली की महिमा से अपरिचित थे, किन्तु अब उन्हें बिदित हो गया है कि वैशाली यही थी, यह वह भूमि है, जिसमें भगवान् बुद्ध और भगवान् महावीर की चरणरज पड़ी है। पता नहीं, जहाँ आप बैठे हैं, वहाँ भी वे चरण-रज उड़ रही हैं। यहाँ के आकाश में, वायुमण्डल में, उनके सन्देश गूँज रहे हैं। यह आनन्द पहले भी था और आज भी है। आज भी उन लोगों के भीतर यही आनन्द और उल्लास देख रहे हैं, इतनी अपार जनता उमड़ी हुई है, वैशाली की महिमा लोगों को यहाँ खींच लाई है।

एक बार शान्तिनिकेतन में हमारे एक विदेशी मित्र, जो संस्कृत के बड़े विद्वान् थे, संस्कृत-नाटकों में आम्रमंजरी का नाम सुना था, ठहरे थे। संयोग से उनका स्वागत करने के लिए आम्रकुंज में ही आयोजन किया गया, जब वह आये तब मैंने उन्हें बताया ये आम के पेड़ हैं और यह उनकी आम्रमंजरी है। उन्होंने बहुत सुना था, आम्रमंजरी को देखा भी था।

लेकिन, जब उनको मालूम हुआ कि यह आन्नमंजरी है, तब उछल पड़े और कहने लगे कि यही कालिदासवाली आन्नमंजरी है, यही वह ऋतुमंजरी है, जैसा कि कालिदास ने कई बार कहा है ? मैंने कहा—हाँ, यही आन्नमंजरी है, तो बड़े उत्कलित हुए । मेरे मन में प्रश्न दटा कि वे आन्न की मंजरी रोज देखते थे और यहाँ आने से पहले उन्होंने बीसों बार आन्नमंजरी का अध्ययन किया था, आज कौन-सी नई बात हो गई ? नई बात यह हुई कि उस दिन उस शब्द और अर्थ के साथ अन्तरात्मा का योग हुआ था । पद का अर्थ जानना काफी नहीं है, पद और पदार्थ के भीतर के प्रत्यय होते हैं, भीतर की अन्तरात्मा का योग होता है, यह अन्तरात्मा का योग उस दिन हुआ । वैशाली वही है, जो आज से हजारों वर्ष पहले और आज से सौ-दो सौ वर्ष पहले वही थी । आज नई बात सिर्फ इतनी हुई है कि हमारे चित्त के साथ उसका योग हुआ, उस गौरव का योग हुआ है, फिर अभी योग हुआ है ।

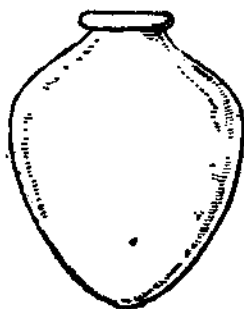
इतिहास के साथ हमारा सम्बन्ध थोड़े दिनों का है, इसलिए बहुत कम जानता हूँ । आपकी खुदाई में जो थोड़े से खिलौने मिले हैं, थोड़ी-सी सूरतियाँ मिली हैं यह काफी नहीं है । लेकिन वे इंगित करती हैं उस महिमा की ओर, कोई उनसे पूछे कि उनका घर कहाँ है ? अगर अंगुली दिखाई, तो अंगुली पकड़कर वे लटक जायेंगी । अंगुली जिस जगह को बता रही है, उसी जगह पर जाना चाहिए । किन्तु, हमें यह नहीं समझना चाहिए कि ये जो भग्नावशेष हैं, वही वैशाली है । नहीं, यह वैशाली का वैभव है । वैशाली के वैभव बतानेवाली अंगुलियाँ हैं, जो बता रही हैं कि ये चीजें जो संगृहीत हुई हैं, बहुत थोड़ी हैं, पर बहुत बड़ी चीज की ओर इशारा करती हैं, किसी महिमा की ओर इंगित करती हैं, यह हमें समझना चाहिए ।

वैशाली आज भी एक बढ़िया शव-मात्र है । हमारे पुराने ग्रन्थों में मिलता है कि तान्त्रिक लोग शव-साधना किया करते थे । वे लोग बढ़िया शव लाते थे । शव अच्छी जाति का होना चाहिए, और हँसता-हँसता मरा हो, ऐसा नहीं कि रो-रोकर मरा हो । सम्मुख युद्ध में मरा हो, तो और अच्छा । ऐसे सत्पुरुष का शव ले आते थे और नदी के किनारे ले जाकर उल्टा करके उसकी पीठ पर बैठ जाते थे और जप करते थे । जप करते-करते शव का मुँह जब नीचे से ऊपर की ओर उठ जाये, तब समझ जाते थे कि अब सिद्धि मिल गई । इस समय वह शव मगवान् महाकाल का रूप होता था । और कहता था कि जो चाहो माँगो, मैं सब देने को प्रस्तुत हूँ—राज चाहो, स्वर्ग चाहो, धन चाहो, जो चाहो मैं दे सकता हूँ । ऐसा लोग कहते हैं, पुस्तकों में लिखा है, तो लोग साधना भी करते होंगे । यहाँ हमारे तान्त्रिक लोगों की जो साधना चल रही है, इसमें बड़ी महिमामयी नगरी का शव है, दुनिया में खोजे नहीं मिलेगा । इसकी पीठ पर बैठकर हमें साधना करनी है, और साधना करनी है कि इसका मुँह पीठ की ओर न होकर मविध्य की ओर जाये । हमको इससे प्रेरणा लेनी है ।

यह उत्सव देखकर हमारे हृदय में यह बात निश्चित रूप से आ रही है कि हम मरे नहीं हैं, अपने पूर्वजों के नाम पर, अपने पुराने गौरव के नाम पर, हम उत्कलित हो सकते हैं । अपनी दलित ब्राह्मण को छोड़ सकते हैं । अपने काँटे को हटा सकते हैं । पर, किसके

लिए ? अपने महान् मविष्य के निर्माण के लिए, आने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिए; इसमें स्वाग की जरूरत है, इसमें संयम की जरूरत है, इसमें शिक्षा की जरूरत है। केवल बहकने की जरूरत नहीं है, माबुक होना ठीक है, लेकिन माबुक होना एक हद तक ही ठीक है, सोच-विचार कर कदम उठाना चाहिए।

वैशाली-महोत्सव का एक ही लक्ष्य हो सकता है—नवीन भारत का निर्माण और इस नवीन भारत के माध्यम से सारे संसार को वह महान् सन्देश देना, जिसका प्रतीक यह वैशाली है। यह जो खण्डहर है, बार-बार उद्घोष कर रहा है कि देखो, कभी मैंने बड़ी कीर्ति प्राप्त की थी। इन गुणों के कारण, हम दृढ़निश्चय थे, हममें हिम्मत थी, हम वृद्धों का सम्मान करते थे, हम ज्ञानी और गुणियों का समादर करते थे, हम अपनी महिलाओं का सम्मान करते थे, इसलिए बड़े हुए थे। आज तुम छोटे हो, गिर गये हो, तुम गुणी नहीं हो, साहसो नहीं हो, अपने निश्चय पर अटल नहीं रह सकते, तुम्हें अपने वृद्धों का सम्मान करने नहीं आता, तुम्हें-देश विदेश के गुणियों का सम्मान करने नहीं आता, तुम्हें अपनी महिलाओं का आदर करना नहीं आता, महिलाओं के प्रति श्रद्धा और मधुर भाव नहीं है, जो हममें था। इन महान् गुणों के कारण वैशाली एक दिन ऐसी थी, जिसकी चर्चा विदेशियों ने की है। शाहीजी ने बताया कि हमारी हिन्दू-परम्परा में लिच्छवियों का जिक्र नहीं है। लेकिन, हमारे मन में यह विचार कुछ दूसरे रूप में है, इसलिए इस बात को यहाँ नहीं कहना चाहता। हमारा अपना बिलकुल एक अजीब विचार है—मैं नहीं मानता कि क्षत्रिय कुण्ड ही वासुकुण्ड है, क्षत्रिय कुण्ड है, ब्राह्मणकुण्ड है, कई और कुण्ड हैं। मेरे मत से यह अष्टकुल की जो परम्परा है, भारत में, हिन्दू-परम्परा में जीवित है, इन लिच्छवियों की स्मृति में है, और उसका साहित्य हमारे यहाँ नहीं है। क्योंकि, बाद की शताब्दियों में साहित्य-संग्रह किया गया था। यह सही है कि लिच्छवि नाम से गणों की निन्दा की गई है। मनुजी ने तो यहाँतक कहा है कि गणिका का छुआ हुआ अन्न नहीं खाना चाहिए। इस प्रकार अश्रद्धा की अभिव्यक्ति की है। उसके और भी कई पहलू हैं, जिनके विस्तार में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता। लेकिन, इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि यह भूमि जहाँ हम लोग आज खड़े हैं, महान् वैशाली नगरी की ही भूमि है और यहाँ से हमें जो सन्देश और प्रेरणा मिल रही है, वह हमारे देश के निर्माण में सहायक सिद्ध होगी।





वैशाली, जैनधर्म और जैनदर्शन*

आचार्य विजयेन्द्र सूरि

सम्य महोदय,

वैशाली-संघ के महोत्सव के अवसर पर आज आपलोगों के सम्मुख कुछ कहते हुए मुझे हर्ष हो रहा है। मुझे और भी प्रसन्नता होती, यदि मैं स्वयं आप सबके बीच उपस्थित हो सकता; और आप विद्वज्जनों से प्रत्यक्ष साक्षात्कार करने तथा बातचीत करने का मुझे स्वयं अवसर प्राप्त होता। पर, वृद्धावस्था तथा आँखों में मोतिया आ जाने के कारण असमर्थतावश मैं आपलोगों के बीच स्वयं उपस्थित हो सकने से वंचित रह गया, इसका मुझे दुःख है। आप जानते होंगे कि, जैनसाधु पादविहार-मात्र करते हैं। और पाद-विहार में भी उनके लिए कुछ प्रतिबन्ध हैं। यह परम्परा पहले भारत में सभी धर्मों के साधुओं के लिए थी। अन्य साधुओं ने तो यान का सहारा लेना प्रारम्भ कर दिया; पर जैन-साधु अब तक अपनी परम्परा का निर्वाह करते चले आ रहे हैं।

वैशाली-संघ-सरीखी सांस्कृतिक संस्था ने अपना वार्षिक अधिवेशन महावीर-जयन्ती के अवसर पर करने का जो निश्चय किया, यह वस्तुतः उसके लिए एक शोभनीय निर्णय है।

मेरे लिए तो वैशाली पूरे जीवन में आकर्षण का केन्द्र रहा है। ३१ मार्च, १९४५ ई०, को वैशाली-संघ की स्थापना हुई। १६ अप्रैल, १९४६ ई० को मेरी पुस्तक 'वैशाली' प्रकाशित हुई, जिसमें मैंने यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयास किया था कि भगवान् महावीरस्वामी का जन्मस्थान वैशाली के निकट स्थित कुण्डपुर नामक स्थान था। नवम्बर, १९४७ ई० में वैशाली-संघ ने भगवान् के जन्मस्थान-सम्बन्धों अपनी पुस्तक प्रकाशित की और अपने चौथे अधिवेशन से वैशाली-संघ ने अपना वार्षिक अधिवेशन भगवान् महावीर के जन्मदिन चैत्र शुक्ल त्रयोदशी के दिन मनाना प्रारम्भ किया। सन् १९४८ ई० में जब वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित हुआ तो उसमें भी मैंने भगवान् के जन्मस्थान के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किये।

सन् १९४० ई० में कलकत्ता में वर्षावास बिताने के बाद लौटते हुए मैं स्वयं वैशाली आया था। मुझे अपनी उस वैशाली-यात्रा का स्मरण अब भी बड़े सुखद रूप में है। यहाँ के नागरिकों का सौहार्द आर वैद्यावृत्त्य अनुकरणीय है। यहाँ के एक स्थानीय संन्यासी ने

* उन्नीसवें वैशाली महोत्सव (६ अप्रैल १९६३) के अवसर पर प्राकृत जैन शोधसंस्थान की विद्वत्सभा में लेखक की अनुपस्थिति में पठित।

निकटवर्ती स्थानों को देखने में मेरी जिस प्रकार सहायता की, उसकी सराहना किये बिना नहीं रह सकता। मुझे दुःख है कि, विस्मरण हो जाने से मैं उनके नाम का उल्लेख यहाँ नहीं कर पा रहा हूँ।

वैशाली के निकट भगवान् महावीर का जन्मस्थान निश्चित करने के कारण मुझे कृद्धिवादियों के विरोध का भी सामना करना पड़ा। पर, मैं सदा नये-नये प्रमाणों के संग्रह में लगा रहा और सन् १९४६ ई० के प्रथम संस्करण के बाद, सन् १९५७ ई० में गुजराती में 'वैशाली' प्रकाशित कराई और फिर उसी वर्ष और परिवर्द्धित रूप में 'वैशाली' हिन्दी का द्वितीय संस्करण प्रकाशित कराया। और, अब तो अपनी पुस्तक 'तीर्थंकर महावीर' में भगवान् के जीवन से सम्बद्ध यथासम्भव प्रायः सभी स्थानों पर निर्णय करने का प्रयास किया है।

श्रीजगदीशचन्द्र माथुर की सांस्कृतिक अभिरुचि, साहित्य-प्रेम और निष्ठा के फलस्वरूप ही इस वैशाली-संघ की स्थापना हुई और उन्हीं सोपान-त्रय के फलस्वरूप वैशाली-संघ और माथुर साहब दोनों ही साथ-साथ उन्नति के पथ पर अग्रसर हैं।

इतिहास ने अभी तक इस बात पर परदा डाल रखा है कि, भगवान् के जन्मस्थान-सम्बन्धी ये स्थापना-तीर्थ कब और किन परिस्थितियों में स्थापित हुए। पर, शास्त्रों से बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह सिद्ध है कि, भगवान् महावीर के जन्मस्थान की जो जगहें आज मानी जाती हैं, वे मूल स्थान नहीं हैं। आवश्यकभूणि में उल्लेख है कि, वैशाली से वाणिज्यग्राम जाते हुए भगवान् को गण्डकी नदी पार करनी पड़ी थी। वैशाली, वाणिज्यग्राम और कुण्डग्राम तीनों निकट-निकट थे, यह बात शास्त्रसिद्ध है। फिर, भगवान् का जन्मस्थान अंग-मगध में भला कैसे माना जा सकता है। कलिकाल सर्वज्ञ हेमचन्द्राचार्य ने भी वैशाली और वाणिज्यग्राम की स्थिति इसी रूप में 'त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुद्गवचरित्र' में बताई है। अतः स्पष्ट है कि, विक्रम की १२वीं शताब्दी तक किसी प्रकार का भ्रम नहीं था।

यहाँ एक बात और कह दूँ कि, कुछ लोग वैशाली-नगर को ही भगवान् का जन्मस्थान मानते हैं और कुछ कुण्डपुर तथा वाणिज्यग्राम को वैशाली का मुहल्ला-भाग मानते हैं। एक दूसरा भ्रमक विचार एक अंग्रेज महोदय ने यह फैलाया कि, कोल्लाग भगवान् का जन्मस्थान था। पर, ये तीनों ही विचार सर्वथा भ्रमक हैं। कोल्लाग भगवान् महावीर का जन्मस्थान था, ऐसा उल्लेख तो किसी ग्रन्थ में नहीं मिलता।

कुण्डग्राम तथा वाणिज्यग्राम वैशाली के मुहल्ले नहीं थे। वे दोनों स्वतन्त्र नगर थे। हम ऊपर कह आये हैं कि, वैशाली और वाणिज्यग्राम के बीच में गण्डकी नदी थी। फिर, वह मुहल्ला कैसे हो सकता है। इस भ्रम का एक कारण यह है कि, लोग यह नहीं समझ पाते कि, वैशाली नगर का नाम तो था ही; पर यह देश भी 'वैशाली' के नाम से सम्बोधित होता था। 'महावस्तु' में पाठ आता है 'वैशालिकानां लिच्छविकानां वचनेन।' महावस्तु का यह पाठ इस भ्रम के निवारण के लिए पर्याप्त है।

इसी वैशाली-गण में स्थित कुण्डपुर में भगवान् का जन्म हुआ, इसी भूमि में उनका बचपन बीता, यौवन बीता, अपने घर वालों से अनुमति लेकर यहीं उन्होंने दीक्षा ग्रहण की,

अपने छद्मस्व तथा केवली-काल के भी कुछ समय भगवान् ने यहीं बिताये। इस दृष्टि से भी वैशाली-संघ द्वारा महावीर-जयन्ती के अवसर पर अपना अधिवेशन करना सर्वथा उचित है।

एक बात इस सम्बन्ध में ध्यान रखने की ओर है कि भगवान् महावीर के समय में इस भूमि में पाँच श्रमण-सम्प्रदाय थे—१. निर्ग्रन्थ (जैन), २. शाक्य (बौद्ध), ३. तापस, ४. गैरक और ५. आजीवक। इनमें से तापस, गैरक और आजीवक तो अपना अस्तित्व ही समाप्त कर बैठे। बौद्धधर्म की शताब्दियों तक भारत-भूमि में नाममात्र का रह गया था। अकेले निर्ग्रन्थ-सम्प्रदाय ही इतिहास के अच्छे-बुरे दिन देखता निरन्तर इस भारत-भूमि पर बना रहा। अतः, इस दृष्टि से भी वैशाली-संघ द्वारा उसके अन्तिम तीर्थंकर महावीर (जिनका शासन आज भी चल रहा है) का जन्मदिन मनाना निश्चय ही स्वाधनोप है।

यह वैशाली एक गणतन्त्र था। इसके अधीन ९ मल्लकी, ९ लिच्छवि, काशी-कोशल के १८ गणराजे थे। वैशाली के अन्तर्गत १८ गणराजाओं का उल्लेख कल्पसूत्र (सूत्र १२८), भगवतीसूत्र (शतक ७, उद्देशक ९), निरयावलिका, आवश्यकचूर्ण आदि ग्रन्थों में मिलता है।

कुछ लोग इस पाठ का भ्रामक अर्थ लेते हैं और ९ मल्लकी, ९ लिच्छवी, १८ काशी-कोशल मिलाकर गणराजाओं की संख्या ३६ कर देते हैं। पर, यह हिसाब सर्वथा भ्रामक है। गणराजाओं की संख्या १८ मात्र थी। मेरी इस धारणा की पुष्टि एक और प्रसंग से होती है। जब चेटक कृणिक से लड़ने चलते हैं, तब उनकी सेना-संख्या देखने से भी एक चेटक और १८ गणराजे, १९ राजाओं की सेना होने की बात प्रमाणित होती है। सेना का यह उल्लेख निरयावलिका और आवश्यकचूर्ण में है। अभयदेव सूरि ने इन राजाओं के सम्बन्ध में भगवती-सूत्र की टीका में भ्रम का निवारण कर दिया है।

इन गणराज्यों का भारतीय इतिहास में बड़ा ही महत्त्वपूर्ण योग रहा है। उसके गुणों का उल्लेख करते हुए महाभारत (शान्तिपर्व, १०७, १५-१८) में कहा गया है :

अथार्षिर्वाधिगम्यन्ते सङ्घातबलपौरुषैः।

बाह्याश्च मैत्री कुर्वन्ति तेषु सङ्घातवृत्तिषु ॥

ज्ञानवृद्धाः प्रशंसन्ति शुश्रूषन्तः परस्परम्।

विनिवृत्ताभिसन्धानाः सुखमेषन्ति सर्वथाः ॥

धर्मिष्ठान् व्यवहारांश्च स्थापयन्तश्च शास्त्रतः।

यथावत् प्रतिपश्यन्तो विवर्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥

पुत्रान् भ्रातृन् निगृह्णन्तो विनयन्तश्च तान् सदा।

विनीतांश्च प्रगृह्णन्तो विवर्धन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥

—“जो सामूहिक बल और पुरुषार्थ से सम्पन्न हैं, उन्हें अनायास ही सब प्रकार के अभीष्ट पदार्थों की प्राप्ति हो जाती है। संघबद्ध होकर जीवन-निर्वाह करनेवाले लोगों के साथ संघ से बाहर के लोग भी मैत्री स्थापित करते हैं।

“ज्ञानवृद्ध पुरुष गणराज्य के नागरिकों की प्रशंसा करते हैं। संघबद्ध लोगों के मन में आपस में एक-दूसरे को ठगने की दुर्भावना नहीं होती। वे सभी एक-दूसरे की सेवा करते हुए सुखपूर्वक उन्नति करते हैं।

“गणराज्य के श्रेष्ठ नागरिक शास्त्र के अनुसार धर्मानुकूल व्यवहारों की स्थापना करते हैं। वे यथोचित दृष्टि से सबको देखते हुए उन्नति की दिशा में आगे बढ़ते जाते हैं।

“गणराज्य के श्रेष्ठ पुरुष पुत्रों और भाइयों को भी यदि वे कुमार्ग पर चले, तो दण्ड देते हैं। सदा उन्हें उत्तम शिक्षा प्रदान करते हैं और शिक्षित हो जाने पर उन सबको बड़े आदर से अपनाते हैं, इसलिए वे विशेष उन्नति करते हैं।”

बुद्ध ने भी वैशाली के गणराज्य के सम्बन्ध में कहा था :

१. वज्जी बराबर बैठक करते हैं।
२. वज्जी एक ही बैठक करते हैं, एक ही उत्थान करते हैं, एक ही कर्त्तव्य करते हैं।
३. वज्जी अप्रज्ञस को प्रज्ञस नहीं करते और प्रज्ञस का उच्छेद नहीं करते।
४. वज्जियों के जो वृद्ध हैं, उनका वह सत्कार करते हैं, गुरुकार करते हैं, मानते हैं, पूजते हैं, उनकी सुनने योग्य बात मानते हैं।
५. जो कुलस्त्रियाँ हैं, कुल-कुमारियाँ हैं, उन्हें वह छीनकर जबरदस्ती नहीं बसाते।
६. वज्जियों के भीतर-बाहर जो चैत्य हैं, वह उनका सत्कार करते हैं, उनके लिए पहले किये गये दान का पहले की गई धर्मानुसार बलि (नैवेद्य) का लोप नहीं करते।
७. वज्जी लोग अहंता की अच्छी तरह धर्मानुसार रक्षा करते हैं, ताकि भविष्य में अहंत् राज्य में आयें और आये अहंत् सुख से विहार करें।

गणराज्य के इन गुणों से युक्त वृज्जियों का यह संघ भारत के प्राचीनतम गणराज्यों में था। इस गणराज्य में वैशाली के लिच्छवि तथा विदेह दोनों ही राज्य सम्मिलित थे और पूरे गणराज्य की राजधानी वैशाली थी। इस राज्य का उल्लेख पाणिनि तथा पतंजलि के महामाध्य में भी आता है। महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त में ‘वृज्जी’ राष्ट्र का नाम बताया गया है।

इस गणतन्त्र में लोगों को राजनीतिक दृष्टि से पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता थी। इसका सबसे बड़ा प्रमाण यह है कि लिच्छवियों और विदेहों के गणतन्त्र के अध्यक्ष हेह्यकुल के चन्द्रवंशीय महाराज चेटक थे।

वैशाली में जैसी राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता थी, उसी प्रकार की धार्मिक स्वतन्त्रता भी थी। वैशाली-संघ के अध्यक्ष महाराज चेटक यद्यपि स्वयं जैन श्रावक थे, पर उनके गोत्र का ही एक व्यक्ति तापस था, जो दधिवाहन की पत्नी (प्रत्येकबुद्ध करकण्डु की माता) पद्मावती से दन्तपुर के निकट मिला था। यह कथा उत्तराध्ययन की टीका में आई है।

वैशाली के राजा चेटक का सम्बन्ध उस समय के प्रायः सभी प्रमुख राजाओं से था। चेटक की बहन त्रिपाला का विवाह कुण्डपुर के राजा सिद्धार्थ से हुआ था। वे ही भगवान् महावीर की माता थीं।

आवश्यकपूर्ण में उल्लेख आता है कि, महाराज चेटक के सात पुत्रियाँ थीं—प्रभावती नीतिमय के राजा उद्रामण से ब्याही थी, पद्मावती चम्पा के राजा इक्ष्वाहुन से ब्याही थी, मृगावती कौशाम्बी के राजा शतानीक से ब्याही थी, शिवा उज्जयिनी के राजा प्रद्योत से ब्याही थी, ज्येष्ठा कुण्डग्राम में महावीरस्वामी के सांसारिक जीवन के बड़े भाई नन्दिबद्धन से ब्याही थी और चेल्लणा राजगृह के राजा भम्मसार (श्रेणिक) से ब्याही थी।

बुद्ध के काल में वैशाली श्रमण-निर्ग्रन्थों (जैनों) का एक बड़ा सुदृढ़ केन्द्र था। यह बात न केवल जैनग्रन्थों से, वरन् बौद्धग्रन्थों से भी प्रमाणित है। 'महावस्तु' में कथा आती है कि घर छोड़कर वैराग्य लेने के बाद बुद्ध वैशाली में आराडकालाम के पास भी आये थे, जो जैन था। प्रसंगवश एक बात और कह दूँ कि, अंगुत्तरनिकाय की मनोरथपूरणी टीका में कहा गया है कि, बुद्ध के चाचा वप्प स्वयं जैन थे।

वैशाली के पतन के कारण का भी उल्लेख जितने विस्तृत रूप में जैनग्रन्थों में है, उतने विस्तृत रूप में अन्यत्र कहीं नहीं है। अपने पिता भम्मसार (श्रेणिक) की मृत्यु के बाद कूणिक ने अपनी राजधानी राजगृह से बदलकर चम्पा कर ली। भम्मसार ने अपना सेचनक नामक गन्धहस्ती और देव-प्रदत्त हार अपने हल्ल-विहल्ल नामक पुत्रों को दे रखा था। एक बार विहल्ल सेचनक हाथी पर बैठकर अपनी पत्नियों के साथ गंगास्नान करने गया। उसका वैभव देखकर कूणिक की पत्नी पद्मावती को ईर्ष्या हुई और उसने सेचनक तथा हार अपने भाइयों से माँग लेने के लिए कूणिक को बाध्य कर दिया। कूणिक के डर से हल्ल-विहल्ल मागकर अपने नाना चेटक के यहाँ चले गये। कूणिक ने चेटक से भाइयों को सौंप देने को कहा। चेटक ने इनकार कर दिया। इसी बात पर कूणिक काल आदि अपने दस भाइयों के साथ वैशाली पर चढ़ आया। चेटक भी अपने १८ गणराजाओं के साथ मैदान में आये। चेटक ने प्रतिपक्ष-व्रत ले रखा था। एक दिन में वह केवल एक बाण चलाते थे; पर वह बाण अमोघ होता था। दस दिनों की लड़ाई में कूणिक के साथी दसों भाई मारे गये।

कूणिक को ज्ञात हुआ कि कूलवालक नामक एक पतित मुनि युद्ध में उसका सहायक हो सकता है। किसी प्रकार छल-कपट द्वारा कूलवालक बुलाया गया। उसने नगर में जाकर सुव्रतस्वामी का स्तूप देखा। वह समझ गया कि इसी स्तूप के प्रभाव से वैशाली का पतन नहीं हो रहा है। अतः, प्रपंच रचकर उसने उस स्तूप को खुदवा डाला और फिर वैशाली का पतन हुआ।

वैशाली के इस युद्ध का वर्णन 'भगवतीसूत्र' और 'निरयावलिका' में बड़े विस्तार से आता है तथा कूलवालक का चरित्र उत्तराध्ययन की टीका में दिया है।

वैशाली की इस लड़ाई ने भारतीय इतिहास में एक मोड़ ला दिया और भारत-भूमि से गणराज्य समाप्त हो गये। सम्भवतः, इसी कारण गोशालक ने इसे 'चरमयुद्ध' की संज्ञा दी है।

कल्पसूत्र आदि ग्रन्थों में आता है कि भगवान् महावीर ने वैशाली-वाणिज्यग्राम में १२ वर्षावास बिताये थे और आवश्यकचूर्ण तथा 'त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित्र' में छपावस्था में ३ बार भगवान् के वैशाली आने का वर्णन दिया है। भगवान् वैशाली के निकट के ही तो निवासी थे; पर वैशाली के विहार-सम्बन्धी जो विवरण प्राप्त हैं, उनसे ही आप सभी को स्पष्ट हो जायगा कि भगवान् ने अपने छद्मस्थ काल में कर्मों के क्षय के लिए कैसी उग्र तपस्या की थी।

प्रथम बार भगवान् अपने छठे वर्षावास में वैशाली आये और एक कम्मारशाला में ध्यान में आरुढ़ हो गये। उस कम्मारशाला का मालिक लोहार ६ महीने की बीमारी के बाद उस दिन जब पहले-पहल कारखाने में आया, उसने भगवान् को देखा। अमंगल समझकर वह भगवान् को मारने दीड़ा। शक्र ने आकर भगवान् की रक्षा की।

दूसरी बार भगवान् १०वें वर्षावास में आये। इस बार लड़के पिशाच समझकर भगवान् को तंग करने लगे। उस बार भगवान् के पिता सिद्धार्थ के मित्र शंख राजा ने आपकी रक्षा की।

तीसरी बार वह अपने ११वें वर्षावास में आये और नगर के बाहर समरोद्यान में ब्रह्मदेव के मन्दिर में चातुर्मासिक तप करके आपने अपना चातुर्मास यहीं बिताया। इस नगर में जिनदत्त नामक एक श्रेष्ठी रहता था। उसकी श्रद्धा-समृद्धि क्षीण हो गई थी। अतः, लोग उसे जीर्ण श्रेष्ठी कहते थे। वह प्रतिदिन भगवान् का वन्दन करने जाता और आहार-पानी के लिए बिनती करता। पहले उसने सोचा कि मासिक व्रत के बाद भगवान् आयेंगे। जब नहीं आये, तब द्विमासिक तप की बात सोची। इसी प्रकार चार मास बीत गये। पारणा के दिन भगवान् भिक्षा लेने निकले और आपने अमिनव श्रेष्ठी के घर पारणा की।

भगवान् महावीर स्वपराक्रम से ही मोक्ष-प्राप्ति की बात स्वीकार करते थे। उनके दीक्षा ले चुकने के बाद एक बार इन्द्र ने उनसे कहा—“हे देवाय ! भविष्य में आपको बड़े कष्ट झेलने पड़ेंगे। अतः, आज्ञा हो तो मैं आपके साथ रहूँ।” इस पर भगवान् ने कहा था :

नापेक्षां चक्रिरेऽहन्तः परसाहायिकं क्वचित् ।

नैतद्भूतं भवति वा भविष्यति च जातुचित् ॥

यदहन्तोऽन्यसाहाय्यादजयन्ति हि केवलम् ॥

केवलं केवलज्ञानं प्राप्नुवन्ति स्ववीर्यतः ।

स्ववीर्येणैव गच्छन्ति जिनेन्द्राः परमं पदम् ॥

—“हे इन्द्र ! ऐसा न कभी हुआ है और न होगा कि देवेन्द्र या असुरेन्द्र की सहायता से अर्हन्त केवलज्ञान और सिद्धि प्राप्त करें। अर्हन्त स्वपराक्रम से ही केवलज्ञान और सिद्धि प्राप्त करते हैं।”

भगवान् का प्रथम मुख्य श्रावक आनन्द वैशाली के निकट-स्थित वाणिज्यग्राम का गृहपति था और वाणिज्यग्राम का राजा जितघनु भी भगवान् का भक्त था। जब भगवान् वाणिज्य-ग्राम आये थे, तब जितघनु भगवान् की वन्दना करने गया था। वाणिज्यग्राम में ही सुदर्शन नामक एक श्रमणोपासक रहता था, जिसने भगवान् से काल-सम्बन्धी प्रश्न पूछे थे।

भगवान् अपनी छायावस्था के १०वें वर्ष में जब वाणिज्यग्राम आये थे, तो यही आनन्द श्रमणोपासक ने भगवान् को निकट भविष्य में केवलज्ञान-प्राप्ति की सूचना दी थी और कहा था—“हे भगवन् ! आपका शरीर और मन दोनों ही ब्रह्म के बने हैं। अतः अति दुःसह परीषह और दारुण उपसर्गों के आने पर भी आपका शरीर टिका हुआ है। अतः, निकट भविष्य में आपको केवलज्ञान की प्राप्ति होगी।”

भगवान् की प्रथम श्रमणी चन्दना भी एक प्रकार से वैशाली से सम्बद्ध थी। मैंने अभी कहा है कि चेटक की पुत्री पद्मावती चम्पा के राजा दधिवाहन से ब्याही थी। दधिवाहन की एक अन्य पत्नी का नाम धारिणी था। वह चन्दना धारिणी की पुत्री थी। इसी सम्बन्ध को लक्ष्य में रख करके शतानीक की पत्नी मृगावती ने चन्दना के लिए कहा था—“यह मेरी बहन की लड़की है।”

भगवान् अपने केवलज्ञान के बाद एक बार कुण्डपुर भी आये थे। आपकी इसी यात्रा में ऋषभदत्त और देवानन्द ने दीक्षा ली थी। और, ‘त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित्र’ में उल्लेख है कि इसी यात्रा में कुण्डपुर के तत्कालीन राजा, भगवान् के सांसारिक जीवन के बड़े भाई नन्दिबर्द्धन भी आपकी वन्दना करने आये थे।

जैनग्रन्थों में भगवान् महावीर-कालीन दर्शनों का चार भागों में विभक्त किया गया है : १. क्रियावादी, २. अक्रियावादी, ३. अज्ञानवादी और ४. विनयवादी।

भगवान् महावीर-प्रतिपादित जैनधर्म इनमें क्रियावाद के अन्तर्गत आता है। भगवान् स्वयं पुरुषार्थ में विश्वास करते थे और तद्रूप ही इन्होंने उपदेश भी किया। गौशालक के आजीवक-सम्प्रदाय का सहालपुत्र नामक एक श्रावक था। वह साम्यवादी था। उसे भगवान् ने उत्थान और पराक्रम का बोध कराया और वह भगवान् के मुख्य श्रावकों में हो गया।

भगवान् ने धर्म दो प्रकार के बताये हैं—१. साधु-धर्म और २. श्रावक-धर्म तथा आपने श्रमण, श्रमणी, श्रावक, श्राविका-रूपी चतुर्विध संघ की स्थापना की। आपने कहा कि,

सम्यक् ज्ञान, सम्यक् दर्शन तथा सम्यक् चरित्र के द्वारा कोई मा जीव—चाहे वह पुरुष हो, स्त्री हो, या नपुंसक हो—मोक्ष प्राप्त कर सकता है।

आपने चार भावनाएँ बताई—१. मैत्री, २. मुदिता, ३. करुणा और ४. उपेक्षा। इन चार भावनाओं द्वारा सुवासित मन शुभ कर्म का उपाजन करता है तथा १. क्रोध, २. मान, ३. माया और ४. लोभ ये चार कषाय तथा १. स्पर्श-लालसा, २. रस-लालसा, ३. गन्ध-लालसा, ४. रूप-लालसा तथा ५. शब्द-लालसा ये पाँच लालसाएँ अधुम कर्म एकत्र करती हैं।

भगवान् ने अट्ठारह पापस्थानक बताये—१. हिंसा, २. मृषावाद, ३. अदत्तादान, ४. मैथुन, ५. परिग्रह, ६. क्रोध, ७. मान, ८. माया, ९. लोभ, १०. राग, ११. द्वेष, १२. कलह, १३. अम्याख्यान, १४. पेचुन्य, १५. रति-अरति, १६. पर-परिवाद, १७. माया-मृषावाद और १८. मिथ्यादर्शन धल्य।

संसार से मुक्ति के लिए भगवान् ने श्रावकों के लिए बारह व्रत बताये—१. स्थूल प्राणातिपातविरमण, २. स्थूलमृषावादविरमण, ३. स्थूलअदत्तादान विमरण, ४. स्वदारसन्तोष और ५. इच्छापरिणाम—ये पाँच अणुव्रत कहे जाते हैं। ६. दिग्विरतिव्रत, ७. भोगोपभोगव्रत तथा ८. अनर्घदण्डविरतिव्रत—ये तीन गुणव्रत हैं। और ९. सामायिक, १०. दिशावकाशिक, ११. पोषध तथा १२. अतिधिसंविभाग—ये चार शिक्षाव्रत कहे जाते हैं।

श्रावकों के लिए ये जो पाँच अणुव्रत स्थूल रूप में हैं, वे साधु के लिए महाव्रत हो जाते हैं; क्योंकि साधु हिंसादि मन-वचन और काय से न करता है, न कराता है और न करनेवाले का अनुमोदन करता है।

अब मैं आप लोगों का अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता। जैनधर्म और जैनदर्शन स्वतः ऐसे विषय हैं, जिनका वर्णन एक व्याख्यान में समाप्त नहीं हो सकता।

वैशाली-संघ की दिन-दिन जो अभिवृद्धि हो रही है, उसके लिए मैं स्थानीय जनता को धन्यवाद करता हूँ। संघ के संस्थापक श्रीजगदीशचन्द्र माधुर अब यहाँ फिर आ गये हैं, अतः आशा है कि वैशाली-संघ आपकी देखरेख में और भी अधिक गति से प्रगति करेगा।

बिहार-सरकार ने यहाँ 'प्राकृत-जैनशास्त्र और अहिंसा-शोध-संस्थान' की स्थापना विद्वद्विद्यालय के स्तर पर करके सचमुच एक बड़ा काम किया है। उसके लिए जिस रूप में बिहार-सरकार का धन्यवाद किया जाय, थोड़ा है।

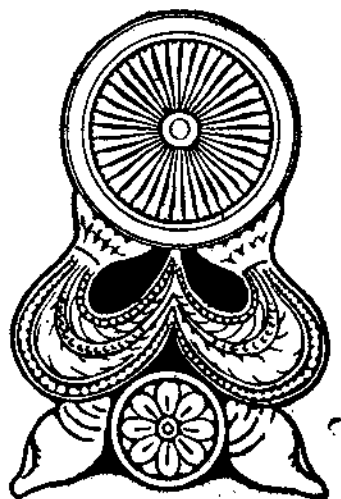
आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि शोध-संस्थान की एक अपनी पत्रिका भी हो, जिससे बाह्य जगत् शोध-संस्थान के कार्यों से और शोध-संस्थान बाह्य जगत् से और प्राकृतमें काम करनेवालों से सम्पर्क स्थापित कर सके।

उद्योगपति श्रीछान्तिप्रसाद जैन ने संस्थान के स्थापन के लिए जो दान दिया है, उसके लिए मैं उन्हें धर्मलाम देता हूँ।

और, मुझे तो बड़ी प्रसन्नता उस भूमि के मालिक के दान से हुई, जिसने भगवान् की जन्मभूमि, जो अहल्य करके पूज्य थी, दान देकर महान् यश और धर्म का अर्जन किया है।

इतने पर भी मुझे इस बात का दुःख है कि अभी जैन-समाज अपने कर्त्तव्य-निर्वाह में पीछे है। इसका एक कारण उनकी अज्ञानता और प्रचार की कमी है। पर, यदि समृद्ध तथा पढ़ा-लिखा समाज भगवान् के जन्मकल्याणक की पवित्र भूमि पर मन्दिर-निर्माण करा दे, तो निश्चय ही तीर्थयात्री यहाँ दर्शन-पूजन के लिए आने लगे और विस्मृत तीर्थ अपने योग्य गौरव को प्राप्त कर लें। जैनमात्र का यह कर्त्तव्य है और आशा है, इस दिशा से वह पीछे नहीं रहेगा।

अन्त में आप सभी श्रोताओं को मैं धर्मलाम देता हूँ।





VAIŚĀLĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

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I. Origin, Importance & Location

Vaiśālī, 'the large city', is famous in Indian history as the capital of the Licchavirājās and the head-quarters of the great and powerful Vajjian confederacy. It is closely associated with sacred memories of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism and with the two great faiths that evolved in north-eastern India, five hundred years before the birth of Christ. It really claims Mahāvīra the celebrated founder of Jainism as its own citizen. Mahāvīra is spoken as Vesālīe or Vaiśālīka, i. e., an inhabitant of Vaiśālī.¹ Abhayadeva in his commentary on the *Bhagavaiśūtra* (2. 1; 12, 2) explains Vaiśālīka by Mahāvīra and speaks of Viśālā as 'Mahāvīra-janani' or the mother of Mahāvīra.² The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, a Videha, son of Videhadattā, a native of Videha; a prince of Videha, had lived 30 years in Videha, the capital of which was Vaiśālī, when his parents died.³ During his later ascetic life Mahāvīra did not neglect the city of his birth, and out of forty-two rainy seasons during this period of his life he passed no less than twelve at Vaiśālī.⁴ Vaiśālī was also hallowed by the dust of the feet of the Buddha early in his career and many of his immortal discourses were delivered here either at the mango-grove of Ambapālī in the outskirts

1. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtra*, I, Intro. xi.

2. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Band xvi, p. 263. "Auch Abhayadeva zu Bhag. 2, 1. 12, 2. erklärt Vaicālīka durch Mahāvīra, und zwar als Metronymicum (!); Vicālā Mahāvīrajanani."

3. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtra* I, 2:6; *Kalpa Sūtra*, Sec. 110.

4. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, sec. 122.

of the city or at Kūṭāgāraśālā in Mahāvana, the great forest stretching out up to the Himalayas.

As to the origin of the city of Vaiśālī it was founded by the Licchavis and the area covered by it was very extensive. Vālmiki in the Bālakāṇḍa¹ of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that it was founded by a son of Ikṣvāku and the heavenly nymph Alambuṣā; after his name Viśāla the city itself came to be called Viśāla. According to the Purāṇas, Viśāla was succeeded by Hemacandra, Sucandra, Dhūmrāśva, Sṛṇjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākustha and Sumati. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*² Tṛṇabindu who was descended from Ikṣvāku, had by Alambuṣā a son named Viśāla who founded the city of Vaiśālī. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that when Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa, guided by the sage Viśvāmitra, crossed the sacred river Ganges and reached its northern shore on their way to Mithilā the capital of the royal sage Janakā, they had a view of the city of Vaiśālī. It does not tell us that it was exactly on the bank of the river but it says that while seated on the northern shore they saw the town.³ It might be that the distant towers or the pinnacles of temples caught their sight when they cast their glance northwards. The eminent traveller went to the city of Viśālā which was an excellent town, charming and heavenly, in fact a veritable *svarga*.⁴ Viśvāmitra who was their celebrated guide, narrated a fairly long mythological account to show the importance of the locality where Indra himself had sojourned for about a thousand years. According to him, the Ikṣvāku prince ruling over the country at the time was Sumati by name and by favour of Ikṣvāku, the father of the eponymous founder of the city, all the kings of Vaiśālī (*sarve Vaiśālikā nṛpāḥ*) were long-lived, high-souled, possessed of strength and power and highly virtuous.⁵ In Buddha's time the city of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another and that at three places, there were gates with watch towers and buildings.⁶ The three Districts

1. Chap. 47, vv. 11-2.

2. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. III, p. 246.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa* Bombay Edn., Chap. 45, v. 9.

"Uttaram tīramāsādyā sampūjyagiganaṃ tataḥ
Gaṅgākūle niviṣṭāste Viśālāṃ dadṛśuḥ purīm"

4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 45, vv. 10-11 :

"Viśālāṃ nagariṃ ramyāṃ divyāṃ svargopamām tadā (v. 10).

5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ch. 47, v. 18.

6. *Jātaka*, (Fausböll), I. p. 504-Vesālinagaram gāvutagāvutantāre
tīhi pākārehi parikkhittam, tīsu thānesu gopuraṭṭhalokayuttam.

as mentioned in the Tibetan *Dulva* and in the Buddhist commentary, may very well have been Vesālī proper, Kuṇḍapura and Vāṇijyagāma occupying respectively the south-eastern, the north-eastern and the western portions of the area of the entire city. Beyond Kuṇḍapura in a farther north-easterly direction lay the suburb of Kollāga which appears to have been principally inhabited by the Kṣatriyas of the Jñāṭṛ clan to which Mahāvira belonged.¹ In Buddha's time, Vaiśālī was a populous and prosperous town, abundant with food. It had many storied buildings, pinnacled houses, pleasure gardens and lotus ponds.² The prosperity of Vaiśālī has been thus described in the *Lalitavistara*: "This great city is prosperous and proud, charming and delightful, crowded with many people, adorned with buildings of every description, storied mansions, buildings with towers and palaces, noble gateways and charming with beds of flowers in her numerous gardens and groves."³ In fact it resembles the city of gods.

Outside the town of Vaiśālī there was a natural forest which, on account of the large area covered by it, was known as the Mahāvana. According to Buddhaghosa, a Buddhist commentator of the Theravāda school, a Saṅghārāma or monastery was established in that forest. A *pāsāda* or a storeyed building was built on pillars and putting a pinnacle above, it was made into a *Kūṭāgāraśālā*, resembling a chariot of gods (*devavimāna*). Thus the whole monastery was known as the *Kūṭāgāraśālā*.⁴

Scholars differ as to the identification of Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis. Cunningham with his immense knowledge of the country identified the present village of Basāḍha in the Muzaffarpur district in Tirhut as marking the spot where stood Vaiśālī in ancient days.⁵ Vivien de St. Martin agreed with him. According to Rhys Davids the site was quite uncertain which had still to be looked for somewhere in

1. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, tr. p. 4, n. 8.

2. *Vinaya Texts*, II, SBE. p. 171.

3. *Lalitavistara*, (Lefmann), Chap. III, p. 21 :

"Iyaṃ Vaiśālī mahānagarī riddhāca sphītāca khemāca subhikkhāca ramanīyā cākiraṇabahujaṇamanussā ca vitardiniṛyuhatoraṇagavākṣha-harmakūṭāgāraprāsādatalasamalaṅkṛitā ca puṣpavāṭikā-vanarājisaṃkṣumitā ca Amarabhavanapuraprakāśyā sāpratirūpāsyā....."

4. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 309.

5. *Archaeological Survey Report*, I, pp. 55-56; XVI, p. 6.

Tirhut¹ W. Hoey² sought to establish the identity of Vaiśālī with Cherand in the Chapra or Saran District. This identification has been proved to be entirely untenable by V. A. Smith³ who is of opinion that Vaiśālī may be fairly identified with the village of Basāḍha. This identity has been proved still more decisively by the Archaeological excavations carried out by Dr. T. Bloch on the site. Dr. Bloch excavated a mound called *Rajā Viśāla-kā-gaḍha*. Three distinct strata have been found, the uppermost belonging to the period of the Mahommedan occupation of the place, the second at a depth of about 5 ft. from the surface belonging to the period of the Imperial Guptas, and the third at a still greater depth belonging to an ancient period of no definite date.⁴ The finds in the second stratum are of very great value especially the find in one of the small chambers of a hoard of 700 clay seals evidently used as attachment to letters or other literary documents. They belonged partly to officials, partly to private persons, generally merchants or bankers, but one specimen bearing the figure of a *līṅga* with a *triśūla* on either side and the legend "*Āmrātakeśvara*" evidently belonged to a temple.⁵ The names of certain Gupta kings, queens and princes on some of these seals, coupled with palaeographic evidence, clearly demonstrate that they belonged to the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ when the Imperial Guptas were on the throne.⁶ Some of the impressions show that the name Tirabhukti which is the original form of Tirhut was applied to the province even in those early times and some show the name of the town itself, Vaiśālī. One of the clay seals of a circular area shows a female standing in a flower grove with two attendants and two horizontal lines below reading :

(i) [Vaiśālyām-araprakṛti-[ku]-

(ii) ṭumbinā [m].

“(Seal) of the householders of.....at Vaiśālī.”

Another seal also appears to have a similar legend. Another seal contains a Prakrit inscription recording the name of Vesālī (Vesālīye anusamyāna-kaṭakāre). All these go to prove the identity of the site with Vaiśālī and there seems to be no ground to question this conclusion any longer. It

1. *Buddhist India*, 41.

2. *JASB*, 1900, Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 78, 79, 80, and 83.

3. *JRAS*, 1902, p. 267, n. 3.

4. *Arch. Surv. An. Rep.*, 1903-04, p. 74.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

6. *Ibid.* p. 110.

7. *Ibid.* p. 110.

must be admitted that the results so far obtained by excavation are very meagre. If the site be properly excavated, we believe that we could get valuable materials for the reconstruction of the history of India.

II. Vaiśālī in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims and in the Tibetan Works

We now come to the accounts of the city left by the Chinese travellers. Fā-Hien visited Vaiśālī at the beginning of the 5th century A. D., i. e., about a thousand years after the time the Buddha lived and delivered his discourses. The Chinese pilgrim says that to the north of the city there existed a large forest having in it the double-galleried vihāra where the Buddha dwelt and the tope over half the body of Ānanda.¹ Inside the city Āmrapālī the famous courtesan in Buddha's time built a vihāra in honour of the Buddha, which she presented to him so that he might reside there. A tope was also built at the spot where the Buddha "took his last walk."² Fā-Hien also saw a tope situated three li to the north-west of the city called "Bows and weapons laid down." Another tope was also built at the place where the disciplinary rules in ten particulars were examined and collated.³ The story of the parinirvāṇa of Ānanda and the division of the remnants of the body has been told by Fā-Hien. According to him when Ānanda was going from Magadha to Vaiśālī, wishing his parinirvāṇa to take place there, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha being informed of this fact pursued him with a body of soldiers and reached the river. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī also heard that Ānanda was coming to their city and they also came to meet him. In this way they all arrived together at the river. Ānanda considered that if he went forward the king would be angry, while if he went back, the Licchavis would resent his conduct. Therefore in the very middle of the river, he burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of meditation and his parinirvāṇa was attained. He divided his body into two parts, leaving the half of it on each bank. The king got one half as a sacred relic.⁴

Yuan Chwang who visited Vaiśālī in the 7th century A. D. relates that the foundation of the old city "Vaiśālī" was 60 or 70 li in circuit and the palace city (i. e., the walled part of the city) was 4 and 5 li in circuit.⁵

1. Legge, *Travels of Fā-Hien*, p. 72.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

4. Legge, *Travels of Fā-Hien*, pp. 75-77.

5. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 63.

This would mean an area of about 20 miles in circumference for the outer town. The palace city of Yuan Chwang perhaps represents the earliest of the three cities which were built to accommodate the Licchavis as they were growing rather fast; but its area would not, in that case, agree with the statement that each of the three walls was at a distance of a *gāvuta* or a quarter *yojana*. This Chinese pilgrim visited the city more than 200 years after Fā-Hien found the double-gallared *vihāra* in ruins. "To the east of the tope of the *Jātaka* narrative", the pilgrim continues, "was a wonder-working tope on the old foundations of the two-storied Preaching Hall in which Ju-lai delivered the *p'u-men-t'o-lo-ni* and other *sūtras*."¹ Close to the remains of the Preaching Hall spoken of by Fā-Hien, Yuan Chwang says there was the tope which contained the half body relic of of Ānanda.² From another Chinese source,³ we learn "This Vajorā country has a city called Vaiśālī rich in every kind of produce; the people in peace and contentment; the country enriched and beautiful as a heavenly mansion; the king called Drumarāja, his son without the least stain on his scutcheon, the king's treasures full of gems, gold and silver."

The city of Vaiśālī has been described by the pilgrim as being above 5000 li in circuit, a very fertile region abounding in mangoes plantains, and other fruits. According to him the people were honest, fond of good work, esteemers of learning and orthodox-hetrodox in faith. The Tibetan Dulva (iii, f. 80) gives the following description of Vaiśālī. "There were three districts in the city. In the first district there were 7000 houses with golden towers, in the middle district there were 14000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district there were 21,000 houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions."⁴ In the Tibetan works Vaiśālī has been described as a prosperous and opulent city, a kind of earthly paradise with its handsome buildings, parks and gardens, singing birds and continual festivities among the Licchavis. In this connection it is interesting to note from Dulva (x. f. 2) what the Chabbaggiya bhikkhus told Nanda and Upananda when they visited Vaiśālī. According to these bhikkhus the Buddha never saw the like of this even when he was among the Tāvātimsa gods.⁵

1. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

3. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 28.

4. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

5. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 63.

III. Administrative and Political History

Vaiśālī does not appear to have been a full fledged democratic republic but an oligarchy in the sense that citizenship was confined to the members of the confederate clans. This form of Government was not rare in ancient India. There is ample evidence to show that in ancient times this form was much more in vogue than we are led to imagine from later literature. According to Hoernle, the government of Vaiśālī was vested in a senate composed of the heads of the resident Kṣatriya clans and presided over by an officer who had the title of king and assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-Chief.¹ Some hold that the government of Vaiśālī seems to have resembled that of a Greek State.² The Licchavis of Vaiśālī who were the most powerful of the confederate clans of Videha formed a *saṅgha* or *gaṇa* i.e., an organised corporation. Kauṭilya, the great minister of the first Maurya Emperor, has indicated in his *Arthaśāstra* the real nature of the Licchavi form of government. According to him, the *Saṅghas* or corporation of the peoples like the Licchavis, the Vṛjjis, the Mallas, the Madras, the Kukuras, the Durus, the Pañchālas and others lived by the title of a *Rājā* (*Rājaśabdopajīvinah*). It apparently means that among these peoples, each citizen had the right to call himself a *Rājā*, i.e., dignitary who did not owe allegiance or pay revenue to any one else, but each of whom held up his head high and not merely looked upon himself as a *Rājā* but considered that the word "*Rājā*" was his usual designation. This is corroborated by the account given in the *Lalitavistara* which, though a late work, preserves the tradition that at Vaiśālī there was no respect for age, nor for position, each one there thought that he was a *Rājā*.³ Śavarasvāmī in his commentary on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtra* (Bk. II) points out that the word "*Rājā*" is a synonym for Kṣatriya and he supports his statement by the fact that even in his time, the word was used by the Āndhras to designate a Kṣatriya. From the authority of Śavarasvāmī it can be safely said that the word "*Rājā*" in early times designated a Kṣatriya and subsequently came to mean a king. Kauṭilya observes that all these corporation (*Saṅghas*) by virtue of their being united were unconquerable by others. A corporation, according to him, was the best and most helpful because of the power derived from its union which made it invincible.⁴ Buddhist books inform us that the Licchavis

1. J. A. S. B., 1898, p. 40.

2. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 22.

3. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), I, p. 21; *Ibid*, B. I. Series, Chap. III, 23.

4. *Arthaśāstra*, 2nd Ed., p. 378—*Saṅghalābho daṇḍamitrābhānā-muttamah*.

were so strong as to defy the aggression of their country by any foreign power on account of their unity and concord and their practice of constantly meeting in their popular assemblies.¹

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī had their public hall where they used to hold meetings and discuss both politics and religion. This public hall was known as *Santhāgāra*. Among the Licchavis the elders were highly respected, and they had an officer called the Regulator of Seats (*Āsana-paññāpaka*) whose function seems to have been to seat the members of the congregation in the order of their seniority.² They had to propose a resolution which had got to be approved by the members present.

As might be expected in such an assembly, there were often violent disputes and quarrels with regard to controversial topics. The disputes were settled by the votes of the majority and the voting was by ballot. The voting tickets (*śalākās*) were served out to the voters and an officer of approved honesty and impartiality was appointed to collect them. There was also the provision for taking votes of the members who could not for any reason be present at a meeting of the assembly.³

A quorum was required and difficulty was often experienced in getting the right number. The elaboration and perfection of the procedure as well as the use of so many technical names to designate each particular detail go to show that the organisations of these powerful assemblies had already been developed and elaborated among the political *saṅghas* like that of the Licchavis.⁴ The chief Magistrate (*Nāyaka*) of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī was elected by the people or rather by the ruling clans of the Licchavis.⁵ It is difficult to find out his functions but it is possible that he was an executive officer for carrying out the decisions of the assemblies.

In the city of Vaiśālī the Rājās permanently exercised the rights of sovereignty; there were 7707 *rājās* and quite as many *uparājās* or subordinate officials, *Senāpatīs* or generals and *Bhāṇḍāgārikas* or treasurers.⁶ All these *rājās* were given to arguments and disputations.⁷ The number

1. *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 3-4.

2. *Vinaya Texts*, S. B. E., Vol. XX, p. 408, f.n.

3. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, S. B. E. XIII, p. 277.

4. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures 1918*, pp. 179-84.

5. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

6. *Jātaka* (Fausböll) I, p. 504.

7. *Ibid.*, III, p. 1.

7707 cannot be the right number of all the Licchavis living in the town of Vaiśālī. It seems to be an artificially concocted number. It would surely be too small a number for a great people that commanded respect for many centuries for their prowess and power and also it is too small a number for a people that filled almost the whole of such a large city of Vaiśālī. If stress is laid upon the fact that the viceroy, general, and treasurer were equal in number with rājās, it would mean that each of them had a personal staff of these officers. It seems likely that the existence of a treasurer attached to each *rājā* necessarily implies that each *rājā* had his separate treasury.

There must have been officers among the Licchavis of Vaiśālī for recording the decisions of the Council. In the *Mahā-govinda Suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, there is a passage which seems to justify this conclusion. The thirty-three gods assembled in the Hall of Good Counsel to discuss a certain matter. The four kings were receivers of the spoken words and the four great kings were receivers of the admonition given with respect to the matter under discussion.¹ It seems likely that the four great kings were looked upon as recorder; they kept the minutes of the meeting. In the case of the mote-halls of the clans there must have been such recorders.² Any practical work would have been impossible if there had not been any officer to record the proceedings of such a vast assembly as that of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.

There was a tank the water of which was used at the coronation ceremony of the families of *gaṇarājās* of Vaiśālī.³ It may be inferred from this fact that the ceremony of coronation was performed when a young Licchavi prince succeeded to the title and position of his father.

It is interesting to know the judicial procedure followed by the Vajjian confederacy of which the Licchavis of Vaiśālī were the most important members. When a person was presented before the Vajjian rājās as having committed an offence, they without taking him to be a malefactor surrendered him to the officers (*viniccaya-mahāmāttas*) whose business it was to make enquiries and examine the accused with a view to ascertain whether he was guilty or not. If they found that he was not a culprit, they released him. But if they considered him guilty they made him over to the persons learned in law and custom (*vohārikas*)

1. *Dīghanikāya*, II.

2. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. p. 263 f.n. 1.

3. *Jātaka*, Fausboll, IV, p. 148.

without inflicting any punishment on him. They could discharge him if they found him innocent. If they held him guilty they transferred him to certain officers known as the *Suttadhāras* who kept up the thread of law and custom existing from the ancient times. They in their turn made further investigation and if satisfied that the accused was innocent they discharged him. If he was considered guilty by them, he was made over to the *Aṭṭhakulakā* (lit. the eight castes of tribes) which was evidently a judicial institution composed of judges representing eight tribes. The *Aṭṭhakulakā* made him over to the *Senāpati* or commander of the army, if satisfied as to the guilt of the offender. The commander made him over to the Sub-king (*uparājā*) and the latter in his turn handed him over to the *rājā* who released the accused, if he was innocent. If he was found guilty the *rājā* referred to the *Paveṇipotthaka*, i.e., the Book recording the law and precedents. The *rājā* used to inflict a proper sentence having measured the culprit's offence according to the book of law and precedents.

There is no mention of the Licchavis in the Brāhmaṇa literature though there is repeated mention of Videha which in the Buddha's time joined with the Licchavis and formed a confederation. In the sixth century B. C., the Licchavis come to our notice in the Jaina and Buddhist books and we meet them there as a powerful people in the enjoyment of great prosperity and of a high social status among the ruling races of eastern India. They had already evolved a system of government and polity bearing not a little resemblance to some of the democracies of the western world, embodying all the latest methods of voting. The procedure of conducting the deliberations of an assembly must have been developing from the earliest Vedic times. The Licchavis must have modelled their procedure on that which was already in vogue among the Indo-Aryans, and adapted it to their own use. We know nothing of the history of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī during the period they grew up and developed into a noble and powerful people. The earliest political fact that we know of is that they gave one of their daughters in marriage to Sreṇika Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. The Licchavi lady was Cellanā, the daughter of Cetaḥa¹ one of the *rājās* of Vaiśālī, whose sister Kṣatriyāṇi Triśālā was the mother of Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism. According to a Tibetan account, her name was Śrībhadrā and in some places her name occurs as Maddā.² This lady is usually called Vaidehī in the Buddhist books and from her Ajātaśatru is frequently designated as Vedehiputto³ or the son of the

1. *Jaina Sūtras*, S. B. E., XXII, Intro. p. xiii.

2. *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 38, v. i.

3. *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 268.

Videha princess. The *Divyāvadāna*¹ also speaks of Ajātaśatru as Vaidehi-putra. The Tibetan Dulva gives the name of Vāsavi to Ajātaśatru's mother, and narrates here a story which runs thus. A minister of king Virudhaka of Videha named Sakala was obliged to flee from his country on account of the jealousy of the other ministers of the king. He went to Vaiśālī with his two sons named Gopāla and Simha. He became prominent citizen of Vaiśālī and was elected a *Nāyaka*. His two sons married at Vaiśālī and Simha had a daughter named Vāsavi. It was foretold that she would bear a son who would take away his father's life. Gopāla was fierce and of great strength. He ravaged the parks of the Licchavis. When Sakala died, his son Simha was elected a *Nāyaka* with the result that Gopāla left Vaiśālī and took up his residence at Rājagṛha in Magadha where he became the first minister of Bimbisāra. Bimbisāra afterwards married Vāsavi who became known as Vaidehī. After a while, she bore a son who received the name of Ajātaśatru.² Bimbisāra's son named Abhaya was born of a Licchavi woman. Bimbisāra visited Āmrāpālī, a courtesan of Vaiśālī, and remained with her for seven days. Āmrāpālī later became pregnant and gave birth to a son whom she sent to his father. This son was called Abhaya or fearless.³

The Licchavis appear to have been on friendly terms with king Prasenajit of Kośāla. Prasenajit proceeded to arrest Aṅgulimāla the murderer and on his way met the Buddha who enquired whether he was going to fight with Bimbisāra of Magadha or with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Thereupon Prasenajit replied that all of them were his friends.⁴

The Licchavis had friendly relations with their neighbours, the Mallas. We next come to the relation of the Licchavis with Ajātaśatru, the son and successor of Bimbisāra. It cannot be expected that a man whose greed for power and position did override even the natural instinct of regard for his father's life, would show any tender feeling towards his mother's relation. Ajātaśatru must have felt from the very beginning that the Licchavis formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion, and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, "I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians. I will bring these Vajjians to

1. Cowell and Neill, p. 55.

2. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 63-64.

3. *Ibid*, 64; Cf. *Psalm of the Sisters*, pp. 120-21; *Psalm of the Brethren*, p. 65.

4. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 100-101.

utter ruin."¹ The Vajjians attacked Ajātaśatru many times. This enraged him very much, and in order to baffle their attempts, two of his ministers, Sunidha and Vassakāra, built a fort at Pāṭaligāma² and at last Ajātaśatru annihilated the Vajjians. It was distinctly a political motive which led him to do so³. Ajātaśatru was not therefore on friendly terms with the Licchavis. His foster brother Abhaya had Licchavi blood in him and he liked the Licchavis very much. At this time the Licchavis were gradually gaining strength and Ajātaśatru thought that if Abhaya sided with them it would be very difficult for him to cope with the Licchavis. So he decided to do away with them. There was a port near the Ganges extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātaśatru and half to the Licchavis. There was a mountain not far from it and at the foot of the mountain there was a mine of precious substance. Ajātaśatru was late in coming there and the avaricious Licchavis took away all the precious substance. This enraged the Magadhan king very much. He realised that it would be difficult to carry out his purpose as the Licchavis were numerically stronger. So he conceived the design of destroying the independence of the Licchavis by sowing seeds of dissension. Ajātaśatru learnt from the Buddha through one of his ministers Vassakāra that the Licchavis would become very luxurious in future. So he decided to break up their union and Vassakāra advised him to convene a meeting of the Councillors to bring up some discussion regarding the Vajjians when in the midst of the sitting, Vassakāra would quit the Council after offering a remonstrance saying, "Mahārāja, what do you want with them? Let them occupy themselves with the agricultural and commercial affairs of their own realm." Then he said to Ajātaśatru, "Mahārāja completely cut off all my hair, bringing a charge against me for interdicting your discussion without either binding or flogging me. As I am the person by whom ramparts and ditches of your capital were formed and as I know the strong and weak parts of your fortification, I will tell the Vajjians that I am able to remove any obstacle you can raise." Ajātaśatru acted upto the advice of his minister. The Vajjians heard of the departure of Vassakāra who being questioned by them told them why he was so severely punished for so slight an offence. Then the Vajjians offered them the post of Judicial Prime Minister which he accepted and very soon acquired reputation for his able administration of justice. Young Vajjian rulers went to him to have their training at his hands. Vassakāra was very successful in his mission of creating disunion among

1. *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 1 and 2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

3. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 12.

the Vajjian rulers with the result that Ajātaśatru found it easy to defeat the Licchavis.¹ Thus the Magadhan kingdom was very much extended during his reign.

The Licchavis, though they might have been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Magadha, enjoyed a great deal of independence under Candragupta Maurya. There can be no doubt that under his grandson Aśoka the Licchavis accepted his suzerainty.

At the beginning of the 4th century A.D., Candragupta I, a son-in-law of the Licchavi family and son of Ghaṭotkacagupta, established a new kingdom. A gold coin was introduced under the name of Candragupta I by Samudragupta. On the obverse were incised the figure of Candragupta I and his queen Kumāradevī and on the reverse was engraved the figure of Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune, couchant with the legend *Licchavayaḥ* or 'the Licchavis'.² Samudragupta in his Allahabad Inscription takes pride in describing himself as *Licchavi-dauhitra* or 'the son of the daughter of the Licchavis'. About the 4th century A.D. when the Guptas rose to power, the Licchavis must have possessed considerable political power in north-eastern India. It is quite probable that Candragupta's dominions received considerable expansion by the country which he obtained through his Licchavi wife. Very likely it was the accession of the Licchavi districts to his kingdom that enabled him to adopt the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. His son and successor wanted apparently to emphasise this fact by issuing a gold coin delineating the Licchavi connection. It is significant that the epithet "*Licchavidauhitra*" is not only asserted by Samudragupta about himself, but it continues to be a permanent appellation of this sovereign in the inscriptions of his successors. Allan presumes that it was to keep up the memory of his father Candragupta and his mother Kumāradevī that the coin bearing their names and the name of the Licchavis was issued by Samudragupta. Rapson points out that the inscription '*Licchavayaḥ*' which occurs in Candragupta's gold coins together with the name of his queen Kumāradevī may signify that Kumāradevī belonged to a royal family previously reigning at Pāṭaliputra.³ A similar opinion is also held by V. A. Smith who says that Candragupta married Kumāradevī a princess

1. G. Turnour, *An Examination of the Pāli Buddhistical Annals*, No. V., J.A.S.B., Dec., 1838, pp. 994 f.n., 996 f.n.

2. Allan, *Gupta Coins*, pp. 8-11.

3. *Indian Coins*, pp. 24-25.

of the Licchavi clan.¹ Candragupta's position was elevated through his Licchavi connections from the rank of local chief.²

According to the Nepal inscriptions there were two distinct houses, one of which known as the Thākuri family, and the other the Licchavi or the Sūryavaṁśi family, which issued its charters from the palace called Mānagṛha and uniformly used an era with the Gupta epoch.³ Thus we find that the Licchavis were not inferior to the imperial Guptas so far as rank and power were concerned.

Their friendly relations with the Guptas were established by the marriage of Candragupta I with Kumāradevi, a daughter of the Licchavis.

It is interesting to note that according to the Basādhā seals the province of Tīrhut was governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the Mahādevī Śrī Dhruvasvāminī, who had his capital at Vaiśālī. The seals refer to many officials like the *Uparika* (governor), the *Kumārāmātya* (cadet minister), the *Mahāpratihāra* (the great Chamberlain), the *Talavara* (local chief), the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (the great commandant), *Vinayasthiti sthāpaka* (Censor) and the *Bhaṭṭāśvapati* (lord of the army and cavalry). Such offices as *Yuvarājā-pādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (office of the minister of the Crown prince), *Raṇabhāṇḍāgār-ādhikaraṇa* (chief treasurer of the war department), *Balādhikaraṇa* (war office), *Daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa* (Police chief), *Tīra-bhukty-uparikādhikaraṇa* (office of the governor of Tīrhut), *Tīrabhuktau Vinayasthiti-sthāpakādhikaraṇa* (office of the Censor of Tīrhut), *Vaiśālyadhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa* (office of the government of Vaiśālī) and *Śrī-paramabhaṭṭārakā-pādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (office of the cadet minister waiting on His Majesty).⁴

IV. Social History

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī were sympathetic towards each other. If a Licchavi fell ill the other Licchavis came to see him. The whole clan would attend any auspicious ceremony performed in the houses of a Licchavi. If a foreigner paid a visit to the Licchavi capital they would all go out in a body to receive him.⁵

1. *Early History of India*, 3rd. ed. p. 279.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

3. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 135.

4. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., pp. 437-74.

5. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Burmese Ed.) pp. 103-5.

The young Licchavis were very handsome in appearance and very fond of brilliant colours in their dress and equipages.¹ They wore various coloured garments not only on great festive occasions but also in their ordinary daily life.² There was a profusion of gold and jewels in everything, in their equipages, carriages drawn by horses, gold-bedecked elephants, palanquins of gold set with all kinds of precious stones. There went out of the city of Vaiśālī twice 84,000 conveyances decked in pearl and gold with all the wealth and splendour of kings. All these speak of a people who were greatly prosperous and in affluent circumstances and it may be expected that they would be given to luxury and indolence. This was not their character at the time when the Buddha lived and preached among them. They were hardy and active, ardent and strenuous in their military training.³ They were fond of manly pastime, such as elephant-training and hunting.⁴ According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the Licchavi youths were rude and rough and whatever presents were sent to their families, they used to plunder and eat them. They used to throw dust at the ladies of respectable families and girls of good families. The young Vaiśālīans though they indulged in the pranks and peccadillos of youth were not so wild as to lose all sense of respect due to religious men. The Licchavis were rather independent in their character and would not easily accept a subordinate position to any one whether in politics or in religion or in ordinary daily life.⁵ A Licchavi named Vṛddha at the instigation of some dishonest bhikkhus had preferred a false charge of adultery against a Mallian but he afterwards made a clean breast of the whole ugly plot as soon as he saw the measure of his iniquity.⁶

The young Vaiśālīans went to distant countries for education. Mahālī went to Taxila to learn arts and returned home after completing his education. He in his turn trained as many as 500 Licchavis who also did the same thing and in this way education spread far and wide among the Vaiśālīans.

Fine arts were not neglected by the people of Vaiśālī. Artisans such as tailors, goldsmiths, and jewellers, must have been very much in requisition at the city of Vaiśālī to furnish the gay robes of many nobles. The artisans were put to great strain in order to devise suits of dress and

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 79.
2. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 239.
3. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, P.T.S., II, pp. 267-8.
4. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 106.
5. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), I, p. 21.
6. *Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E.), III, pp. 118-125.

ornaments to fit up variously coloured Licchavis. The art of architecture was also much developed in Vaiśālī¹. They were equally enthusiastic in the building of temples, shrines, and monasteries, for the bhikkhus, and the bhikkhus themselves superintended the construction of these buildings for the Order.²

As regards the marriage rites of the Licchavis, there were rules, according to Tibetan books, restricting the marriage of all girls born in Vaiśālī to that city alone. The Vaiśālīans made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, and not in the second or third. No marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī.³ A Licchavi who wanted to marry could ask the corporation (*Licchavigaṇa*) to select a suitable bride for him.

The Vaiśālīans appear to have a high idea of female chastity. Violation of chastity was a serious offence amongst them. A Licchavi rājā was enamoured of the beauty of a married woman whose husband he engaged as an officer under him. He wanted to gain her love but in vain.⁴

The punishment for a woman who broke her marriage vow was very severe. The husband could with impunity even take away her life. An adulterous woman could save herself from punishment by entering the congregation of nuns by getting ordination.⁵ A Licchavi wife committed adultery; the husband warned her many times but she heeded not. The corporation was informed by him that he would put an end to the life of his wife because she committed adultery. He then asked the corporation to select a suitable wife for him. His wife knowing that she would be killed became a nun.⁶

The Vaiśālīans adopted various methods to dispose of the dead. Besides cremation and burial, the custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals seems to have been in existence in Vaiśālī. The Vaiśālīans burnt corpses there and the bones were preserved in heaps. The corpses were hung from the trees; there were others buried there such as had been killed by their relatives fearing lest they should be

1. *Lalitavistara*, Ch. III, p. 23.

2. *Cullavagga*, VI, (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., Vol. XX, pp. 189-90).

3. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

4. *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* (Simon Hewavitarana's Bequest Series, No. 1), pp. 154-156.

5. *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Oldenberg) IV, pp. 225-226.

6. *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga-saṅghādidesa*, II, p. 225.

born again, while others were left on the ground that they might return if possible to their former homes.¹ The custom of disposal of their dead bodies sometimes by exposure, sometimes by cremation, and sometimes by burial, was in vogue among the inhabitants of Vaiśālī.²

The Vaiśālīans had various festivals of which the *Sabbarattivāra* (whole night festival) or *Sabbaratticāra* was the most important. At the *Sabbarattivāra* festival songs were sung, trumpets, drums and other musical instruments were used.³ When a festival took place at Vaiśālī, all the people used to enjoy it and there were dancing, singing and recitation.⁴

V. Religious History

The Vaiśālīans especially the Licchavis of Vaiśālī were of a strongly religious and devotional bent of mind. Both Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among them. Before the advent of these two religions, the Licchavis or to call them by their wider designation, the Vajjians, appear to have been imbued with a strong religious spirit and deep devotion. They had many shrines in their town as well as in their country and they worshipped the deities in the shrines with proper offerings and with the observance of due rites and ceremonies. Even after Jainism and Buddhism had obtained a strong hold on the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the great body of the people of the Vajji country remained staunch followers of their ancient faith, the principal feature of which was Caitya worship, although they had due regard for the Jaina or Buddhist sages, that wandered over their country, preaching the message delivered by their respective teachers. The Buddha on the eve of his last departure for Vaiśālī and shortly before his passing away from this world said, "As long as the Vajjians honour the Vajjian shrines in town or country, so long the Vajjians are expected not to decline but to prosper".⁵ Towards the end of the Buddha's life, the Licchavis were devoted worshippers at the numerous shrines scattered about their country. From the meagre mention of the *Caityas* of the Licchavis in the Buddhist books, it is not easy to determine what the principal objects of their worship were. There is nothing to show that the religious belief of the Licchavis was in any way different from the form of faith obtained in other parts of

1. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, pp. 159-60.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, p. 234.
3. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, pp. 201-2.
4. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 63.
5. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, *Dīgha* II.

northern India. The important *Caityas* at Vaiśālī were called *Cāpāla*, *Udena*, *Gotamaka*, *Bahuputtak*, *Sattambaka*, *Sārandada*,¹ and *Gotama-nigrodhā*. From the comments made by the celebrated commentator, Buddhaghōṣa, it is reasonable to assume that the *yakkhas* were worshipped in these *Caityas*. The Buddhist books point out that the Vedic and many popular gods and goddesses were worshipped by the people in the region where Buddha preached.²

According to the Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, Mahāvīra's parents were the lay supporters of the followers of Pārśvanātha. For the sake of protecting the six classes of lives, they observed the rules of continence and committed religious suicide through starvation.³

After Mahāvīra developed his doctrine and preached his faith of unbounded charity to all living beings in the Vajji land and in Magadha, the number of his followers among the Licchavis appears to have been among them. According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Siha, a Licchavi general gradually felt attracted towards the Śramaṇa Gautama by listening to the discussion among the Licchavis at their mote-hall. Siha was afterwards converted to the Buddhist faith.⁴ Saccaka, a Nigaṇṭha, had the hardihood to challenge the Buddha himself to a discussion on philosophical tenets before an assembly of 500 Licchavis.⁵

The Buddha paid several visits to the city of Vaiśālī and from the beginning he appears to have met with great success. How great was the veneration with which he was received on his first visit to this city ! The Licchavis sought the aid of the Buddha for the solution of many problems about religion and dogma that presented any difficulty to them.

Once when the Buddha was staying in the Kūṭāgāraśālā at Mahāvāna in Vaiśālī, Bhaddiya, a Licchavi, paid a visit to the Buddha who explained to him *kusala* and *akusala dhamma*. Bhaddiya was much delighted with his exposition and declared himself a follower of the Buddha.⁶ A Licchavi named Sālha and another Licchavi named Abhaya went to the Buddha

1. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. III, p. 14 — *Pāṭika Suttanta*; Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 201.
2. *Sāmyutta*, I, pp. 1, 3, 10, etc., *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sūttanta*, VI, 15, etc., etc.
3. *Jaina Sūtras*, I, S.B.E., XXII, p. 194.
4. *Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E., XVII), 108 foll.
5. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 227-237.
6. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II, pp. 190-4.

and heard his preachings.¹ A Licchavi minister named Nanda approached the place where the Blessed One was and the Buddha explained to him the four *dhammas*.² When the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, five hundred Licchavis assembled at the Sārāṇadā Caitya. There was talk about the five kinds of rare gems.³

Añjana-vaniya, a Vaiśālīan, went to the Buddha and heard his discourse with the result that he won arhatship.⁴ A son of a Licchavi rājā at Vaiśālī went to the place where the Buddha was preaching. Hearing his discourse he entered the Order and in due course acquired supernatural knowledge.⁵ Jentā, born in a princely family of the Licchavis at Vaiśālī, won arhatship after hearing the dhamma preached by the Buddha.⁶ Vāsīṭṭhī who belonged to a clansman's family at Vaiśālī was taught by the Master about the outlines of the Norm. She soon acquired insight and attained arhatship.⁷ Āmbapālī, known as the Mango-gardener's girl, tried to acquire insight.⁸ The evanescence of her own body was noticed by her and she saw transitoriness in every phenomenon of the universe. At last she attained arhatship.⁹ A large number of distinguished Licchavis while going to see the Buddha when he was at Vaiśālī, resounded the Mahāvāṇa with a great tumult of joy to see the Buddha as they were greatly devoted to him.¹⁰ Mahālī, a Licchavi, went to the Buddha and told him that Pūraṇa Kassapa, a heretical teacher, was of opinion that there was no cause of the sin of beings and without cause they suffered, and there was no cause of the purity of beings and without cause they were purified. The Buddha refuted this theory of Pūraṇa Kassapa.¹¹

The influence that teachings of the Exalted One exercised upon the fierce Licchavis is unique. The magic power of the wholesome and edifying discourse of the Blessed One had the beneficial effect of removing

1. *Ibid.*, II, 200-2.
2. *Saṃyutta*, V, pp. 389-90.
3. *Aṅguttara*, III, 167-8.
4. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 56.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
6. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 23-24.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.
8. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 120-121.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
10. *Aṅguttara*, V, p. 133.
11. *Majjhima*, III, pp. 68-70.

the arrogance and selfishness of a wicked Licchavi prince from the core of his heart which became afterwards full of love and kindness.¹

The independent spirit of the Vajjians was manifested notably in the great schism brought about by the bhikkhus in their clan in the life of the Buddhist Order. Their national spirit was also displayed in bringing about a momentous change in the Buddhist doctrine. A school of Buddhist thought known as the *Vajjiputtakas* is said to have formulated a theory of personality (*puggalavāda*) which was unacceptable to the orthodox interpreters of Buddhism.

A hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha the *Vajjiputtaka bhikkhu*, who were the residents of Vaiśālī, began to indulge in practices prejudicial to the interests of Buddhism. They proclaimed ten indulgences as permissible.² In order to suppress the heresies among them, the Buddhist elders convened a council at Vaiśālī known as the *Sattasatika* or the convocation of the seven hundred. At this meeting the assembled bhikkhus were brought together by the exertions of the venerable Yasa. In the course of discussions, the interrogation of Revata and the exposition of the Vinaya by Sabbakāmi, the ten indulgences being thoroughly enquired into, a judgment of suppression was finally pronounced.³



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1. *Ekkapaṇṇa Jātaka* (Cowell's Ed.), I, p. 16.
 2. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 103; *f. A. S. B.*, VI, Pt. II, p. 728 (1837).
 3. *An Examination of the Pāli Buddhistical Annals*, VI, Pt. II, p. 729 *J. A. S. B.*, 1837; (Sept.).



VAIŚĀLĪ AND GREATER INDIA

Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., F. R. A. S. B.

It is quite in the fitness of things that there should be an organization to pay homage to, and thereby keep alive the memories of, the glorious city of Vaiśālī. The city played a distinguished part in the history of India and several writers have described in this volume its many-sided achievements. I would only like to add a few words to show that the name and fame of this ancient city lingered in the memory of Indians who had set up colonies in Burma.

Vaiśālī was the name of a famous city in Arakan. According to the local chronicles it was built in 789 A.D. by a king of the Chandra dynasty, and henceforth became its capital. This tradition is fully supported by the coins and inscriptions of a long line of kings whose names ended in Chandra. For two centuries, if not more, Vaiśālī retained its position as a capital city and a stronghold of Indian culture, specially of Buddhism.

The palace of the city is now occupied by the village Wethāli, which is only the local pronunciation of Vaiśālī. Thus the old name still survives in an insignificant village in the Akyab district. It is 8 miles to the south-east of Mrohaung or Myohaung, the well-known capital of Arakan in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D.

Wethāli or Vaiśālī is now a small village containing about 80 houses. But it is strewn all over with brickbats and there are still remains of

extensive brick walls. The old moat of the royal palace can still be seen running along the north of the village. To judge from the extant ruins, the city must have been a fairly large one. A number of sculptures, some with inscriptions, have been found in the locality, and a few of them may be as early as the 8th century A. D. These sculptures are predominantly Buddhist in character. A long line of Buddhist kings, as noted above, is referred to in an inscription engraved on a pillar which is now in Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung. It gives an account of the Śrī Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa and records the name of 19 kings who probably ruled between 600 and 1000 A.D. Most of these kings have names ending in Candra such as Bālacandra, Devacandra, Yajñacandra, Dipacandra, Pṛīticandra, Nīticandra, Narendracandra and Ānandacandra. The other kings of this family were Mabāvīra, Dharmasūra, Dharmavijaya and Narendravijaya.

Whether the capital city of Vaiśālī in Arakan had any relation with the ancient city of Vaiśālī in India, it is, of course, impossible to say. But we have other evidences to show that the name and fame of ancient Vaiśālī loomed large in the minds of the Burmese people. The Burmese chronicles have preserved a long story about the marriage of Aniruddha, the great king of Pagan (1044–1077 A.D.), with a princess of Vaiśālī. The Burmese king, we are told, sent an envoy to the ruler of Vaiśālī, in India, asking for the hands of his daughter. The ruler of Vaiśālī agreed and the princess was escorted by a noble man of the Burmese court with due pomp and ceremony. Scandalous stories about the relation between the princess and her escort reached the ears of the king, but after some hesitation, he married her. The queen gave birth to a son who later ascended the throne under the name of Kyantsittha, and attained great fame. This traditional account may or may not be true, but it at least proves that the Buddhist people of Burma had great respect for Vaiśālī and held it in high honour.





THE PRE-BUDDHISTIC ANCIENT HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF THE VAIŚĀLĪ REGION

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About seven or eight generations before the Ailas and Aikṣvākas started their respective famous dynasties (with the main branches at Pratiṣṭhāna or Prayāga and at Ayodhyā), that is about ninety generations before the Bhārata War (which took place in the middle of the tenth century B. C. when the last edition of the Vedic texts was being drawn up by Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana),—in other words, near about the twenty-third century B. C., in the concluding epoch of the so-called 'Mohenjo-Daro' or pre-Āryan (pre-'Aila') civilization (cir. 3750 to 2000 B. C.),—a large part of northern India, including Himalayan and Gangetic regions, began to be ruled over not by 'kings' but by chosen 'Manus' (=Mentors or Monitors, Planners or 'Law-givers'). In about two centuries, from the twenty-third to the twenty-first, there were six 'Manu's, most of whom belonged to one family, that of the first Manu and his son, Priyavrata.—The first mention of the Vaiśālī region in ancient historical tradition occurs in connexion with the episodes recorded in the Purāṇas regarding the 'Manus' of this family and period.

The first Manu's grandson, the famous Uttāna-pāda, had by his second consort a son called Uttama, who was married to Behulā of the Bābhavya family. She was a great beauty, but did not respond to Uttama's love; tired of her coldness, he banished her. One of his subjects, Suśarman, a brāhmaṇa of Viśāla town, had a plain-looking shrew for a wife (the daughter of Atirātra, a brāhmaṇa), who was kidnapped by a handsome 'Rākṣasa' (named Valāka, son of Adri) of Utpalāvata¹ (i.e.,

1. I.e. Prayāga (Allahabad). There is a 'ghāṭa' called Brahmāvartta at Prayāga associated with Uttānapāda, who is also said to have ruled Brahmāvartta between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī.—which

Pratiṣṭhāna City); and he appealed to Uttama for her recovery; Uttama did this service and the abductor Valāka became his friend. In the meanwhile, his own banished wife was abducted by a Nāga king, Kapotaka, to 'Pātāla' regions (apparently the Ganges delta), where however she was saved by the Nāga king's daughter, Nandā, who concealed her and feigned being struck with dumbness, in the interests of the Queen, her mother. With the help of Valāka, Uttama now rescued Behulā, who fully responded to her husband's love, and the pair continued to enjoy the favour of the Nāga princess Nandā, who blessed their son, the famous 'Autami or the second Manu'.¹

In the same line of Uttānapāda there was a prince, Anamitra, and his wife Gīri-bhadra, whose son, Ānanda, was in childhood changed for the infant son named Caitra of another neighbouring prince, Vikrānta,

would rather mean the Sarasvatī flowing into Prayāga and the Dṛṣadvatī or 'stone-bearing' Gaṇḍakī;—there was also a Sarasvatī beside Vaiśālī. Utpalāvata is now a ruined fort on the Ganges, said to represent the ruins of the city of Uttānapāda. Some identify it with Bithur, 14 miles from Cawnpore, which is also called Utpalāranya (but this may be different from Utpalāvata).—Utpalāranya was also the name of Vālmiki's āśrama where Lava and Kuśa were born,—which was however at the junction of Tamasā (Tons) and the Ganges below Pratiṣṭhāna (Allahabad). This Utpalāranya might represent Uttānapāda's Utpalāvata better. According to Mahābhārata: V. P., Utpalāranya was within the kingdom of Pāñcāla then. The Rāmagaṅgā river is known as Uttānikā after him, and it falls into the Ganges at the Utpalāranya near Kannauj.

1. These details, tersely summarised here, indicate that the lower Gangetic country (from Allahabad to the sea) in those days was inhabited in the west by a very handsome 'rākṣasa' race and in the east by an equally handsome 'Nāga' race, amongst which latter the ruling families evinced matriarchal traces. The names Behulā (colloq. form of 'Vidhurā' or 'Virahinī', 'the separated maid') and Kapotaka are strongly reminiscent of the Bengal legends *re* Behulā and the Nāgas,—and of the Bengal river named Kapotak (one of the branches of the Deltaic Ganges, in Jessore district, on which the famous Michael Madhusudan Dutt's home village stood, and where in archaic times the great sage Kapila lived).

and his wife Haiminī (daughter of Rūtha), who again was changed for the infant son of Bodha, the leading brāhmaṇa of Viśāla-grāma,¹—the last infant being consigned to the female deity 'Jāta-hāriṇī.' When still a mere youth, Ānanda became the sixth Manu (the 'Cākṣuṣa' Manu)²; by his wife 'Vidarbhā', daughter of King Ugra, he had a son called Uru, whose immediate descendants were the famous Aṅga, Veṇa and Pṛthu.

In the same lineage of the first Manu, within the first few generations from him, are placed the famous Ṛṣabha (one of the very first 'Jina's of Jaina tradition) and his son Bharata. The former was ruler over what was then known as 'Hima-varṣa', the country just to the south of what was then called 'Hima' Mountains ('Hamāhva'). This region he made over to his son Bharata and retired in old age as an ascetic, wandering, but with head-quarters in the ancient āśrama of the 'Pulaha' brāhmaṇas (of the same group as the Pulastya = 'rakṣasa' and 'yakṣa', Kratu, Agastya and Vāsiṣṭha brāhmaṇas) at Śāla-grāma on the Gaṇḍakī (above Vaiśālī where the river emerges from the Himālayas). Bharata gave his name to this Hima-varṣa, and after him it was called Bhārata-varṣa. He too, in due course, retired like his father before him to the same āśrama, making over this region to his son Sumati. Other cousins of Ṛṣabha and Bharata — Nābhi, Agnīdhra, and others,—ruled over regions or 'varṣa's called Nābhi-varṣa, Ilāvṛta-varṣa, Kimpuruṣa-varṣa, Hari-varṣa, etc., mostly in the different Himālayan and trans-Himālayan tracts. This Bharata was also a great ṛṣi or sage, and is alleged to have been the originator of the first scientific treatment of the dramatic art, music and dancing (Nāṭyaśāstra).

Legends about a very ancient cult struggle of Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava character between the worshippers of Aja-Ekapāda (Rudra in elephant form) and of Kūrma (tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu) are located in the Vaiśālī region, at the junction of the Gaṇḍakī and the Gaṅgā, which is therefore called Hari-Hara-Kṣetra or Gajendra-Mokṣa Kṣetra, within Viśāla-Kṣetra. Three

1. It seems both were 'rājā's of Vaiśālī. (Cf. many 'rājā's of Vaiśālī in later ages).—In early literature capital cities were designated 'grāma's, e.g., Ayodhyā.
2. The legends about the Svārociṣa Manu and the Raivata Manu of the same dynasty connect them with Vārāṇasī then called Varuṇāspada or Varāṇasī-pada (and a kingdom extending from Upper Gangetic Himālayas to Kāmarūpa and Deccan), and with 'Vikramaśīla' respectively. The sub-Himalayan Mauleyas whose princess was married into the Manu family, might be the prototype of the subsequent Mauryas.

other ancient legends about this same region concern (i) the origin of Diti's sons, the Maruts (gods associated with Indra, being the stormy winds of the sea or 'mare' and the swampy riparian regions or 'maru'); (ii) the 'Manthana' ('scouring', mistranslated 'churning') of the Eastern Seas by the 'Maruts' and others, with Mt. Mandara (in the Aṅga region) as the seat of the 'Daṇḍa' or the ruling power supporting the Vaiśālī sea-rangers; and (iii) Śiva Umā and the conflagration of Madana (Cupid), whence this same region was also called Kāmāśrama. Of these, the first and third legends are based on early religious history, the second on early commercial history,—all clearly belonging to the age before 2,000 B. C.

Coming, in this same south Himalayan Gangetic region, to the next great epoch of the rise of the Ikṣvākus (which was shortly after followed by the advent of the Ailas or Āryans into the Madhyadeśa through the north-west, that is middle Himalayas),—that is, in the period following 2,000 B. C.,—we find one of the numerous Ikṣvāku groups settled in the Vaiśālī region, known as Nābha or Nābhāga 'Nediṣṭa' or the Junior Nābhas (with reference to another Nābha group of the Ikṣvākus further west). According to Harivaṁśa (II, 658), two princes of this clan though Vaiśyas became Brāhmaṇas. According to Bhāgavata Purāṇa (9, ii, 17), though Kṣatriyas, they attained Brāhmaṇahood. The Purāṇas generally agree that Nābhāga, a descendant of the Nābhāga-Nediṣṭa Ikṣvāku clan, was degraded from Kṣatriya status to be a Vaiśya, but he and his descendants had three statuses indiscriminately. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa in its latter part deals entirely with this Vaiśya dynasty of Vaiśālī, the details given referring to the period between the famous 'Vedic' princes Divodāsa and Pratardana (and the Haihaya-Bhārgava wars) and Bharata-Dauṣyanti and Bharadvāja-Vidathin, that is, approximately between 1,500 and 1,300 B. C.

A summary of this history of "the farmer and Saint Kings of Vaiśālī", from Ariṣṭa and Nābhāga to Vatsa, and of "the Emperors of Vaiśālī", from Karandhama to Dama(na) and Rāṣṭra-vardhana, is given below.

King Ariṣṭa's son Nābhāga met a Vaiśya farmer's daughter and fell in love with her. Desiring to marry her, he approached the girl's father who, however, argued incompatibility and other reasons. The farmer further reported to the King, who summoned Rṣika-Bhārgava and other brāhmaṇas for consultation and a ruling on the points raised; they gave it, permitting the marriage *after* marriage with a 'princess.' Nābhāga rejected this on principle, and carried off the farmer's daughter, Suprabhā by name, resorting to the 'Rākṣasa' form of marriage. The farmer reported the

occurrence. The King sent an army against the defiant son, but it was routed, whereupon he himself took the field and fought his son. In this crisis a 'parivrājaka muni' intervened, ruled that since Nābhāga had become a Vaiśya by marriage with a Vaiśyā (which was voluntary on both sides), the war should stop, for, by the laws of warfare, Kṣatriyas fight only with Kṣatriyas, and thereby prevented the fatal conflict. Thus the King became reconciled to his son and daughter-in-law and brought them to Court, but Nābhāga persisted in leading the Vaiśya life of agriculture and trade; and this was also ultimately ruled by the King's advisers headed by Bābhavya-Kauśika. The 'farmer' Nābhāga's son, Bhā-nandana or Bhalandana, exhorted by his mother Suprabhā, tried to recover the paternal kingdom with the help of Rājaraṣi Nipa (probably of Kāmpilya), then residing in retirement in a Himavat āśrama, who gave him necessary arms and military training. Hereafter Bhā-nandana went to Vasurāta and others, Nābhāga's younger brother's sons, and demanded half the kingdom which they refused to give as he was a Vaiśya. He then worsted them in war, wrested the whole kingdom, and offered the 'two crowns' to his parents. But Nābhāga refused it, giving his reasons in detail. Suprabhā however supported her son, now disclosing that Nābhāga had not really become a Vaiśya for she herself was very truly a Kṣatriyā.

Her story was as follows :

King Sudeva (apparently of Kāśī, who fought and lost a war with the Vitahavyas, and was father of Divodāsa II of Kāśī), together with his friend Nala (son of Dhūmrāśva and apparently a prince of the Vaiśālī region) visited Āmra-vana (Āmāwān?) and a lake there, to sport with women and wine. While drunk, Nala caught hold of (Cyavana-Bhārgava's descendant) Pramati's wife (a princess as well as a temple dancer, 'apsarā'). Pramati appealed to the inert Sudeva to save her, but he declined, saying he was a Vaiśya. Pramati in a fury struck down Nala and cursed Sudeva with expulsion from kingship and degradation to Vaiśyahood, relenting subsequently only to the extent that Sudeva could be restored to his original status if a daughter of his were married, by recognised Kṣatriya form of marriage, to a Kṣatriya prince. Subsequently, Sudeva as a Vaiśya farmer became Suprabhā's father.

The episode was further cleared to Nābhāga in this way :

Sudeva, also called Suratha, at first retired from his throne as a 'rājaraṣi' and resided in an āśrama called Gandhamādana. There he met a girl, Sārikā, 'dropped' (abandoned) by 'Vāja-Caṇcu',—apparently the same as the contemporary Ikṣvāku prince, Vijaya-Caṇcu. Overcome with pity

for Sārīkā, he befriended her, and Suprabhā was his daughter by her. As Suprabhā grew up in this āśrama (of the Agastyas), she and her companions offended its Agastya chief, and her father's Vaiśya-hood (not so far given effect to) was confirmed and made compulsory by his curse; but concession was made for her to the extent that striving for attainment of royalty for her husband and son, she (Suprabhā) could yet return to her Kṣatriyā status. As against all these explanations, Nābhāga put forward further reasons for sticking to his Vaiśya-hood and remaining a farmer, and suggested that as such he would pay taxes to his son, who might become king by virtue of conquest.

His view prevailing, Bhā-nandana became king, and in course of time proved to be a very righteous and religious ruler, known to posterity as a R̥g-Vedic Ṛṣi, like his father. He retired to Vānaprastha in old age, and his son and successor was Vatsa or Vatsa-Pri (Vatsa the Beloved), also a great monarch of ideal character. He had twelve sons (Prāṁśu and others, named in the Mārka^o Pur^o) by his queen Saunandā, daughter of the Yādava king Vidūratha, whose capital was on the river Nirvindhya in Mālava, and a daughter in whose direct line, named Mānini, became queen of Rājya-vardhana, a successor of Vatsa.

The following episode is related about the romance of Vatsa and Saunandā :

Vatsa gained her by slaying the Daitya (Asura) king Kuṣṛmbha of 'Rasātala' or 'Pātāla.' A big tunnel near Vidūratha's capital on the bank of the Nirvindhya led to Kuṣṛmbha's fortress. Vidūratha, afraid of Kuṣṛmbha's power, sought counsel of his ministers. Mudāvati, the king's daughter, overheard the consultations, and came to know of the vital defect in the mysterious irresistible weapon of Kuṣṛmbha,—that a woman's touch spoiled its efficacy for a day. Soon Mudāvati was kidnapped by Kuṣṛmbha from a suburban park of the capital city; her two brothers fought the abductor at the tunnel, but were captured. King Vidūratha proclaimed in his capital as well as abroad that Mudāvati would be given in marriage to whosoever rescued her and her brothers. Bhā-nandana's son Vatsa (-Pri) responded to this call of his father's friend, and when he arrived he was also promised his throne if he succeeded. Mudāvati espied the adventurer into her captor's stronghold, and loved him; she spoilt the Daitya's war-arm, called 'Sunanda', by her touch, so that when Kuṣṛmbha used it against the advancing Vatsa, it could do nothing, and he was killed after a great fight. The Daitya or Asura Kuṣṛmbha's fall led to restoration of the sovereignty of the Nāgas in that région (belonging to the Śeṣa or Ananta clan), and the gratified Nāgas gave the appellation of 'Saunandā'

to Mudāvati. Vatsa then presented her and her two brothers to Vidūratha, who made him his son-in-law and apparently also his successor,—so that at least for a generation Vaisālī held sway over Mālava. It seems that Vatsa also succeeded to the Kāśī throne at the same time. He was the son of the Kāśī king Sudeva's daughter's son (Bhā-nandana), after Sudeva in the Kāśī line we have Divodāsa II (half-brother of Suprabhā) and his son, the famous Pratardana (who too were Ṛg-Vedic Ṛṣis like their cousins of Vaisālī); after Pratardana the Kāśī list shows Vatsa (-Pri) composed the Ṛg-Vedic hymns IX, 68 and X, 45 and 46, and like his two predecessors is counted by the Purāṇas amongst Vaiśyas who were also brāhmaṇas (besides being Kṣatriyas).

After him comes a somewhat confused period in the dynastic and political history of Vaisālī [as also in that of Kāśī, where after Alarka, Vatsa's successor, the kingdom is overrun by many forces,—so that the Turvaśas of Revā could be on the Gomati river (or Jaunpur-Ghazipur region) in the time of Karandhama, who also came to rule over Vaisālī]. This confusion is shown by the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa omitting altogether the names in the dynastic list from Prāṁśu to Avikṣita; these names are shadowy, except in one or two cases, where the details indicate a break-up of the kingdom, and the advent of a new ruling family grafted on to the previous decadant line. It is, therefore, probable that the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa is right in regarding Avikṣita as being in the generation next to Vatsa.

It appears that there was another local princely family, also belonging to the Ikṣvāku group, and descended from an earlier 'Prāṁśu' (than the one who was a son of Vatsa-Pri), who was one of eight brothers of Ikṣvāku, son of Manu, and that this family ruled somewhere in the same Vaisālī region. In this line one Khanitra, who seems to be the same as Khaninetra (placed lower in the list), had great troubles with his possessions which were rent by revolts. As he was issueless, these possessions of his passed to Karandhama of the Turvaśa dynasty (probably of the Revā and the Gomati regions), by way of his adoption into this secondary Vaisālī family. This Karandhama carried out a wide conquest and levied tribute on defeated princes, who revolted in concert but were crushed. With 'Karandhama' (a title,—his earlier proper names being Suvarcas, Balāśva, Balākāśva and Suvalāśva) begins a fresh powerful Vaisāleya dynasty, an imperial, wide-ruling one, which left its stamp on the general history of ancient India.

Before coming to this imperial history of Vaisālī, the details of this aforesaid 'minor' Vaisālī dynasty ending with Khanitra-Khaninetra,—who apparently comes into prominence in the Vaisālī region just after Vatsa

(and his overlordship over Kāśī and Mālava) passes out of the picture,—may be summarised as follows :

In the (ancient) line of Prāṃśu arose Khanitra, an orthodox 'Vedic', pacific, powerful and dutiful king. In good faith he gave four of his provinces to his four brothers as their principalities,—Śauri, the East province, with Suhotra Ātreya as chaplain; Sunaya, the West province, with Pramati Kāśyapa as chaplain; Mahāratha, the North, with a Vāśiṣṭha chaplain; and Udāvasu, the South, with Kuśāvartha Gautama as chaplain. Śauri's minister, Viśvavedin, gave shrewd political advice to him, urging him to capture the overlordship of Khanitra (since sub-division of land leads nowhere), and overcame his scruples. Then this minister contrived to bring the other brothers and their ministers under the leadership of Śauri. All these combined sent a big force against Khanitra, who however was influential enough to win back the rebel armies and turn them against the conspirators. The conspiring priests met their death, which upset the pious Khanitra and, in remorse for the great slaughter, he renounced the throne and went into 'vānaprastha' with his three wives. It is further stated that Khaninetra of this line,—apparently the same as Khanitra above,—was a great sacrificer and, while hunting deer for sacrificial flesh, was converted to 'ahimsā' by the self-immolation of a deer (cf. Buddhist Jātaka parallels). Thereupon the childless Khaninetra, abandoning animal sacrifice, obtained a son,—evidently an adopted one,—from the region of the Gomati river, by his own efforts. This successor was the famous 'Karandhama' of the Turvaśa family.

Other princes in the Vaiśālī region are also named for this 'gap between Vasta and Karandhama.' These names are Kṣupa, who increased the number of brāhmaṇa farmers and herdsmen in his state, and by gifts indirectly returned to them the taxes they paid; Vira or Viṃśa, that is 'the twentieth', who married in the Vidarbha dynasty like several others Vaiśālīka princes. This group, beginning with Kṣupa and counting twenty-two ('vivimśa') princes (mostly un-named), is clearly a separate family belonging to the same Vaiśālī country, descended from another 'early' Ikṣvāku, namely Kṣupa, like the one descended from Prāṃśu (as related before), and is inserted by later chroniclers in the break between Vatsa ('Nābhāgi'-Ikṣvāku or Mānva) and Karandhama (Turvaśa or Aila). The grafting of Karandhama evidently represents the introduction of an Āryan, —Aila,—element into the midst of the Ikṣvāku or Mānva region of Vaiśālī,—comparable to the advent of another Āryan group of the Eastern Anavas, into Aṅga, Vaṅga, etc., near about this same period.

With Karandhama and Avikṣita we leave the times of the kings who synthesized pacifism and priest-lore, farming and agriculture and knightly chivalry; and we come now to the times of ruthless, martial, conquering and wide-ruling emperors.

Karandhama-Taurvaśi of the Revā and the Gomati region, who was grafted into the Vaiśālīka dynasty, carried out, as has already been said, a wide conquest and levied tributes; but the defeated princes (evidently Ikṣvāku remnants of the Vaiśālī region) combined to revolt, and besieged his capital. Karandhama however broke up the siege of Vaiśālī, and was chosen in 'svayamvara' by Virā, the daughter of Prince Vira or Vira-candra, one of the chiefs of Vaiśālī (referred to before). His right to the Vaiśālī region was thus further legitimatised: their son Avikṣita-Kārandhama ('Avikṣita' has the same meaning as 'Avalokiteśvara') was a famous king, highly extolled in the Mahābhārata (Aśvamedha-Parva) which says that he was assisted by an Āṅgiraśa 'purohita' and flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age, at the close of which Rāma-Dāśarathi lived.

Avikṣita was highly accomplished and was chosen at their 'svayamvara's by seven princesses successively, namely (i) Varā, daughter of Prince Hema-dharma (probably the same as Hema-candra, a prince of Vaiśālī); (ii) Gaurī, daughter of Sudeva (probably a daughter of 'the family of Sudeva' of Kāśī, ancestor of Vatsa-Pri of Vaiśālī); (iii) Subhadrā, daughter of King Valin of Aṅga, Vaṅga, etc. (a contemporary of Avikṣita and Marutta and their priest, Samvartta); (iv) Lilāvati, daughter of Prince Vira, and therefore Avikṣita's mother's sister or half-sister; (v) Anibhā, daughter of Virabhadra (apparently the same as Vira or Vira-candra above, and thus another sister or half-sister of Avikṣita's mother); (vi) Mānyavati, daughter of King Bhima, apparently 'Kratha'-Bhima of Vidarbha, a contemporary of Karandhama and Avikṣita; and (vii) Kumudvati, daughter of Dambha (said to be a successor of the Asura Kujrmbha of Mālava, who was a contemporary of Karandhama's predecessor Vatsa, as described before). Of these the first, second, fourth and fifth marriages were calculated to strengthen legitimacy in Vaiśālī; the third to strengthen association with the Āṅgiraśa priests, who all along controlled the career of Karandhama's line for six generations after him, and who also controlled Valin's big kingdom in the east; and the sixth and seventh marriages were to continue the previous Vaiśālīka connexion with Vidarbha and Mālava. Those princesses who did not choose him at their 'svayamvaras', Avikṣita forcibly carried off by fighting rival princes. This high-handedness produced a catastrophe, when he seized Vaiśālīni, daughter of King 'Viśāla' of Vaiśālī.

The details of this romantic episode are as follows :

At the 'svayamvara' of 'Vaiśalīnī' (that is, the princess of Vaiśālī), daughter of King 'Viśāla' of Vaidīśa¹ (wrong for Vaideha or Vaiśālī), Avikṣita seized her as she passed him by, defeating other resisting kings. These latter however combined, rallied and jointly attacked the single-handed Avikṣita, captured him by unfair fight and entered Vaidīśa (that is, Vaideha or Vaiśālī) city along with King Viśāla. The princess Vaiśalīnī still waiting to complete her 'svayamvara', was asked repeatedly to choose her mate from among the victors, but she declined; the astrologers too evaded specifying an auspicious day for (formal) marriage, knowing the real state of her mind. Karandhama, his Vaiśālīan queen Vira and their 'sāmanta's heard the news. While the court was divided on the line of action, Virā championed her son's cause in a heroic speech and roused Karandhama. He defeated the wicked Viśāla's confederacy, and Viśāla submitted with offerings of honour, set the captive Avikṣita free, and Karandhama rested for the night as Viśāla's guest. Then Viśāla came up with his daughter, but Avikṣita declined to have her in marriage, nor would he henceforth have the company of any other woman, because of his defeat. Viśāla next asked his daughter to choose another husband. But Vaiśalīnī persisted in her choice of Avikṣita, whom she, in her argument, justified as really the victor, and asked her father to entreat Avikṣita on her behalf; but Avikṣita still declined. Thereupon Karandhama commanded his son, since the girl obviously loved him; Avikṣita however still refused. Viśāla again asked his daughter to choose another husband, but she now decided to take to religious penance if Avikṣita declined to have her. Karandhama now left Viśāla's city for his own,—(Evidently Karandhama's capital was not Vaiśālī itself but a city in the same region, though, later on, his grandson is said to have ruled at Vaiśālī itself),—along with Avikṣita, after spending three more days there. Vaiśalīnī went into an 'āśrama' for mortification and then self-immolation, but she was prevented from taking extreme steps by a 'prophecy' which promised her a son who would be a 'universal emperor' (the slayer of Tarujit, Aya and

1. There is an obvious error here; as in several other known Epic-Purāṇic instances, there is a confusion between Vaidīśa and Vaideha in the texts. Here, too, obviously, Vaideha is meant—or, better still, probably Vaiśālī itself is meant;—for if the King is Viśāla and his daughter Vaiśalīnī, his city cannot be other than Vaiśālī. At most it can be Vaideha, Vaiśālī itself having been taken possession of by Karandhama at this time. Or, it may have been a new Vaiśālī after the old one fell to Karandham.

San̄ku,—probably the same as Vatsa-pri's successor in Vaiśālī, by name San̄kila, counted like his predecessors as a ṛṣi of the R̥g-Veda,—an upholder of society and state, and a great sacrificer). She was persuaded to renourish herself and await the advent of the son,—though she thought it could not be, for she would have none but Avikṣita for her husband, and he had declined to have her. Meanwhile Avaikṣita's mother, the heroic Virā, induced him to engage in the 'Kimicchaka' penance, in which he would have to bestow whatever was asked of him. Then Karandhama, advised by her and also by his ministers, asked of him a grandson, which meant foregoing his self-imposed continence;—this very unwillingly Avikṣita had to promise. But Avikṣita would yet have nothing to do with his previous wives or other women who knew about his defeat,—so that he set out to find a new wife for the sake of his parents. Subsequently, in the course of a hunting expedition, Avikṣita had occasion to rescue a maiden who, seized by the Dānava Dṛḍhakeśa, was crying aloud that a hero's wife—the wife of Karandhama's son, Avikṣita—was being kidnapped by a villain. Avikṣita felt surprised but came up, declaring that it could not be so while Karandhama was still the King. The girl repeated her claim and plea, while Avikṣita engaged the abductor: after Dṛḍhakeśa was killed in combat and the maiden freed, he was asked by his companions in the Hunt to marry her, so that he might satisfy his father's request for a grandson. But Avikṣita was unwilling, for he had declined the love of Viśāla's daughter, who had consequently renounced the world as a life-long virgin for his sake, and it would therefore be cruel to think of marrying another. Then they explained that this maiden was clearly the same Viśāla's daughter; and she too, on being asked, personally explained her 'interim' history :

After the 'prophecy' had dissuaded her from mortifications she was preparing herself for Avikṣita, by bathing in 'Gaṅgāhrada', whence an old Nāga chief carried her off to the Nāga city in 'Rasātala'. There the Nāga men and women implored her to remember them, and to use her influence with her future imperial son (Marutta) to save them when he would come into conflict with them. On her so promising, they bedecked her with the rare ornaments of 'Pātāla' and replaced her in the 'āśrama' retreat,—whence, however, Dṛḍha-keśa was just then kidnapping her. She entreated Avikṣita, once again to give her his love, as her saviour hero, and Avikṣita remembering his vow to his parents and her great sacrifices for him, now yielded. At this juncture the 'gandharva' Tunaya arrived, with other 'gandharva's and 'apsarā's, and claimed that 'Vaiśālīnī' was really his

daughter, Bhāminī (Bhāvinī) by name,¹ who, by an Agastya ṛṣi's curse, was 'declassed' from the 'gandearvāpsaras' community and was subsequently brought up in King Viśāla's palace as a princess. The great 'gandharvas' Tumburu became the minister at the marriage of Avikṣita and Vaiśālīnī-Bhāminī, and also ministered at their sons' birth and naming—'Marutta'—which events took place in the great city of the gandharva's. Subsequently, the pair with their baby, arrived at Karandhama's place and Avikṣita completed his vow of 'Kīmicchaka', whilst the city of Vaiśālī displayed its great opulence and love of music. Viśāla's daughter's son was, in due course educated in the Vedas, the science of war, and in other sciences, under the Bhārgavas. Avikṣita still refused to rule as king (for reasons proceeding from his own standard of heroism) and therefore, when Karandhama and Virā left for 'vānaprastha' in a Bhārgava āśrama² Marutta had to be anointed the King of Vaiśālī.

Marutta is reckoned by the Epic and Purāṇic traditions as one of the sixteen Great Kings of Ancient India³ and as a 'Cakravartin' or universal emperor.⁴ The greatness of Marutta is generally emphasised, both in war and in righteous government, and it is remembered that he "regarded his subjects as his children" (like Aśoka a thousand years later). He was a great conqueror as well as a great sacrificer; enormously opulent and exploiting Himālayan gold-bearing regions, he was unstinted in his gifts; in his reign 'caityas' were raised all over the land (again, as in the days

1. Or 'Bhāminī' may be taken as = 'Apsarā' or 'deva-dāstī' (as in mediæval Magadha inscriptions), and not as a name.—King Vali of Aṅga, Vaṅga etc., was also a near contemporary of Marutta and his Āṅgīrasa priest family. There is a pilgrim-centre, a Bhṛḡu temple and a Bhṛḡu fair at Bagerasam (according to Rennell), now wrongly called Bhadrason (same as Dadri Mela in Dadri-Kṣetra).
2. This Bhṛḡu-āśrama may be same as Bhṛḡu-tuṅga, on a mountain on the east bank of the upper Gaṇḍakī in Nepāl. But, since Aurva is mentioned in the text here, it should rather be the Bhṛḡu āśrama or Aurva āśrama in Ballia district; where Sagara—Ikṣvāku' (a near contemporary of Marutta) was born, and up to which the Haihayas reached, as they pursued the Bhārgavas in the days just before Jamadagni and in the time of the Kārtavīryas. Ballia and Bāwana (Vāmana-tīrtha) are both connected with King Vali and Vāmana.
3. Mahābhārata, Droṇa-Parva and Śānti-Parva.
4. Mahābhārata, Aśva., P., 4; Viṣ.-P., I.

of Aśoka)¹. Marutta's court was very much under Āṅgīrasa priestly influence. Thus Karandhama's chaplain was an Āṅgīrasa ṛṣi; so was the chaplain of Avikṣita, probably Uśīrā-vīja or Uśāja by name: with the Uśīravīja as 'purohita Marutta held a 'victory sacrifice' in the north at Lake Jāmbūnada, probably in remote Vāhlikā (Mahābhārata, Udyo.-P.). All the traditions narrate how this Uśīrā-vīja or Uśīja had three sons Ucathya (Utathya), Vṛhaspati and Saṁvaritta: of these the first was the father of the famous ṛṣi Dīrghatamas, by the lady Mamatā (a noted Vedic scholar—'brahmavādinī'), the second, father of the famous Bharadvāja (whose son, Vidathin, was adopted later on by the emperor Bharata, as his successor) by the same lady; and the third son became the son-in-law of the emperor Marutta. It is further narrated how Vṛhaspati was the 'purohita' of a rival emperor (an 'Indra'), and therefore did not care to accept the chaplainship of Marutta when he offered it to him and, even after Marutta became superior to the previous emperor in power, he persisted in his refusal. Thereupon, Marutta went to Vārāṇasī and secured the services of Vṛhaspati's younger brother, Saṁvaritta, who officiated at the 'Aindra'-Mahābhīṣeka ceremony (coronation as the 'Indra' of the time) of Marutta, the new 'Indra'. Thus obliged, Marutta gave his daughter in marriage to Saṁvaritta. Saṁvaritta was further instrumental in the exploitation of the Mūjavant region of the Himālayas for the sake of gold for Marutta's treasury.² Marutta's name occurs in several dynastic lists in about the same time (as evident from synchronisms), apart from the Turvaśa line to which he primarily belongs,—namely, the Vaiśālī, the Paurava, the Videha, and the Yādava (Vidarbha) king-lists. This position was apparently due to the overlordship of Marutta over these ruling families and temporary or permanent 'grafting', by adoption or conquest or royal marriage, to legitimatise the overlordship.

1. 'Caitya's, 'stūpa's, etc., of the 'Buddhist' type (as it is wrongly called) are referred to as the prevailing type of memorial buildings in the entire Prācī—from Prayāga to the Eastern Sea—in the Yajur-Veda. Hence, there is no 'anomaly' in such particulars.
2. Cf. Mahābhārata, Śānti. 234; Anuś. 137. Also, Mahābhārata, Aśva. 4; Droṇa, 60; Śānti. 29; Aśva. 4-9; also Vāyu. P. & Ait. Brā. 8, 4, 21. Mūñja-prṣṭha was probably to the north of Kuru-Pāncāla, in Nepāl, and a place of pilgrimage visited by Vasuhoma, king, Aṅga, Rāma-Dāśarathi, and Māndhātā, Mahābhārata Aśva. 2; Śānti. 122; Vana. 133 & 85; Kūrma. P., 37; AV. i, 25.

After Karandhama's death in the Bhṛgu āśrama, Marutta's grandmother sent a message to Marutta at Vaiśālī, complaining of atrocities committed by the Nāgas on the members of the Bhṛgu āśrama (killing brāhmaṇas and defiling sacred tanks), and communicating her instruction in governmental duties to her young grandson in great detail (quoted in the Purāṇic account). Marutta, greatly ashamed, visited her at the Bhṛgu āśrama and used "Samvartaka" incendiary weapons (evidently as taught by his Āṅgīrasa high-priest, Samvartta,) to set the Nāga strongholds ablaze. The Nāgas in distress sought the help of Marutta's mother, Bhāv(m)ini (Vaiśālīni), who had previously promised safety to the Nāgas, while assisted by them in regaining her husband, Avikṣita. Bhāvinī requested Avikṣita to turn away their son's fury from the Nāgas. Avikṣita was doubtful, as Marutta was right in his action; but, since a promise had been made to the Nāgas, he undertook to go to Bhṛgu āśrama to persuade Marutta and in case he declined, to fight with his son. Then Bhāvinī and Avikṣita went to Bhṛgu āśrama, and Avikṣita called on Marutta to spare the Nāgas, but Marutta insisted on his clear duty and refused. Avikṣita proposed to fight it out with Marutta, who though deprecating the idea, agreed (after a good deal of fine argument on both sides, quoted in the Purāṇic account). But, as at this juncture the Nāgas repented and offered to make amends and peace, and also sought both Marutta's and Avikṣita's protection, the members of the aggrieved āśrama themselves intervened in the fight, and all ended well in affectionate greetings,—Virā and Bhāvinī, both Vaiśālīan ladies, congratulating themselves as mothers of Avikṣita and Marutta, their respective heroic and virtuous sons. Virā soon after passed away, praised as an illustrious wife and queen, and Bhāvinī "went to her own city", while Avikṣita and Marutta "returned to the capital on one and the same chariot". It does not become clear whether the same city of Vaiśālī is meant, or two different ones in the same region. Perhaps a New Vaiśālī was built by Marutta as his capital—Bhāvinī-Vaiśālīni continuing at Old Vaiśālī,—or, perhaps, Bhāvinī's father, Viśala, built a new Vaiśālī (as the Epic-Purāṇic traditions aver) while Karandhama, Avikṣita, and Marutta were in possession of the old capital of the region, whence Vatsa-pri had once ruled it.

Marutta, (who was partly an Aila, Turvaṣa by descent and partly Mānva or Ikṣvāku on his mother's side), married seven wives, *all* of whom belonged to royal families of the Aila or Āryan group, none to the Mānva or Ikṣvāku group. They were :—Prabhāvatī, daughter of 'Vidarbha' or the King of Vidarbha; Sauviri, daughter of 'Suvira' or the King of

Sauvira; Sukeśā 'Māgadhi, daughter of Ketuvīrya, (i. e., of Ketuvīrya of the Eastern Ānava dynasty of Āṅga, Vaṅga, etc., of which kingdom Magadha with Girivraja was then an integral part); 'Kekayi' (elder) daughter of the Madra or Kekaya king, Sindhu-vīrya; another (younger) daughter of the Kekaya king, named Sairandhri; Vapuṣmatī, daughter of the (Ānava) king of Sindhu; and Suśobhanā, daughter of the Cedi King (who was a Yādava at *this* time, the Pauravas supplanting the Yādavas in the time of Vasu *later* on).—This stress on Aila connexions is significant, as showing how gradually a power that arose amongst the Ikṣvākus merged into a mainly 'Aila' dominion. In the next two generations, a 'Tṛtsava' or 'Paurava' element and then a 'Kauśika' one are introduced, thus strengthening the 'Aila' character of Karandhama's line and expending empire. Subsequently, however, this dominion passes into the hands of Āṅgīrasa brāhmaṇas—as we shall see later on,—and, in the Vaiśālī region another local Ikṣvāku family is established, with the support of Paulastya and Āṅgīrasa brāhmaṇas, which lasted till the time of Rāma-Dāśarṭhi, when its small territory was absorbed into the growing Kośalan empire. That was "at the end of the Tretā age", whilst Karandhama flourished "at the beginning of the Tretā age", according to the Epic-Purāṇic tradition—Marutta is said to have had eighteen sons. He seems to have lived to the age of eighty-five years and in old age he retired to 'vāna-prastha', after anointing 'Nariṣyanta' or 'Nṛṣyanta' as his successor.

In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, which gives Vaiśālīan history in great detail, comparatively little is said of Nariṣyanta, excepting (a) details of his rich sacrificial gifts, which made the brāhmaṇas so rich that in the latter part of his reign he had great difficulty in finding priests who would willingly officiate in his numerous sacrifices, and (b) details of his devoted wife's tragic end in an āśrama retreat, when their son, the great King 'Dama' ('Damana') was ruling. The reason seems to be that 'Nariṣyanta' was concerned more with expansion in the west, and the south, the south-east than with Vaiśālī itself and its Āṅgīrasa priesthood (as we shall see presently).

We are told in the Purāṇas (Vā. 99, 3-4; Bḍ. III, 74, 3-4; Mat. 48, 2-3; Br. 13, 144-6; Hv. 32, 1832-4; Viṣ. IV, 16, 2;) that Marutta-Kārandhama of Turvaśa lineage adopted 'Duṣyanta', son of Tṛtsu (or Tamsu) and the Paurava heir, as he had no sons to succeed,—that is *fit* to succeed,—for the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa says he had eighteen sons. This is very similar to the succession history after Duṣyanta's son, Bharata, who too had nine sons, but ultimately adopted a Bhāradvāja (Āṅgīrasa) brāhmaṇa as his successor (the account is given in all the Purāṇas). Now this Duṣyanta was the son of a remarkable lady, called Ilīnā who was a

'brahma-vādinī' (hence most likely coming of a family closely related with brāhmaṇas), and who is also listed in some of the dynastic lists as a ruling 'king' or sovereign. Since Marutta adopted Duṣyanta, it seems very probable that this Ilīnā was a daughter of Marutta himself, and so closely connected with Āṅgīrasa brāhmaṇas; for there is not much point in a total outsider being adopted into a royal family unless the adopted prince becomes or is matrimonially connected with branches of the adopting house: (as in the case of Karandhama-Turvaśa being adopted by Khaninetra-Ikṣvāku, as detailed above: so closely did the Turvaśa graft become identified with Vaiśālī in this way, that the śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiii, 5, 4, 6) calls his son, Marutta, an "āyogava" king,—referring to the tradition of the Farmer Kings of Vaiśālī). Unlike Karaandhama a Avikṣita, and like Marutta, Duṣyanta, as is well known, married, against much Court opposition apparently led by the Āṅgīrasa priesthood of Vaiśālī, not into an Ikṣvāku family but into an Aila one, a Kauśika (Vaiśvamitri) princess.

It is fitting, therefore, that Duṣyanta is known in chronicles as Ailīna-Duṣyanta and that the Bharatas are also called Tṛtsavas or Tṛtsava-Bharatas.—Marutta had another daughter noted throughout in tradition, as having been given in marriage to his Āṅgīrasa priest, Samivartta. Probably the other remarkable 'brahma-vādinī' lady named Mamatā, who was a wife to Samivartta's brother, Utathya, and also to another brother, Vṛhaspati, was another daughter of the same emperor Marutta. In that case it becomes easily explained why her son Bharadvāja's son (or grandson) Vitatha (Vidathin) was adopted as Bharata's successor in preference to his own sons, regarded unfit, for this adopted heir would be just a closely related cousin of Bharata. This would also illustrate the revival and persistence of the Āṅgīrasa brāhmaṇic influence over Karandhama's empire, which was only temporarily eclipsed during (the engrafted Aila) Duṣyanta by Kaṇva-Kāśyapa (really Aila) and (Aila) Kauśika influence at court (through Śakuntalā)—It is to be noted that, while in the Paurava king-lists (with the Turvaśa lists) the names are Marutta, Duṣyanta, Bharata (or Varūtha) surnamed Dama, Damana, or Sarva-Damana, and Bhāradvāja Vitatha (or Vidathin), in the Vaiśālī king-lists the names are Marutta, Nṛṣyanta (Nariṣyanta), dama (damana) and 'Rāṣṭra-varadhana' (which seems more a title than a name). Evidently we have here the same kings ruling over the combined territories of the Turvaśas, Pauravas, and Vaiśāleayas, (together with those of the Videhas and the Vidarbhas, perhaps temporarily and only in the time of Marutta himself, for the names Maru and Marutta are found in the king-lists of these two regions also in the same period).

Nṛṣyanta or Nariṣyanta is thus the same as Duṣyanta, and Dama or Damana is the same as Bharata-‘Damana’, the son of Śakuntalā. Duṣyanta’s fathers’ name was Tṛtsu (often wrongly written in Purāṇic texts as Tamsu—a copyist’s error), and so it is fitting that the Bharatas, that is the Pauravas after Bharata, were also called Tṛtsava-Bharatāḥ in ancient passages.—In the Mahābhārata (I, 68, 2801) and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX, 23, 17-18), Duṣyanta is stated to have afterwards recovered the Paurava kingdom, revived the Paurava dynasty, and was hence called its ‘vamśa-kāra’. Hence his adoption must have taken place before he gained that position, that is while the Paurava kingdom of Matināra-Rceyu-Tṛtsu was in abeyance, owing to the Haihaya raids and military occupation of North India; and he could only have restored the Paurava prestige through the power of Marutta’s empire, which passed on to him. This also explains how most of the Paurava branch families became, as the Purāṇas say, from now ‘brahma-kṣatra’ families, largely under the influence of the Āṅgirasas of the Prāci (inclusive of the Gotamas, Bhāradvājas, etc.). According to the Mahābhārata, Duṣyanta not only ruled widely in North India, but also in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and the islands and coasts of the Indian Ocean; this latter expansion must have been helped by Dirghatamas and Āṅgirasas, who, by all accounts, effectively controlled the extensive regions of Bali’s kingdom extending from Magadha and Aṅga to Suhma, Vāṅga and Kāliṅga. (Dirghatamas consecrated Duṣyanta’s son, Bharata to the emperor’s throne, just as his uncle, Saṁvartta, did the same function of ‘Aindra’ Mahābhīṣeka for Marutta). The Purāṇas also say that branch Paurava-cum-Turvaśa dynasties were started in Pāṇḍya, Cola, and Kerala of the South after Duṣyanta descended from him, this corroborates the statement of the Mahābhārata.

With this introduction, we can now take up the account of Nṛṣyanta and Dama (=Duṣyanta and Bharata-Dama), as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. This supplements what is known of these two great kings from other better known sources.

Nṛṣyanta’s son, ‘Dama’, was a very famous king. He was so called as he was a ‘tamer’ of his foes and the wicked, very strong, yet self-restrained, with a ‘muni’s, temperament;—also because of his mother’s great forbearance and self-restraint while he was with her (at her āśrama), and because he himself grew there to be self-restrained in character. He was born of Indrasenā, a ‘princess’ descended from Babhru-Kauśika (evidently the same who was an adviser to King Nābhāga of Vaiśālī, and who was a son of the famous Viśvāmitra-Kauśika the Great,—once king of Kānya-kubja,—so that this ‘princess’ was about ninth in descent from her great

ancestor, being his 'daughter' not literally, but in the sense of being directly descended from him). He had to abide for nine years with his mother at her birth-place 'before being born' (that is before being regarded as 'lawfully born unto, taken into, and accepted by his father's family). He was trained in the military sciences in the 'Dānava' āśrama of Vṛṣaparva (in the Himālayan region, not far from Kailāsa—known to Mahābhārata) and in the 'Daitya' āśrama of Dundubhi, called Tapovana (where his ancestor Yayāti retired of old: Viṣ. Pur.). He learned the Vedas and Āngas from Śaktri-Vāsiṣṭha's āśrama (probably at Vadarikā), and religious devotion from Rājārṣi Ārṣṭisena's¹ āśrama (near Mount Gandhamādana in the Himālayan region). Thus 'Dama' received a mainly 'Himālayan' training, associated with 'Dānava's and 'Daitya's, with whose chief ruling and priestly families the Ailas or Pauravas before Duṣyanta had many matrimonial and other relations². Duṣyanta himself is some times referred to in tradition as a 'Dānava'; the appellations 'Dānava', 'Daitya', and 'Asura' are given in tradition to a number of Paurava, Ānava, and Yādava kings (all Ailas with Dānava blood). Probably such 'Daitya' and 'Dānava' training and tradition account for the ferocity which, according to the Mārkaṇḍeya narrative, characterised Damana (Bharata), and which is further borne out by general Purāṇic traditions, regarding his slaughter of his own sons (as we shall see later on).

It is clear from the above account, based on the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, that it is Bharata-Dauṣyanti, the son of Śakuntalā (daughter of a Kauṣika in Viśvāmitra's line), who is spoken of, along with his parents. So it seems 'Śakuntalā' was his mother's nick-name or āśrama' name (given by her foster-father, as is well-known),—while her 'regal name' as empress of Duṣyanta (or Nṛṣyanta) was Indrasenā.

To proceed with the Mārkaṇḍeya account :—

The Daśārṇa King Cāru-karman's daughter, Sumanā, chose 'Dama' at a 'svayamvara'. The Mahābhārata also says that Bharata-Damana's wife was the Daśārṇa princess Sumanā: this confirms the conclusion stated above. Of the assembled princes at that 'svayamvara', the Madra king's powerful son, Mahānāda, and the Vidarbha king Saṁkrandana's son, the intelligent warrior-prince Vapuṣmat of Kuṇḍina—the Vidarbha capital—in

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1. Not the Ārṣṭisena of later times known Mahābhārata king-lists.
 2. Thus Puru himself, an ancestor of Duṣyanta, was daughter's son of Vṛṣa-parvan-Dānava, in whose 'āśrama' (endowed college) Duṣyanta was educated.

Dakṣiṇāpatha (a country of military fame), were previously enamoured of her. They conspired to attempt to release her from Dama, so that the might belong to him of the two, whom she *then* chose,—or, in case she chose none of them,—to him, by forcible capture, who kills Dama. They came up to Sumanā as she was standing beside Dama (waiting to be formally married), and siezed her person,—whereupon the assemblage divided into two hostile camps, some remaining neutral. Dama addressed an appeal to all of them on the propriety of this act, but all kept silent; then the bride's father King Cāru-karman (-dharman), made *his* appeal for guidance as to the steps to be taken in law. Some kings gave the ruling that kṣatriya marriage is based on love, or choice of the bride, and so Dama is Sumanā's rightful husband, and the others are acting licentiously; other kings held that, apart from the 'gāndharva' and 'svayamvara' forms, there is another kṣatriya approved form,—namely the 'rākṣasa', based on force of arms,—which has been preferred by Mahānāda, Vapuṣmat, and their adherents. The counter-argument put forward was that *after* self-choice a girl becomes a wife, is no longer a virgin or maiden under her father, and hence the 'rākṣasa' form does not apply, and if force is used, it would be criminal. Thereupon Dama (thus supported) declared he is fighting for his married wife, and challenged all: after a strenuous fight, Mahānāda was killed by Dama; and Vapuṣmat also swooned, struck by him, and so Dama did not kill him. He thus recovered Sumanā and married her formally at the Daśārṇa court, where he remained for some time, and then returned to his capital (—Was the capital still at Vaiśālī, or had Duṣyanta removed it to Pratiṣṭhāna or Hastināpura ?)—with his hardwon wife and numerous rich presents and equipments, and reported himself (and her) to Nṛṣyanta and Indrasenā, and there were great festivities in the capital. When Sumanā's first child was born, Nṛṣyanta and Indrasenā retired together to an āśrama for 'vānaprastha', anointing Dama as emperor.

Some time afterwards, Saṁkrandana's evil-minded son, Vapuṣmat of Dakṣiṇāpatha, chanced in the course of a hunt (with an army and followers etc.), to come upon Nṛṣyanta and Indrasenā in their āśrama retreat and, before proceeding further, wanted to verify their identity. As Nṛṣyanta was then under a vow of silence, Indrasenā gave the questioner their names and addresses unsuspectingly, whereupon Vapuṣmat (violating all āśrama rules) pounced upon Nṛṣyanta in the very sight of the āśrama inmates, beheaded the unresisting ex-monarch, yelling that he had done so in revenge of defeat by Dama and the carrying away of Sumanā by him, while the 'muni's of the āśrama cursed him, and Indrasenā bewailed her lot. When Vapuṣmat left for his capital, Indrasenā

despatched a śūdra 'tāpas', Indradāsa by name, to her son Dama,—quoting previous historical instances of sons avenging their father, and addressing a very fine dissertation on royal duties to her son (quoted in the Purāṇic account).¹ She instanced King Vidūratha,² who avenged his father's death by punishing the Yavanas; the 'Asura' King Jambha³ who avenged it on the Nāgas; and the Vāsiṣṭha Parāśara who avenged his father Śaktri on the Rākṣasas.⁴ After this emissary left for the Court, Indrasenā embraced the body of Nṛṣyanta and became 'satī' in their āśrama. (A fitting sequel to the life-history of Śakuntalā).

On receipt of his mother's message, Dama's wrath was excited and he vowed a most terrible vengeance, namely that he would completely destroy Vapuṣmat and satisfy his father's spirit with the offering of Vapuṣmat's blood and flesh in the 'tarpaṇa' and 'brāhmaṇa-bhojana' to be performed at his father's funeral rites. He placed the whole matter before his 'purohita' and ministers and consulted them; they fully supported Dama in his grim resolve, and accompanied him on his Deccan expedition; they attacked and slew all the Wardens of the Marches of Vapuṣmat's realm, on their rapid march to the South. Ultimately, Vapuṣmat issued from his capital with a large army and tumultuous battles ensued. (A full description is given of this Southern Campaign). Finally Dama personally smote and felled Vapuṣmat, and standing on him was about to pierce his heart and drink his blood then and there, but refrained, remembering his vow. He now offered Vapuṣmat's heart's blood to his father and also offered 'piṇḍa' to him with his flesh, and fed brāhmaṇas, Paulastyas, and 'rākṣasas' as well, with that flesh.—A similar ferocity appears in the Bhārata dynasty with Bhīma-Pāṇḍava.

Dama's successor, Rājya-or Raṣṭra-vardhana, was a philosopher-king and his rule was an ideal and pacific one. (This was to be expected, as Dama-Bharata was succeeded by his Āṅgīrasa brahmaṇa cousin,

1. Cf. an equally fine address of Śakuntalā at Duṣyanata's court, quoted in the Mahābhārata.
2. Probably the father-in-law of Vatsa-Prī, an earlier Vaiśālīan king; see above.
3. May be the same as Kuṣṭhmbha, contemporary of this Vidūratha, who ruled harshly over the Nāgas (who rejoiced at his overthrow); see above.
4. No anachronism, since the much later Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana's father, Parāśara, was a different person,—Sagara by name and Parāśara by 'gotra'.

Vidathin-Bhāradvāja, whom he adopted). His queen was Mañinī, daughter of Vidūrath,¹ the king of Dakṣiṇapatha, (evidently the successor of Vapuṣmat of the episode narrated above,—who had no other way but to make peace with Dama-Bharata by submission and a subsequent matrimonial alliance). A tender story is given about Rājya-varḍhana's first grey hairs and Māninī's grief at that discovery. The pair resolved to renounce the world, but the 'subordinate rulers' of the empire and the 'citizens of its many cities' wished to prevent this by all means in their power. They repaired to the Guru-Viśāla forest in the hills of Kamarūpa (which region was within Bharata's empire), and began to propitiate the sun-god at his temple there, and obtained a boon of very long life and rule of the beloved Rājya-varḍhana, but in the confusion forgot to ask for the same long life and happiness for the Queen and the subjects and court. This made Rājya-varḍhana extremely worried, and he and Māninī both now went to Kāmarūpa and together worshipped in the same shrine of the sun-god, obtaining the boon of equal longevity and good and happy life for all concerned. The praise of this beloved and noble king was sung by Pramati-Bhārgava.²

After Vidathin-Rājya-varḍhana, the Vaiśālī region drops connexion with the Turvaṣa-Paurava grafted dynasty, and passes under control of the house of Tṛṇavindu, a local prince who rose to eminence. A royal marriage between his daughter's son, Viśravas, and Vara-varṇinī, daughter (or sister) of Bhāradvāja (nephew of Saṃvartta and grandfather of Vidathin, adoptive successor of Bharata), served to increase the influence of the new dynasty. Tṛṇavindu's son was King 'Viśāla' and it is said he built (or rebuilt) Vaiśālī, or built a second or a new city of Vaiśālī. As already noted, his adopted daughter (or sister),³ the 'Vaiśalinī, Bhāminī, was mother of Marutta, the immediate predecessor of Nṛṣyanta (Duṣyanta) 'Dama'-Bharata. The line of Tṛṇavindu possessed *this* Vaiśālī till the time of Rāma-Dāśarathi, when Pramati was its king.

1. This is another Vidūratha, of Kuṇḍina in Vidarbha or Berar, not of the Nirvindhya region in Mālava.
2. A later Pramati than the one contemporary with Sudeva of Kāśī.
3. Or perhaps his sister's daughter by the 'gandharva' or Court Musician Tunaya (see before). The term 'Bhāminī, is used for 'Deva-dāsī' of temples in medieval Sanskrit inscriptions of Bihar; so 'Bhāminī' here too can be taken as describing her 'apsarās' status, and not as her proper name.

A number of interesting facts come to light from epic traditions regarding Vaiṣāli under this line. These may be summarised as follows :

Rājaraṣi Tṛṇavindu, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, had a daughter named Ilavilā (Idaviḍā), who became the mother of Viśravas by a Paulastya ṛṣi. Viśravas married Vara-varṇinī the daughter of the ṛṣi, Bharadvāja-Āṅgīrasa ; their son, Vaiśravaṇa-Kuvera, became known as the Lord of Riches, 'by virtue of his own efforts' (that is, in the direction of trade and commerce apparently). Under instructions of his father Viśravas, (apparently the same as 'Viśāla')¹ he then took possession of the city of Laṅkā, built in ancient times by the architect 'Viśvakarmā' for the Rākṣasas, 'who were the Keepers and Wardens of the High Seas in the most ancient ages'. In Viśravas's time, this Laṅkā had been abandoned by the Rākṣasas, who had fled further south and east (into the islands) after their defeat by 'Viṣṇu,' (probably by 'Paraśu'-Rāma, whose southern exploits and settlements,—that is of Yādavas and Bhṛguṣ,—are well known to Purāṇic tradition, and who came to be regarded as an 'avatāra' of Viṣṇu). "These Rākṣasas were an earlier section of the Rākṣasas, and not 'Paulastya' Rākṣasas of the time and group of Viśravas."

A brief history of these 'earlier Rākṣasas' is then given :

Heti and Praheti were their first noted kings. The succession was as follows : Heti→Vidyutheśa+Sālaṅka-taṅkaṭā²→Sukeśa (a Śaiva devotee)+gandharvī Devavatī→Mālyavān, Sumālī, and Mālī : these three owned the city of Laṅkā on Trikūṭa hill on the southern shore of the Ocean.³ They attacked 'Viṣṇu'—apparently in the mainland of the Indian Peninsula,—but were pushed back to Laṅkā, while 'Mālī' was slain (that is, South India was conquered by 'Viṣṇu'). Later they had to abandon Laṅkā as well, and Mālyavān and Sumālī retired further down to 'Pātāla',—though these 'earlier Rākṣasas' were more powerful than their successors led by 'Rāvaṇa', (It is clear that the three names Mālī, Sumālī, and Mālyavān stand for closely related ethnic groups, inhabiting South India,—Malabar, Malayali-land, Malai-hills,—

1. Marutta was thus a nephew of 'Vaiśravaṇa'-Kuvera, and this partly accounts for Marutta's great wealth and fight with the Rākṣasas under a 'Rāvaṇa.'
2. Literally, "the image of a courtesan, or a statue."
3. Said to have been near Trincomalee in Ceylon, but to have been engulfed into the Sea subsequently by natural action. Cf. Dvārakā.

'Somali'-land, 'Sumer', across the Arabian Sea in East Africa and Mesopotamia,—and 'Malayan' Peninsula and Archipelago ; it is also clear that the Pulastyas of the Vaiśālī region—and other cognate 'brāhmaṇa' groups of North India—were cognate to them, and a fusion of the two led to a revival of these 'earlier Rākṣasas' in India',—though it also led to a long struggle between the two elements, ending with the overthrow of the 'revived or New Rākṣasas' in the time of Dāśarathi-Rāma).

After this 'Sumālī-Mālyavān' exodus, 'Vaiśravaṇa,-Kuvera settled in the abandoned Laṅkā and made it an appanage of Vaiśālī. 'Sumālī' visited the lost capital and saw 'Vaiśravaṇa'-Kuvera's 'puṣpaka-vimāna' (literally, 'puṣpaka' = 'a conveyance or ship for luxury travel', and 'vimāna' = 'boat or ship of large size',—according to Lexicons ;—cf. 'nau-vimāna' in Ragh. XVI, 68), and his direct and constant touch (with the help of these ships) with Viśravas in Vaiśālī. 'Sumālī, planned to recover the lost position, (that is, of the Sumerians in Ceylon and South India ; he rightly judged that Viśravas (probably a title, meaning 'of great fame and repute') of Vaiśālī was the source of all that power, glory, and riches, and so he deputed his youthful and charming daughter, Kaikasī or Nikaṣā¹ to go to Vaiśālī and woo and win the great Viśravas ('the grand old monarch' of Vaiśālī). This she did successfully, and bore him three sons,—'Rāvaṇa,' Kumbhakarṇa, and Vibhīṣṇa,—and a daughter, Sūrpanakhā.² Kaikasī constantly urged her sons to equal 'Vaiśravaṇa'-Kuvera ; who often came to Vaiśālī to see Viśravas,—and 'Rāvaṇa' vowed to satisfy his mother's ambition. He repaired to Gokarṇa (a celebrated, ancient Śaiva pilgrimage centre on the Malabar Coast,—the modern town of Gendia in North Kanara, Karwar district,—where the temple of Mahādeva-Mahābalēśvara is said to have been established by 'Rāvaṇa',—33 miles south of Goa and made strenuous efforts from there,—as a spring-board evidently, with the 'Sumer'-lands in the rear. Apprehending disastrous wars, 'Vaiśravaṇa'-Kuvera, by Viśravas's advice, gave up Laṅkā to his young step-brothers and retired to Vaiśālī and the North. But the ambition of 'Rāvaṇa' was only whetted by this peaceful surrender. He attacked and defeated Kuvera, and captured his 'puṣpaka' fleet, which

1. 'Nikaṣā' is a variant of 'Nikṣā' = literally, 'inviting kissing', or charming.

2. Here, as we shall see presently, several 'Rāvaṇa's are confused and amalgamated, and the generation contemporary with Rāma and 'Vaiśravaṇa' - Pramati is brought up by about 8 steps, wrongly.

he used for his own purposes now,—until it was restored to 'Vaiśravaṇa' that is to Vaiśravaṇa's dynasty in Vaiśālī, by Rāma-Dāśarathi who conquered 'Rāvaṇa.' (Pramati of Vaiśālī, whom Rāma met in early youth, must have lived long enough to rejoice at this restoration of the lost fleet. After Pramati, Vaiśālī seems to have merged into the Kośalan or Videhan kingdom).

As is well-known, 'Rāvaṇa' is not a name but a title, and other South Indian or Rākṣasa princes bore this title,—which is the Tamil *Iṣeivaṇ* or *Iṣaivaṇ* = god, lord, sovereign. So also the names *Daśagrīva*, *Sūrpanakhā*, and *Kumbhakarna* are queer Sanskritizations of original Dravidian names and appellations. This has led to mixing up of the historical details about several distinct South Indian 'rākṣasa' chieftains in the hands of North Indian chroniclers. Thus amongst the pre-Paulastya, that is pre-Vaiśālīan Rākṣasas, some other *Iṣaivaṇ*s are to be credited with the following exploits : (1) One such *Iṣaivaṇ* fought the great Ikṣvāku emperor, Māndhātṛ, of the Narmadā region (Dakṣiṇa-Kośala), but was badly defeated. (2) One of his successors, however, another *Iṣaivaṇ*, avenged it by defeating Anarāya (literally, 'non-fighting', peaceful—probably a title, not a name), the third king after Māndhātṛ in the same Narmadā region, and destroying his kingdom. (3) Another such *Iṣaivaṇ*, of the Jana-sthāna—West Deccan—region, about a century later, attacked Arjuna-Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya-Yādava emperor, also in the same Narmadā valley, but Arjuna defeated him, imprisoned him at his capital Māhiṣmatī, but released him on the intercession of the Paulastya brāhmaṇas, who were cognate to the Rākṣasas. (4) Yet another *Iṣaivaṇ* sought to interrupt Marutta's 'Aindra-Mahābhīṣeka' coronation sacrifice in Vaiśālī (apparently in vain). This same *Iṣaivaṇ* may have subdued the Nāga capital or Bhogavatī, for the Nāgas of Middle and Lower Gangetic regions were under the protection of Marutta,—as narrated before. (5) The fifth *Iṣaivaṇ* appears to be the 'Rāvaṇa' of 'Vaiśravaṇa'-Kuvera's time—a 'Paulastya'-Rākṣasa prince of Vaiśālīan origin—who recovered the lost Laṅkā and appropriated the maritime fleet of Vaiśālī. It is just possible that the fifth and the fourth *Iṣaivaṇ*s are one and the same. (6) The sixth *Iṣaivaṇ* was the 'Rāvaṇa' of Rāma's times, also a contemporary of the last 'Vaiśravaṇa' or 'Kauveraka', namely Pramati of Vaiśālī, and of Siradhvaja of Mithilā's brother, Kuśadhvaja, (later of Saṁkāśya). This *Iṣaivaṇ* married Mandodari, daughter of 'Asura-Maya', (probably a princess of 'Asur', the kingdom adjacent to the land of 'Sumer'), and their son was Meghanāda-Indrajit. In Mithilā in the lower Himālayan

regions, this 'Rāvaṇa' met Vedavatī, the accomplished daughter of Prince Kuśadhvaṇa, and ravished her. She vowed vengeance, and it is said she was 'reborn' as Sītā, in the same family,—which might either mean that Vedavatī's illegitimate, abandoned child was found and adopted by her generous uncle, or that Vedavatī's younger cousin-sister, (by adoption) the foundling Sītā, was in *subsequent* times regarded as having *avenged* Vedavatī. Of these alternatives, the first alternative appears historically true, since there is still a large body of old tradition according to which Sītā was really a daughter of 'Rāvaṇa' (whence the special heinousness of his crime). It was probably this 'Rāvaṇa', who, after ravaging Mithilā through Vaiśālī, reached the upper Himālayas near Kailāsa but had to beat a disgraceful retreat from that region (being spared only because he professed to be a devout Śaiva).¹ It was also he who, after defeat by Vālī of Kiṣkindhā (Mysore, Carnatic, and South Kālīṅga), entered into an alliance with the 'Vānara' King, whose terms were : common enjoyment of raw materials and supplies, of resources of the towns, and of courtesans. [It is to be noted that 'Vānara' is also a Sanskritization of 'Vanavar-amban' and 'Vāna-varamban', two Dravidian titles used in early 'historical' times by Kerala emperors, meaning 'Beloved of the gods' and 'Sea-farer' or 'Warden of the Seas' respectively. Clearly the 'Vānara's of Kiṣkindhā and the East Coast (described as 'sons of the gods') were a maritime nation, with whose naval resources and sea-faring activities Rāma discovered the whereabouts of the abducted Sītā and could rescue her from the rival maritime power of the Iṣaiyaṇs]. This sixth 'Rāvaṇa' had also to surrender the Vaiśālī fleet to its rightful owners, and his empire was taken possession of by the 'last' Kośalan emperor of the Vedic-Epic Age, Rāma-Dāśarathi. It was passed on, curtailed, as a fief to his tributary, the seventh Iṣaiyaṇ, Vibhiṣṇa, who married Mandodarī, the widowed queen of the sixth Iṣaiyaṇ (just as the 'Vanavar' Sugriva did.)

A few other details about the Vaiśravaṇas or Ailavilas of Vaiśālī are available from some other Epic-Purāṇic sources :

The route to the cities of Vaiśālī and Mithilā from the āśrama of 'Viśvāmitra' ('Caritra-vana' at Buxar; Rāmāyaṇa Bālakāṇḍa, 26) is thus given in the Rāmāyaṇa:—From that āśrama, the party proceeded to the

1. To this same 'Ravaṇa' is to be ascribed the abduction and ravishment of Rambhā, consort of prince Nala-'Kuvera', [apparently son of the contemporary 'Vaiśravaṇa-Kuvera'], King of Vaiśālī, i.e., Pramati, contemp. of Daśaratha.

Śoṇa river (with many 'diaras' and sand banks); after a journey of about twelve hours, from morning to sunset, and came to the country of Magadha. From the Śoṇa banks, the city of Girivraja, with its five peaks, could be discerned (so this Śoṇa must have followed the bed of the present Punpun or other channels in the Barābar Hills region). The source of the Sumāgadhī hill-stream (the Sarasvatī, Bāṇ-gaṅgā or Pañcanā) could also be seen like a garland between the peaks. (So they must have been these from some part of the 'Upper' Punpun; a twelve hours' horse-post or chariot conveyance could bring the party to a distance of 100 to 120 miles from Buxar). The party did not cross the Śoṇa but went along its west bank northwards to where it joined the Gaṅgā; this journey was one of six hours, from morning till mid-day, that is within 50 or 60 miles. They crossed the Gaṅgā by big barges from the sandy south bank to the north bank and saw Vaiṣaṇṭi city from the landing,—a fair, heavenly, royal capital of the 'Vaiśaleyaḥ rajanaḥ'. Going north from Vaiṣaṇṭi, they came to Ahalyāśrama (modern Abiari, 24 miles south-west of Janakpur) and could see Mithilā City (Janakpur-Jaynagar ?) from there.

The Puraṇas (in general) give certain variant and additional information regarding Tṛṇavindu's line :

Tṛṇavindu flourished at the third 'mouth' of the Tretā age,—that is at the last of the three different 'commencements' of that epoch as computed by different chronologists. His daughter Ilavilā's son, 'Paulastya' Viśravas-Ailavila, had four wives, Deva-varṇinī of Vṛhaspati-Āṅgīrasa's family, Puṣpotkaṭā and Rākā—daughters of Mālyavant, and Kaikasi—daughter of Mālin. The first's son was 'Vaiśravaṇa'-Kuvera, whose four sons and a daughter were Nala-'Kuvera' (Kauvera), 'Rāvaṇa' Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, and Sūrpanakhā; the second's sons were Khara and others; and the fourth Kaikasi's sons, Daśa-griva and others. It is obvious that in these shortened genealogies, the several 'Ravaṇa's are amalgamated. Except 'Vaiśravaṇa' Kuvera's descendants, all of them were Raksasas. The Agastyas became affiliated to these Paulastyas, and the Vaiśvāmitras and Kauśikas too: all these three groups came to be known as 'Paulastya' Rākṣasas, while the Kauverakas were known as Yakṣas, though they ruled over the other two groups of Rākṣasas (also known as cruel 'brahma-Rākṣasas')¹ as well, namely Agastyas and

1. Cf. the similar class of 'brahma-kṣatra's; 'Kṣatra' and 'Rākṣa' are equivalent designations; 'Takṣa' and other cognate terms (fr. √yah & yakṣ) have the same implication of "strength to protect, and thus to be honoured."

Kauśikas. These groups occupied a long belt of country, extending from Kailāsa through East sub-Himālayas, North Bihar, South-west Bihar and Rewa, to Deccan, and thence to South India and Ceylon;—the 'Kauveraka's comparatively associated more with the North, and their cousins more with the South. The Pulahas and Kratus were also counted as belonging to this general 'paulastya' group. (Vide Pargiter : AIHT, for details.)

The Mahābhārata, in counting the sixteen great kings and in tracing the 'descent of the Sword of Justice', calls Dilīpa (the Second, 'Khatvāṅga', father or grandfather of Raghu) the son or descendant of Ilavilā ('Ailavilā'): 'descendant' is better, for Dilīpa's grandfather, Vṛddha-śarman (a 'brāhmaṇic' name), is also called 'Ailavila' in the dynastic lists; he may have been a brother of Viśravas-Ailavila. That is to say, the line of Rāma was derived from Ilavilā (on the mother's side), equally with the contemporary lines of Pramati of Vaiśālī and the Iṣaṇas of Laṅkā, Rāma being eighth in descent from this famous princess. This explains the close connexion between the Vaiśravaṇas (Kauverakas and Rākṣasas) and Vaiśālīkas (Ikṣvākus) and the Ikṣvākus of Kośala in this age, and the absorption of all their domains within Rāma's ultimately.

Pramati is given as tenth in succession from Ilavilā but it should probably be seventh or eighth, for in this interval are placed Hema-Candra (and Su-candra) and Dhūmrāśva who are by synchronisms made contemporary of Avikṣita and of Nābhāga and Sudeva (of Kāśī) respectively (as detailed above). So also Dhūmrāśva's libertine son, Nara or Nala, is placed much higher up in the lists (evidently by mistake of copyists). It seems therefore that the synchronism of Pramati and Rāma, of Avikṣita and Hemacandra, of Nābhāga and Dhūmrāśva and Nala, are all correct; and that Tṛṇavindu's daughter, Ilavilā, is to be counted as an ancestress of Rāma, as also of the Vaiśāleayas and Vaiśravaṇas (as well as, collaterally, of the famous trio,—Marutta-Duṣyanta-Bharata).

The landing place on the north bank of the Gaṅgā, whence Rāma had a glimpse of the towers of Vaiśālī, seems to have been the site of Hājipur (and the ferry seems to have started from Dīghā—'Dīrghāranya Āśrama' or from proto-'Pāṭali',—mod. Fatvā). This halting place of Rāma is said to be marked by the present Rāma temple to the west of Hājipur town; he is also said to have visited, for three nights, the Gajendra-mokṣa-tīrtha¹ in Viśāla-kṣetra, the site being now marked by the Sonapur Temple.

1. Prob. the old name of Hājipur was 'Hasti-pura' (with ref. to the 'Hasti' legend); in medieval Tibetan texts the name is 'Hatsi-pura'.

The Mahābhārata has some interesting sidelights to throw on Vaiśālī:

Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva's father's sister's son, Śiśupāla, King of Cedi (Rewa, Chattisgarh, and C. P.), abducted the Vaiśālī princess Bhadrā, who was one of the wives of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa's father), while she was on her way from Vaiśālī to Dvārakā, (Mahābhārata : 2, 45, 1570). Kṛṣṇa's cousin, Arjuna, son of another sister of his father, was assisted in the Bhārata War by 'Vaiśāleyāḥ' Bhogināḥ', said to be 'Nāga' chieftains of Nāga clans (Mahābhārata : 8, 87X', 4416); but 'bhogināḥ' might also be equivalent of 'rājānaḥ'. (Probably the 'Nāga' princes were called 'Bhogins' or 'Bhojas' for wearing the Nāga emblem—the cobra-hood mark, 'bhoga'—on their crowns, like Egyptian sovereigns). Here too the 'bhogināḥ' or 'rājānaḥ' of Vaiśālī are referred to (in the plural).¹

The geography of the Mahābhārata knows of a Vaiśālī river, which was a branch or affluent of the Gaṇḍakī near Vaiśālī, (Mahābhārata : 13, 25, 1730; cf. also Mahābhārata : 1, 35, 1557 and 5, 103 Y, 3630). This river is said to be a sacred one, in 'Gaya' country [in Purāṇic geography, 'Gaya' and 'Utkala' stand for Bihar (N. and S.) and Chota-Nagpur, with Garjāt and Surgujā States], counted as a 'second Sarasvatī', one of the 'sapta-Sārasvatī' group of sacred rivers, a 'tīrtha' for 'pitṛ'-worship (as on the Phalgu at Gayā), and as having a shrine of Karavīra, the Nāga, at Karavīra-pura on its banks. It is tempting to identify these place-names with Kolhuā village, adjacent to Saraiyā, on the east bank of Bayā river (wrong for 'Gayā'), adjacent to Bakhrā (Basārḥ-Vaiśālī), all within the ruins of Vaiśālī—Kolhuā containing the Aśoka pillar of Vaiśālī.

Possibly Singhiā,—the river port and factory of Dutch and British East India Company fame,—on the Gaṇḍakī, 12 miles north of Hajipur (Vaiśālī ruins being 18 miles from it), stands for 'Simhikā' or the port of the Simhas, that is of the Licchavis (a synonym in history); and it seems the term 'Simhikā', with its variant 'Himsikā', came to be used of 'pirate ships' in ancient India², because of the sway that Licchavi or Simha or Vaiśālian (or Vaiśravaṇa) mercantile and armed fleet held over the Lower Ganges and the Bay of Bengal right up to Ceylon and other

1. Probably the same title 'Bhoja' used by Yādavas had the same origin. It is well known that the Yādavas of the south-west ruled over the Nāgas and were, after Kṛṣṇa, overthrown by them.
2. Cf. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

islands, in the Epic period.¹ It is to be noted that Pāṭali fort was founded in the sixth century B. C. by the Śiśu-Nāgas, to check these depredations of Vaiśālian ships. One such 'Śimhika', evidently of the Vaiśālian fleet captured and utilized by the Iṣaivaṇ, is said, in the Rāmāyaṇa, to have intercepted 'Hanumant' on the high seas, while he was crossing over to Laṅkā (probably on board a 'Vānara' that is 'Vanavar' ship).

From the ethnological standpoint, it is interesting to note that Buddhistic literature knew of 'Vānara' people in Vaiśālī. Hieun-Tsang saw a statue of a 'Vānara' chief at the Aśoka Pillar in Vaiśālī beside the 'Rāma'-Kuṇḍa tank,—representing evidently the adherence of the 'Vānara' people to the Buddha. The statue may have been of 'Hanumant.' It is to be noted that 'Hanumant' of later legends is an amalgam of two elements : (1) Bhānu-mant, son and successor of Śiradhvaja, at Mithilā, brother of Sitā and brother-in-law of Rāma and therefore his prime assister in the rescue of Sitā, and (2) 'Āṇ-maṇṭi' a Dravidian deity, the name meaning the Male Monkey—the Ṛg-Vedic Vṛṣa-Kapi, an aspect of Indra, that is incorporated into the North Indian Indra worship even in early Ṛg-Vedic times. As such, Vṛṣa-Kapi = Āṇ-maṇṭi (Sanskritized into 'Hanumant') was a war-like divinity, the great helper of warriors in their efforts. The 'Vanavars' (Sanskritized into Vānara's) of south-east India, worshipping the great Āṇ-maṇṭi, secured Sitā's release, as also did her own brother, Bhānumant : a mixing up of the two was easy, especially because, from the evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa, the 'Vānara's and the Kośālas or Ikṣvākus were very much allied kindred people, and the 'Male Monkey' worship must have prevailed in north-east India as well, otherwise the Vṛṣa-Kapi cult would not have been referred to in the Ṛk-Saṁhitā. The Vaiśālians, as sea-farers, could also be classed as 'Vanavars' or 'rulers of the waves.'

According to the Rāmāyaṇa, 'Rkṣa's were a class of 'Vānara's who were strong adherents of Rāma. These 'Rkṣas' are clearly the 'Licchas' or 'Licchai' of the subsequent Buddhistic age. The Rkṣa chief, Jāmbavan,²—correctly 'Jambha-vant' or 'Jambha'—is clearly a title of the Kauveraka-Vaiśālian princes, for 'Kuvera' = Jambha, as is well known. Buddhistic historical tradition asserts that the Licchai (Rkṣas) were Ikṣvākus, and this is also borne out by Epic-Purāṇic tradition regarding

1. Cf. Elizabethan & Spanish 'buccaners', or flying Dutchman (like 'puṣpaka vimāna's of Vaiśālī).

2. In the later Mahābhārata period as well, Rkṣa chiefs were called 'Jamba-vant', and their princesses called 'Jāmbavatī'.

Vānaras, Rākṣasas, and Vaiśālians (as seen above). It seems possible that Rkṣa or Rakṣa are really the same ethnic names, having the meaning of leonine power and majesty and protective ability. The Rkṣas (along with Golāṅgulas—cf. the Himālayan tribal name of 'Gorāṅg' in Nepāl) are said, in Epic-Purāṇic tradition, to have often protected the Kośalan or other Ikṣvāku families from the invasions of the Haihayas and others, and thus saved their kingdoms. They are also referred as holding sway over Magadha and Girivraja from time to time.¹

There is a large body of 'Cero' tradition connected with old sites in the Vaiśālī region. Ceras were a 'Dravidian' people, whose modern counterpart are the Keralas (also called Ceras) of Malabar, amongst whom kings were called 'Vanavara's' (Vānaras). In the ninth century B. C., in the time of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Magadhas were neighbours of the Vaṅgas and the Ceras; these Ceras would be the Vaiśālī Cera(o)s and the well known Chotanagpur Cera(o)s as well, rather than Malabaris or Malayalis. This confirms the traditional connexion of Vaiśālī with the 'Māli's and their cognates, as detailed above. The Rāmāyaṇa says that the languages of the Vānaras, Rākṣasas, and Kośalans were very similar and mutually intelligible. It seems, therefore, that the original language of the Vaiśālī region was akin to the Cera or Malayāli language (of ancient times), before the adoption of Indo-Āryan dialects. The Ceras of Vaiśālī are said to have ruled, in the middle ages, over a 'Dosād'² population, and the Dosāds also occasionally rose to political power and founded ruling families in these regins,—as did also the 'barbers': as examples may be cited the local traditions *re* Jauri-dih or Bithauli 12 miles from Hajipur, Katra 18 miles from Muzaffarpur, or Parsauni in Sitamarhi sub-division, and Suhel-gaḍh on the Bāgmati, 18 miles from Muzaffarpur.

Even at the present day, the population of the Vaiśālī region is mainly 'Vaiśya', and the region can be said to have been a 'Viś' region, so that the name of the city and the king or dynasty—Viśālā or Vaiśālī or Viśāla—is justified. Thus 'āhīrs' ('ābhīras') form one-eighth of the

1. Something like the Janissaries of the Turks, or the Gurkhā (Licchavi) guards of the Guptas (or even of modern Indian landlords).
2. = 'Dāsādi', 'Dāsādyā', or 'Dāsātyā', i. e., derived from or belonging to the 'Dāsa' or 'Dasyu' ethnic groups?

population and are closely followed by Koeris and Kurmīs;¹ the Bābhans, an agricultural community, come closest to the 'āhīrs' in numbers; the 'Dosāds', over whom the 'Cheras' ruled, are third in order of population; the 'Rājputs' come next, and probably represent the earlier 'Cera (o)' ruling classes. 'Brāhmaṇas' proper, of the *classical and medieval* types, come after *all* of them.

Regarding the 'Bābhans' of the Vaiśālī region, the most ancient of the three legends, and historically the most probable, is the one referred to the times of the Bhārata War. At Jarāsandha's Rājasūya sacrifices, that fascist king is alleged to have created, by a royal fiat, a new class of 'brāhmaṇa' priesthood and a new privileged order, to take the place of the earlier 'brāhmaṇas' who dissented from him and left his Court and realm. The descendants of these new (Magadhan) brāhmaṇas were the 'Bābhānas' (a Māgadhi Prākṛta form of 'brāhmaṇa'). It is sometimes thought that the 'Bābhans' are referred to in Aśokan inscriptions; but it is better to see in Aśok's 'bambhana'=brāhmaṇa a corroboration of the tradition that the new brāhmaṇas of Magadha represent 'Bābhans' accurately.

The ancient folk rituals of marriage of Tanks and Wells, and of Mango-trees with Banyan trees, as they are still performed in the Vaiśālī region, seem to be reminiscent of Vedic and pre-vedic legends. In the former, the Asura śuṣṇa is killed by a piercing weapon, as he drinks up all waters and tries to escape. In the latter, the marriage ceremony is about the same in details as in the legend of the foundation of Pāṭali-grāma in an early pre-Buddhistic Age (viz., the playful identification of the ruling pre-Āryan princess with a Mango-tree and her marriage with a tree as such).

To conclude the sketch of the political history of Vaiśālī: After Pramati, it formed part of Kośala for some time. But with the decline of Kośalan power (due to partition of Rāma's empire into eight parts among the children of the four brothers), it may have passed into the possession of the dynasty of Mithilā, where Rāma's brother-in-law Bhānumant ruled. In the times of the Bhārata War, as we have already seen, the Vaiśālī princes had separate political and matrimonial dynastic

1. Possibly these represent peoples originally cognate to the semi-aboriginal tribes of Chattisgaḍh (South Kośala) now called 'Kawar' & 'Kurmī' or 'Karmā'; they prob. are ref. to in the epic-purāṇic tradn. as 'Kauverakas' (of Vaiśālī) and 'Kirmīras' (a class of 'Rakṣas') in the N. E. India.

relations with the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍavas; but, after the Bhārata War, the continued eclipse of Ayodhyā and the revival of Mithilā (after Kṛtakṣaṇa, who was contemporary with that war), under the 'Janaka' Ugra-Sena and at least three other 'Janaka's after him (Janadeva, Dharmadhvaṇa, and Āyasthūṇa),—which renaissance lasted for about twelve generations after the Great War, that is for about 250 years, c. 950 to 700 B. C.,—leaves no doubt that the Vaiśālī region became part of this Videha kingdom.—It was in the time and mostly in the court of these later 'Janaka's that the famous sages of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upaniṣads flourished,—about sixty in number from the generation of Audḍālaki-Śvetaketu (contemporary with Ugra-Sena 'Janaka') to that of Satyakāma-Jābāla (contemporary with Āyasthūṇa 'Janaka'). To this group belong Yājñavalkya-Vājasaneyā, founder of the Vājasaneyā Vedic School, and his pupil 'Āsuri's pupil, the Vaiśiṣṭha-Pāṇḍita, (son of the lady Kapilā, and hence shortly called 'Kapila'), the founder of the Sāṅkhya system and a 'bhikṣu' of the Buddhist Order (of the "Former Buddhas"); this Pāṇḍita converted the 'Janaka's Janadeva and Dharmadhvaṇa, to the Sāṅkhya system of 'Mokṣa' (Nirvāṇa). Therefore, "proto-Buddhism," side by side with Vedāntism (Upaniṣadism), had already taken root in the Videha-Vaiśālī region between the ninth and the seventh century B.C.¹

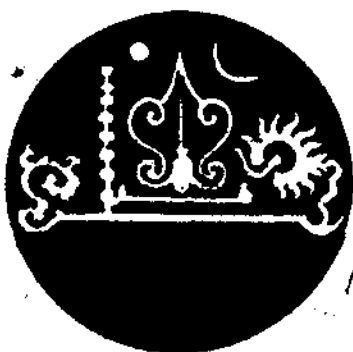
The later 'Janaka's, in their spiritual enthusiasm, often relinquished dynastic monarchical power, and the last of them probably voluntarily 'disestablished' the monarchy of Mithilā. The whole region, from the Middle Himālayas to Gaṅgā, seems then to have broken up into a number of aristocratic republics, mostly belonging to some Ikṣvāku family or other, amongst whom of course were the Licchavis or Siṃhas of Vaiśālī², cognate to the Śākya, Koliya, Moriya, and Malla,—all Ikṣvākus. This change to non-monarchical government occurred between 750 and 650 B. C. In Gautama Buddha's time (born 623 B. C.) Vaiśālī was

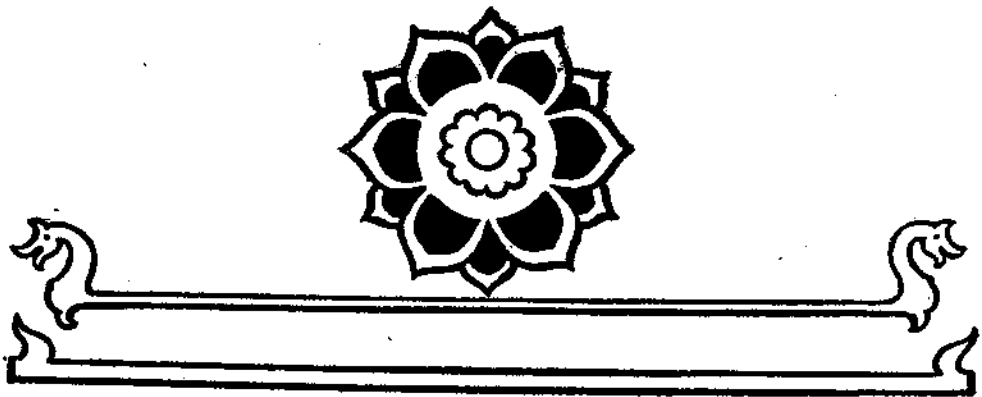
1. Cf. the details about "proto-Buddhist" memorial architecture in Vāj. Saṃ. and other Yaj. Veda Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.
2. The same as Rkṣas or Rakṣas, 'r' becoming 'l' and 'kṣ' 'cch' in Prākṛt. It should be noted the Rakṣa has the same import as Kṣatra, and Rkṣa as Siṃha: the Mauryan 'Lion Capital' really is a Rkṣa or Licchavi or Siṃha emblem. Cf. Dilīpa, ancestor of Rāma, sees a vision of divinity in the form of a lion (Raghuvamśa). All 'Ikṣvākus', earlier or later, including Śākya, Licchavis and Mauryas, used this emblem, as also the Horse.

already a well-established republic, the federal capital of a Republican Confederacy, including the whole of North Bihar.¹

Here we close our narrative of the hitherto overlooked historical traditions regarding the Vaiśālī region for the pre-Buddhistic ages. The traditions of the Buddhist and Jaina period, from about 700 B. C. onwards, are fairly well known.

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3. From the various traditions collated above, it is clear how the Buddhist legends grew about early success of Buddhism amongst the Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Vānaras,—all peoples of Vaiśālī and neighbouring regions.





THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF VAIŚĀLĪ

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The history of the city of Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis, goes back to hoary antiquity. According to Purāṇas, northern Bihar was the seat of a dynasty founded by Nābhāga, a son of Manu. Where exactly was the seat of this dynasty, is not known. The city of Vaiśālī was founded when this dynasty had ruled for about 20 generations. Tṛṇabindu, who was the 20th descendant of Nābhāga, had a son named Viśāla from an *apsarā* named Alambuṣā (Vishṇu P. 41-39). When this prince ascended the throne, he is stated to have founded the city of Vaiśālī. The *Vāyupurāṇa* goes on to observe that owing to the traditions inherited from king Tṛṇabindu, all the kings of Vaiśālī were destined to become long-lived, magnanimous, brave and religious (86-22).

It is interesting to note that a number of localities, cities and peoples, who are later known to have developed a republican form of government, are stated to have had a monarchical form of government in the Purāṇas. Such, for instance, is the case with the Madras, the Kurus, the Śibis and the Videhas. Here Purāṇas do not seem to be committing an anachronism; for Megasthenes also records the tradition to this effect when he states :—

‘At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is stated was dissolved, and a democratic government was set up in the cities’ (Arrian. Chap. X).

The change referred to by Megasthenes seems to have been a historical event. How it used to happen can also be inferred. In the Vedic age the states were small ones and had different types of constitution. In one type we are told that the administration was carried on in an Assembly of *rājans* (kings)¹; the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* tells us that in such assemblies, he used to become a king whose kingship was assented to by others.² The Assembly of 'kings' was the assembly of aristocratic leaders, and among them he became king or the head of the state, who was elevated to that position by the consent of the other members. When the headship of a person thus elected tended to become hereditary, kingship was the result; when this development was not permitted, the republic was the consequence. Changes from one form of the government to the other must have been not infrequent.

According to the Paurāṇic traditions, the monarchical form of government continued to prevail at Vaiśālī for about 13 generations after the time of king Viśāla. Purāṇas continue the dynastic lists of other houses down to the beginning of the Bhārata war, but have nothing to say about the successors of Pramati, who was the last king of Vaiśālī, and who flourished about 30 generations before the Bhārata war. This silence must be due to the establishment of a republican form of government at the city. The date of the Bhārata war seems to be c. 1400 B. C.; the establishment of the Vaiśālī republic took place about 30 generations or 600 years before this event. We may approximately date this constitutional change in c. 2000 B. C.

A word of explanation is necessary about the term republic. The word now denotes a state where sovereignty is vested in the entire body of its citizens on the widest possible basis. It is however to be noted that such was not the case in the past. The term republic was used by the ancients to denote a state where the sovereign power was vested not in one single individual but in a group or college of persons, more or less numerous. Thus Sparta, Athens, Carthage, Rome, Venice, the United Netherlands and Poland have been described even by modern writers on constitutional history as republics, though sovereignty in these states was vested

1. यत्रोषवीः सम्यक्त राजानः समिताविव ।

(R. V., X. 9-7.)

2. यस्मै वै राजानो राज्यमनुमन्यन्ते स राजा भवति न स यस्मै न ।

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (IX, 3-2-5)

in a small body of aristocracy; some of them like Poland had a hereditary king at their head. When therefore we talk of Vaiśālī as a republic, we mean to indicate that the power was vested in a numerous class of persons; we do not necessarily mean that every adult member in the state had franchise. Such is not the case even in many of the modern republics like the United States of America or France.

In the republics of ancient India, there used to be a Central Government at the capital and a number of towns and villages in the *moffusil*. The administration of the latter was carried on by local councils, in which all castes and professions were represented. There was perfect democracy in the sphere of local government. But in the Central Government the Kṣatriyas alone had the determining voice. Most of the republics were noted for their military prowess; the *Arthaśāstra* values an alliance with a republic for its military value; and the republics of the Punjab offered the most stubborn resistance to Alexander. The republics of the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras had the reputation of invincibility in the post-Vedic period. This fame was natural; for the Kṣatriyas were the leaders and depositories of power in the republics.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya notes that the Licchavis, the Vrijjikas, the Mallas etc., were *rājaśabdopajīvinah*. This expression has given rise to a lot of controversy. But its real meaning seems to be that the members of the ruling assemblies of these states enjoyed the title of the king. According to Śabara, the term *rājā* or king also denoted a Kṣatriya and according to the *Amarakośa* II. 8.9.3 *rājanyaka* denoted a *gaṇa* or republic of the Kṣatriyas only. The Licchavi state was a republic, where though the local government was a concern of all the castes, the central government was an affair of the Kṣatriyas only.

There is ample evidence to show that such was the case with the Koliyas and the Śākya, who were the neighbours of the Licchavis. The interesting account of the quarrel between the Śākya and the Koliyas about the distribution of the waters of the Rohiṇī shows the same thing. The quarrel first arose between the labourers of these two states, and when they became excited, they started casting reflections on the high extraction of their ruling classes. This embittered the matters showing that the average citizen of these states had a high reverence for his rulers, who were sharply distinguished from the commoners. The Śākya and Koliya labourers report the incident to their *rājās*, who eventually decide to go on war. The commoners in the state had no voice in the final decision. They however carry it out.

We can now take up the famous Jātaka passage which describes the constitution of the Licchavis. It runs as follows :—

तत्थ निचकाल रज्जं कारेत्वा वसंतानं येव राजूनं
सत्तसहस्रानि सत्तसत्तानि सत्त च राजानो होंति
तत्तका येव उपराजानो तत्तका सेनापतिनो तत्तका भंडागारिका ।

Jātaka I, p. 504.

This passage has given rise to a lot of controversy, and considerable ingenuity has been exercised in interpreting it. Its literal translation seems to be as follows :—

Of the kings who were permanently residing and ruling there (i. e. in Vaiśālī) the number was seven thousand, seven hundred and seven. The number of *Uparājans* was the same, as also the number of *Senāpatīs* and treasurers.

Dr. Bhandarkar thought that the passage refers to a federation of 7707 i. e., a very large number of kings, each of whom maintained separate autonomy, while allowing the Saṅgha to exercise supreme powers with reference to other matters affecting the state (*Carmichael Lectures*, p. 15). Dr. Majumdar thought the number of kings was not to be taken literally ; it shows simply that the supreme assembly was very large. Each of its members had a full suite of officers required for the administration of a state (*Corporate Life*, pp. 93-4 1st edn). Dr. Ghoshal thinks that the statement is true as far as the number of 'kings' is concerned, but not so far as the numbers of viceroys, generals and treasurers are concerned. (*IHQ*, XX, pp. 334 ff.).

When however it is remembered how the term *Rājan* in some case denoted only a Kṣatriya and that the sovereignty was vested in the Kṣatriya class only in most of the republics, the interpretation of the passage will become an easier problem.

The area between Gorakhpur and Darbhanga and the Himalayas and the Ganges was a land of republic in the days of the Buddha and there flourished the republics of the Bhaggas, the Bulis, the Koliyas, the the Śākya, the Licchavis and the Videhas in this small territory. The Licchavi state was the biggest in this area, but its area does not appear to have been more than about 5,000 square miles. When the Aryans came and occupied this territory, it seems to have been divided into about 7700 Kṣatriya families, who became something like the Zamindar families of the state. They were all Kṣatriyas and were known as *Rājans*. The heads of these families were staying in the capital and they

had their own managers in the moffusil who were known as their treasurers. If the Kṣatriya householders were known as *Rājans*, their sons were naturally called *Uparājans* or *Yuvarājas*. Each member of the Kṣatriya aristocracy owed military service to the state and was probably the head of a small militia recruited from his *Zamidari*. When he was not able to lead this militia himself, he used to nominate a *senāpati* or general to act for him. Thus naturally the Licchavi state possessed 7707, 'Kings', 7707 'Yuvarājas' or heir apparents, 7707 'Senāpatis' or generals and 7707 treasurers. The number may have been a real one once upon a time ; in course of time it must have become a conventional one. The actual number of the *Rājās* must have been very large ; if it was not 7707, it may have been at least its half. The Yaudheya republic was governed by a central assembly, whose membership was 5,000 according to the Greek historians (Maccrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 45). The Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas sent 150 of their leaders to negotiate peace with Alexander. The Assemblies of the republics were thus very large. We should not forget in this connection that the Assembly of the republic of Athens consisted of more than 42,000 members, every one of whom had a right to attend its session and vote on the proposals. In actual practice hardly 2,000 or 3,000 members cared to attend. The same was the case most probably in India also. Out of the 7,000, 5,000 members of the Assembly about 10 percent may have attended the meetings. The principle of representation was then unknown both in the east and the west, and so the right of every member to participate had to be conceded.

Though every one of these 7,000 and odd *Rājās* had theoretically the same powers and rights, in actual practice, the voice of the elders prevailed. The Buddha had predicted that the Licchavi state could not succumb as long as the members of their assembly met in concord, and carried on their business in concord, as long as they enacted nothing that was not already established, as long as they acted in accordance with the ancient institutions of Vaiśālī, as long as they honoured their elders and hearkened to their words (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 80). This passage makes it clear that in the heyday of the Licchavi greatness, though the sovereignty was vested in a large number of persons in actual practice the real power was exercised by select respectable members of the Assembly whose proposals were usually assented to by the rest. Matters were not usually pressed to a voting.

One of the important functions of the general assembly was to elect the executive of the state. We learn that the Mallas had an executive

council of eight members ; when they had formed a confederation with the Licchavis, the federal council consisted of 9 members from the Mallas and nine from the Licchavis. We may therefore take it that the executive of the Licchavis most probably consisted of about 8 to 10 persons. Each member must have been in charge of one of the departments of the state like the Military, the Finance, the Foreign Affairs, the Revenue etc.

The republics of the Kṣudraks, the Mālavas, and the Yaudheyas used to elect also their generals for each campaign. The same was the case with the republic of Rome for several decades. We may presume that the Licchavi General Assembly also must have done the same. The Śākya assembly is known to be discussing grave questions of foreign policy ; when the ultimatum was received from the King of Kośāla it was discussed in the General Assembly. The *Mahābhārata* however warns the republics that matters of foreign affairs, being rather delicate, should not be discussed in a general assembly. What practice was followed by the Licchavis we do not know.

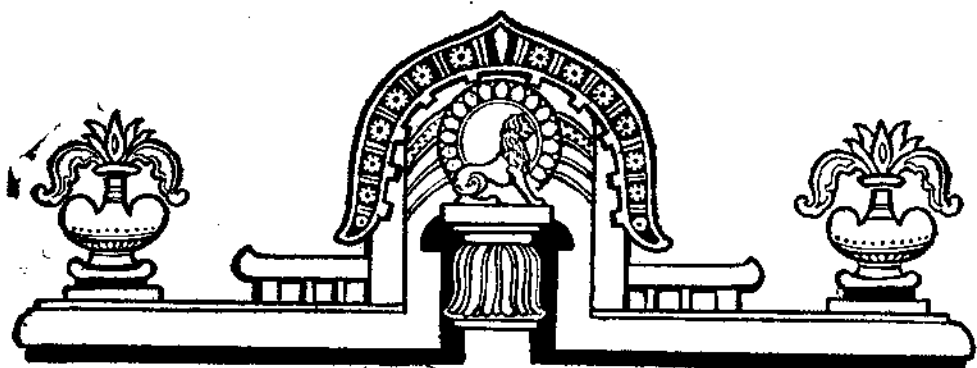
Before the rising wave of the Magadhan imperialism, the small republican states fell one by one. The Licchavi state was however the last to succumb. Its fall was brought about by the dissensions sown among the Licchavi *Rājās* by the wily emperor of Magadha. We do not know anything further of the Licchavis for a long time. But history shows that the Licchavis again became a power after the decline of the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas. The prestige, power and military strength of the revived Licchavi state was very considerable ; for the Guptas could attain the imperial position only by a matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis. Samudragupta never fails to describe himself as a *Licchavidauhitra*, i. e., born of a Licchavi princess : and on his father's coins, his Licchavi queen makes invariable appearance by her husband's side ; and on their reverse the legend 'Licchavayaḥ,' 'the Licchavis' is always to be seen.

What was the constitution of the Licchavis at this time ? This is a difficult question to answer. The fact that on the reverse of the coins of Candragupta I, not the name of a Licchavi king but of the Licchavis appears in the plural, would show that the official form of government was still a republic. but the power seems to have gradually passed into a hereditary family. At this time among the Mālava republic also, we notice the same phenomenon of the presidentship of the republic passing into a hereditary family; the members of this family

were however not called *Rājās* there. Among the Sanakānikas of central India the form of government was republic, but the head of the state bore the title of *Rājā* and was probably a hereditary ruler. Since Kumāradevī seems to have been the Licchavi princess, who was the heir to the Licchavi throne and the state, it appears that the headship of the Licchavi state had by this time passed into a hereditary family. But since the Licchavi state is also indicated by the plural term *Licchavayaḥ* on the coins of Candragupta I, the republican form of government probably still continued, requiring the hereditary president to act according to the wishes of the Licchavi Assembly.

The Licchavi state was amalgamated with the Gupta empire and Vaiśālī is known to have become the seat of a royal viceroy. What happened to the Licchavi state later on we do not know. On the dissolution of the Gupta empire the Licchavis do not seem to have risen again as an independent power, as they did after the dissolution of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kingdoms.





THE LICCHAVIS OF VAIŚĀLĪ

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The old city of Vaiśālī has been identified with modern Basāḥ to the east of the Gandak in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihār. It has been called Vesālī in Pāli works and Viśālā in some passages of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. The city is said to have received its name from king Viśāla who was a son of Ikṣvāku accordidg to the Rāmāyaṇa, but a descendant of Nābhāga, the brother of Ikṣhvāku, according to the Purāṇas. Several successors of Viśāla are also mentioned in literature. If the above tradition is to be accepted, it may be assumed that the city of Vaiśālī was founded several centuries before the birth of Buddha Śākyamuni in the first half of the sixth century B. C.

In the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra about the latter half of the sixth century B. C., we find Vaiśālī in the possession of a republican clan known as the Licchavis; but the cause of the transition from monarchy to republic is unknown. At this time, the Licchavis were a member of the Vṛji (called Vajji in Pāli) confederacy of eight clans. Of the eight confederate clans, the Vṛjis, Licchavis, Videhas and Jñātrīkas were the most important. Scholars have suggested that the remaining four clans were probably the Bhogas, Ugras, Ikṣvākus and Kurus. The city of Vaiśālī was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. According to tradition, the powerful Vaiśālians invaded Magadha (South Bihār) in

the days of Bimbisāra, a contemporary of Buddha. But the tables were turned in the reign of Ajātaśatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra, who destroyed the Vajjin confederacy and annexed North Bihār to the expanding empire of Magadha.

The next time we hear of the Licchavis we find them ruling in Nepāl. Licchavi Kings are known to have ruled over parts or the whole of Nepāl upto 879 A.D. when Rāghavadeva conquered the country and founded the Nepālese era. But the date of the foundation of Licchavi power in Nepāl cannot be determined with any amount of precision. The earlier inscriptions of the Nepālese Licchavis are dated in the years ranging between 386 and 535 of an unspecified era. Indrāja refers the years to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., Fleet to the Gupta era of 320 A.D. and Levi to an unknown era starting from 110 A.D. We are however in favour of referring them to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. so that the dates in our opinion range between 464 and 613 A.D. But the Licchavis must have established themselves in Nepāl long before the middle of the fifth century A. D., because the earliest inscription dated in the year 386 (=464 A. D.) not only refers to the Licchavi King Mānadeva, but also to his three predecessors Dharmadeva, Śankaradeva and Vṛṣadeva who must have ruled for about a century. It is well known to students of history that Candragupta I (c. 320-35 A. D.), the first imperial ruler of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha, married a Licchavi princess named Kumāradevi and that the illustrious Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A. D.), the first Vikramāditya of Indian history, was an issue of this union. It is not impossible to suggest that Kumāradevi was the daughter of an early Licchavi King of Nepāl. But certain Gupta coins bearing the figures and names of Candragupta I and Queen Kumāradevi on the obverse and the word "Licchavayaḥ" (i. e., the Licchavis) in the plural on the reverse probably suggest that the Licchavi relatives of the Guptas represented a republican clan holding sway over some parts of Bihār. The importance given to the Licchavis in the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Guptas may further suggest that the imperial position of Candragupta I was largely due to his Licchavi marriage. In the seventh century A. D., the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang mentions Fie-she-li (Vaiśālī) which he distinguished from Fo-li-shi or the Vṛji country.

We have indicated above, in outlines, the importance of the Licchavis in the history of India. But the question is : who the Licchavis were. According to some scholars, the Licchavis were of Tebetan origin.

This inference is based on the connection of their judicial system and the disposal of their dead with certain Tibetan customs. Others reject the theory on the ground that we know little about the state of civilisation in Tibet during the early days of Buddhism. Another group of scholars hold that the Licchavis were originally Persians who came from the Persian city of Nisibi. This theory has been criticised by several writers, and there is really no evidence in support of it. A distinguished writer points to the unanimity of India tradition in representing the Licchavis as Kṣatriyas. His conclusion is that the Licchavis were indigenous Kṣatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vṛātyas when they championed the cause of non-Brahmanical creeds like Buddhism and Jainism. In my humble opinion, the learned scholar's arguments in favour of the suggestion do not preclude the possibility of the Licchavis having originally been a non-Aryan tribe, with Mangolian affinity, that was later admitted into the Hindu fold.

It is well known that the Indo-Greeks (Yavanas) and the Indo-Scythians (Śakas) were considered 'aniravasita' Sūdras as early as the age of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. According to the Manusmṛitā (X, 43-44) however the Pauṇḍrakas (people of North Bengal), Audras (people of the Orissa region; v. l. Coḍas=Colas), Draviḍas (the Tamils), Kambojas Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas Pāradas (Parthians), Pelhavas (the Pelhevis or Persians), Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas (of modern Kashmir) and the Khasas (modern Khakkas of Kashmir) were Kṣatriyas who were gradually degraded to the position of the Vṛshalas (irreligious men or outcastes or Sūdras) owing to the omission of sacred rites (or, prescribed duties), and to their neglect of Brāhmaṇas. Elsewhere in the same work (X, 22), the Jallas, Mallas (neighbours of the Licchavis living about Kusinārā and Pāvā), Licchavis, Naṭas (professional actors) Karaṇas (professional scribes), Khasas and Draviḍas are described as the descendants of the Vṛātya Rājanyas, i. e., degraded Kṣatriyas. It is very interesting to note that the Khasas and Draviḍas are put in both the lists of Manu. It is, therefore, clear that the social position of the peoples indicated in the two passages is absolutely or almost the same. It is also to be noted that the Śakas and Yavanas are called 'elevated' Sūdras by Patañjali and 'degraded' Kṣatriyas by Manu and that the position indicated by the two authorities is practically the same. Another important fact is that the first passage referred to above from Manu (X, 43-44) mentions the peoples as 'Kṣatriya-jātayaḥ' i. e., castes (social groups dependent on birth) belonging to the Kṣatriya Varṇa (social grade). I

seems quite clear from the above lists of degraded Kṣatriyas as well as Manu's list of the degraded Brāhmaṇas (X, 21) and Vaiśyas (X, 23) and of the Varṇasaṅkaras (castes arising from an admixture of more than one Varṇa) that the scheme is arbitrary. Its chief object was to make a suitable place in the 'Indian' society based on the conventional and theoretical division into four social grades for all foreign, tribal (Aryan or non-Aryan) and professional groups associated with the social life of ancient India. The position in the scheme was no doubt dependent on rank demanded by the importance, culture and activities of the groups themselves. It is therefore natural that the groups whose activities resemble the conventional profession of the Kṣatriya Varṇa, should be given a place near about the Kṣatriyas in the scale. And such a tribe the Licchavis no doubt were.

It is well known that the Indian society was originally divided into two social grades based on 'complexion'—the whites and the blacks. The word 'complexion' was next applied to the four theoretical grades of the society, probably because the military and agriculturist classes lost partially the original Aryan complexion owing to admixture with the dark aboriginals. The real meaning of the word 'jāti' is birth. Later it indicated a tribal group whose membership is necessarily dependent on birth. Numerous non-Aryan tribes become gradually Aryanised more or less, although they still retained their tribal customs regarding connubium and commensality. They were naturally indicated by the word 'jāti' which thus became gradually popular in the sense of any social group crystallized into a caste.





अम्बपाली

डॉ० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल

एम० ए०, एल-एल० बी०, पी-एच० डी०, डी० लिट्०

वैशाली की अम्बपाली गणिका बौद्ध साहित्य में विशेष आकर्षण रखती है। अपने अनुपम सौन्दर्य के कारण वह दिग्दिगन्त में विख्यात थी। उसके मांसपिण्डात्मक शरीर की परिचर्या प्राप्त करने के लिए वैशाली के लिच्छवि राजकुमार सदा लालायित रहते थे। जनपदकल्याणी अम्बपाली ने जीवन का जो मार्ग ग्रहण किया था, वह मांस की भूख को तृप्त करने के कारण चिरन्तन सत्य से दूर था। उस मार्ग में अपने अनुपम सौन्दर्य की विभूति को अर्पित करने पर भी अम्बपाली कदाचित् ही मृत्यु के सर्वाभिमावी विनाश से अपनी रक्षा कर पाती। जिस मार्ग से चल कर अनेक लिच्छवि राजकुमार काल के गाल में विलीन हो गये, वही अम्बपाली के लिए भी नियत था। निष्ठुर दुर्गन्धिपूर्ण मांस-लोलुपता के लिए स्वर्ग का सौरभपूर्ण वायु नितान्त दुर्लभ है। अन्धकार में दीपक बन कर प्रकाश फैलाने वाला जो चित्तसंकल्प है, वही सचमुच मूल्यवान् है। जिसके विचारतल को इस प्रकार का संकल्प एक बार छू देता है, वही मृत्यु से हट कर अमृत की ओर अग्रसर हो जाता है। विधाता ने जिस सौन्दर्य की प्रतिमा को इतनी सुघराई से गढ़ कर तैयार किया था, सोभाग्य से उसके उद्धार का पवित्र क्षण भी प्राप्त हो गया। बुद्ध रूपी पारस के स्पर्श से अम्बपाली की तामसी भूर्ति स्वर्ण की आभा से जगमगा उठी। बुद्ध के सम्पर्क से उसके जीवन का पाप भस्मीभूत हो गया और श्रद्धा के संचार से उसका हृदय शुद्ध बन गया—नितान्त कल्मषहीन, संयम और पवित्रता के भावों से युक्त।

राजगृह से कुशीनगर को जाते हुए बुद्ध वैशाली में ठहरे। उनके आने का समाचार जान कर हृदय की अगाध श्रद्धा से भरी हुई अम्बपाली भगवान् की अभ्यर्थना के लिए पहले

पहुँची। अपनी स्वाभाविक सरलता से बुद्ध ने उसका सत्कार स्वीकार कर उसे प्रतिष्ठा दी। इस व्यवहार ने अम्बपाली के जीवन की गति को एकदम नये मार्ग की ओर मोड़ दिया। चाँदी और सोने के जगमगाते झूठे टुकड़ों के मोह को त्याग कर उसका मानस चैतन्य पहली बार किसी अनमोल तत्त्व को पाकर कृतकृत्य हुआ। अपने स्थान को पवित्र बनाने के लिए उसने बुद्ध को अपने यहाँ भिक्षा के लिए आमन्त्रित किया। बुद्ध ने उसके हृदय के भाव का मूल्य आँक कर अपनी स्वीकृति दी।

उसके बाद लिच्छविगण के अभिमानी प्रतिनिधि भी बुद्ध की अभ्यर्थना के लिए उपस्थित हुए। परन्तु बुद्ध अम्बपाली का आतिथ्य स्वीकार कर चुके थे। उसके हृदय की जैसी श्रद्धा वैशाली के उन क्षत्रियों में न थी। उन्होंने अनेक उपायों से—साम, दाम और बण्ड मय से—अम्बपाली के महान् अतिथि को अपने लिए प्राप्त करना चाहा। किन्तु वैशालकों की वह प्रिय गणिका अपने हड़ निश्चय से तिल भर भी विचलित न हुई। अम्बपाली के मन की कालिमा नये विचारों के भावावेश से मिट चुकी थी और, उसकी दृष्टि में सांसारिक वस्तुओं के मूल्य उलट-पलट गये थे।

दूसरे दिन उसने अत्यन्त भक्ति और आदर से मगवान् बुद्ध का अपने मध्य प्रासाद में स्वागत किया और रोम-रोम से अपने आपको उनके चरणों में समर्पित कर दिया। उसके व्यक्तित्व का कोई अंश भी अब उसके अपने लिए सुरक्षित न बच गया था। भौतिक जगत् में अपने आपको पूरी तरह खो कर उसने अपने आध्यात्मिक व्यक्तित्व की महिमा को पूरी मात्रा में पा लिया था। जब वह बुद्ध को भिक्षा करा चुकी, तब उसने अपना सुन्दर उद्यान—अम्बपालिवन—उनके चरणों में यज्ञ की पूर्णाहुति स्वरूप अर्पित कर दिया। उसका वह सर्वस्वदक्षिण यज्ञ आज भी अमर है और अम्बपाली का वह आदर्श बौद्धसाहित्य के चुने हुए जीवन को ऊँचा उठाने वाले दृष्टान्तों में है। किस प्रकार भारतीय प्रजाओं में ऊँच-नीच एवं धर्मिष्ठ-मापी के भेदभाव को भुला कर बुद्ध ने अपना लोकोपकारी तन्त्र सर्वत्र सबके लिए फैलाया, अम्बपाली का दृष्टान्त इसका ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है। वैशाली की उस जनपदकल्याणी नागरिका के लिए आज सब नतमस्तक हैं।





भगवान् महावीर : वैशाली की दिव्य विभूति

बलदेव उपाध्याय, एम० ए०, साहित्याचार्य

वैशाली युगान्तरकारिणी नगरी है। इसकी गणना भारत की ही प्रधान नगरियों में नहीं की जा सकती, प्रत्युत् संसार की कतिपय नगरियों में यह प्रमुख है—उन नगरियों में, जहाँ से धर्म की दिव्य ज्योति ने दम्भ तथा कपट के घने काले अन्धकार को दूर कर विश्व के प्राणियों के सामने मंगलमय प्रभात का उदय प्रस्तुत किया; जहाँ से परस्पर विवाद करने वाले, कणमात्र के लिए अपने बन्धुजनों के प्रिय प्राण हरण करने वाले क्रूर मानवों के सामने पवित्र भ्रातृभाव की शिक्षा दी गई; जहाँ से 'अहिंसा परमो धर्मः' का मन्त्र संसार के कल्याण के लिए सञ्चारित किया गया। पाश्चात्य इतिहास उन नगरों की गौरव-गाथा गाने में तनिक भी श्रान्त नहीं होता, जिनमें प्राणियों के रक्त की धारा पानी के समान बही और जिसे वह भाग्य फेरने वाले युद्धों का रंगस्थल बतलाता है। परन्तु भारत के इस पवित्र देश में वे नगर हमारे हृदय-पट पर अपना प्रभाव जमाये हुए हैं जिन्हें किसी धार्मिक नेता ने अपने जन्म से पवित्र बनाया तथा अपने उपदेशों का लीला नगर प्रस्तुत किया। वैशाली ऐसी नगरियों में अन्यतम है। इसे ही जैनधर्म के संशोधक तथा प्रचारक महावीर वर्धमान की जन्मभूमि होने का विशेष गौरव प्राप्त है। बौद्धधर्मानुयायियों के हृदय में कपिलवस्तु तथा स्मिन्देश के नाम सुनकर जो श्रद्धा और आदर का भाव जन्मता है, जैनमतावलम्बियों के हृदय में ठोक बही भाव वैशाली तथा कुण्डग्राम के नाम सुनने से उत्पन्न होता है।

वैशाली के इतिहास में बड़े-बड़े परिवर्तन हुए। उसने बड़ी राजनीतिक उथल-पुथल देखी। कभी वहाँ की राजसभा में मन्त्रियों की परिषद् जुटती थी; तो कभी वहाँ के संस्थागार में प्रजावर्ग के प्रतिनिधि राज्यकार्य के संचालन के लिए जुटते थे। कभी वंशानुगत राजा प्रजाओं पर शासन करता था, तो कभी बहुमत से चुना गया 'राजा' नामधारी अध्यक्ष अपने ही भाइयों पर उन्हीं की राय से उन्हीं के मंगल-साधन में सचिन्त रहता था। तात्पर्य यह है

कि प्राचीन युग में वैशाली में राजतन्त्र की प्रधानता थी। वाल्मीकि रामायण में वर्णित है कि जब राम-लक्ष्मण के साथ विश्वामित्र ने यहाँ पदार्पण किया था, तब यहाँ के राजा सुमति ने उनका विशेष सत्कार किया था^१। जैनसूत्रों तथा बौद्धपिटकों में वैशाली प्रजातन्त्र की क्रीड़ा-स्थली के रूप में अंकित की गई है। मगवान् बुद्ध ने अपने अनेक चातुर्मास्य यहीं बिताये थे। इसमें चार प्रधान चैत्य थे—पूर्व में उदेन, दक्षिण में गोतमक, पश्चिम में सप्ताग्रक और उत्तर में बहुपुत्रक^२। अम्बपाली नामक गणिका जो धार्मिक श्रद्धा तथा वैराग्य के कारण बौद्धधर्म में विशेष प्रसिद्ध है—ठीक उसी प्रकार, जिस प्रकार वैष्णवधर्म में पिगला—यहीं रहती थी। उसी का आश्रयन बुद्ध के उपदेश देने का प्रधान स्थान था। बुद्ध के समय लिच्छवि लोगों को यहाँ प्रजातन्त्र के रूप में हम शासन करते पाते हैं। इससे बहुत पहले हम यहाँ महावीर वर्धमान को जन्मते, शिक्षा ग्रहण करते तथा प्रव्रज्या लेते पाते हैं। वर्धमान के समय में भी यहाँ गणतन्त्र राज्य ही था। वैशाली के इतिहास में कोई महान् परिवर्तन अवश्य हुआ होगा जिससे वह विशाला तथा मिथिला दोनों राज्यों की राजधानी बन गई तथा उसका शासन राजतन्त्र से गणतन्त्र हो गया। इस परिवर्तन के कारणों की छानबीन करना इतिहास-प्रेमियों का कर्तव्य है।

वैशाली में अनेक विभूतियाँ उत्पन्न हुईं। परन्तु उनमें सबसे सुन्दर विभूति है—मगवान् महावीर जिसकी प्रभा आज भी भारत को चमत्कृत कर रही है। लौकिक विभूतियाँ भूतलशायिनी बन गईं, परन्तु यह दिव्य विभूति आज भी अमर है और आनेवाली अनेक शताब्दियों में अपनी शोभा का इसी प्रकार विस्तार करती रहेगी। बौद्धधर्म से जैनधर्म बहुत पुराना है। इसका संस्थापन महाराज ऋषभदेव ने किया था, जैनियों की यही मान्यता है। तेईसवें तीर्थंकर पार्श्वनाथ वस्तुतः ऐतिहासिक पुरुष हैं। वे महावीर से लगभग दो सौ वर्ष पहले हुए थे। वे काशी के रहने वाले थे। महावीर ने उनके धर्म में संशोधन कर उसे नवीन रूप प्रदान किया। भारत का प्रत्येक प्रान्त जैनधर्म की विभूतियों से मण्डित है। ऐतिहासिक लोग पार्श्वनाथ को जैनधर्म का संस्थापक मानते हैं और वर्धमान महावीर को संशोधक। महावीर गौतमबुद्ध के समसामयिक थे; परन्तु बुद्ध के निर्वाण से पहले ही उनका अवसान हो गया था। इस प्रकार वैदिक धर्म से पृथक्धर्मों के संस्थापकों में महावीर वर्धमान ही प्रथम माने जा सकते हैं और इनकी जन्मभूमि होने से वैशाली की पर्याप्त प्रतिष्ठा है।

वैशाली का भौगोलिक वर्णन

वैशाली तथा उसके आसपास के प्रदेशों का प्रामाणिक वर्णन जैनसूत्रों में विशेष रूप से दिया हुआ है। इनकी विशद सूचना बौद्धग्रन्थों में भी उपलब्ध नहीं होती। इन प्रदेशों का संक्षिप्त वर्णन नीचे दिया जाता है—

१. तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः सम्प्रत्येव पुरीमिमाम् ।

आवसत्थमरप्रत्यः सुमतिर्नाम बुज्जयः ॥ १६

सुमतिस्तु महातेजा विश्वामित्रमुपागतम् ।

भुत्वा नरवरश्रेष्ठः प्रत्यगच्छन्महावशाः ॥ १९—बालकाण्ड ४७ सर्ग ।

२. ब्रह्म्य बीधमिकाय—महापारनिब्बान-सुत्त(नं० १३)

वैशाली के पश्चिम गण्डकी नदी बहती थी। यह नगरी बड़ी समृद्धिशालिनी थी। इसका भौगोलिक विस्तार भी न्यून न था। गण्डकी के पश्चिमी तट पर अनेक ग्राम थे जो वैशाली के 'शास्त्रानगर' कहे जाते हैं। निम्नलिखित ग्रामों का परिचय मिलता है—

(१) कुण्डग्राम—इस नाम के दो ग्राम थे। एक का नाम 'ब्राह्मणकुण्डग्राम या कुण्डपुर' था जिसमें ब्राह्मणों की ही विशेष रूप से बस्ती थी। दूसरे का नाम 'क्षत्रियकुण्डग्राम' था जिसमें क्षत्रियों का ही प्रधानतया निवास था। इनमें दोनों क्रमशः एक दूसरे के पूर्व-पश्चिम में थे। ये दोनों पास ही पास। दोनों के बीच में एक बड़ा बगीचा था जो 'बहुसाल चैत्य' के नाम से विख्यात था। दोनों नगरों के दो-दो खण्ड थे। 'ब्राह्मणकुण्डपुर' का दक्षिण भाग 'बहुपुरी' कहलाता था, क्योंकि यहाँ ब्राह्मणों का ही निवास था। दक्षिण 'ब्राह्मणकुण्डपुर' के नायक ऋषभदत्त नामक ब्राह्मण थे, जिनकी भार्या का नाम 'देवानन्दा' था। ये दोनों पार्श्व-नाथ के द्वारा स्थापित जैनधर्म के मानने वाले गृहस्थ थे। 'क्षत्रिय-कुण्डग्राम' के भी दो विभाग थे। इसमें करीब पाँच सौ घर 'जाति' नामक क्षत्रियों के थे, जो उत्तरी भाग में जाकर बसे हुए थे। उत्तर क्षत्रियकुण्डपुर के नायक का नाम सिद्धार्थ था। ये काश्यपगोत्रीय जातिक्षत्रिय थे तथा 'राजा' की उपाधि से भण्डित थे। वैशाली के उत्कालीन राजा का नाम था चेटक, जिनकी बहन त्रिशला का विवाह सिद्धार्थ से हुआ था। इन्हीं त्रिशला और सिद्धार्थ के कनिष्ठ-पुत्र 'वर्धमान' थे, जिनका जन्म इसी ग्राम में हुआ था।

(२) कर्मराम—प्राकृत 'कम्मर' कर्मकार का अपभ्रंश है। अतः कर्मर का अर्थ है मजदूरों का गाँव अर्थात् लोहारों का गाँव। यह गाँव भी कुण्डग्राम के पास ही था। महावीर प्रव्रज्या लेकर पहली रात को यहीं ठहरे हुए थे।

(३) कोस्लाक संनिवेश—यह स्थान पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट ग्राम के समीप ही था। कर्मराम में विहार कर महावीर ने यही पारणा की थी। उपासकदशामुख के प्रथमाध्ययन में इस स्थान की स्थिति का स्पष्ट उल्लेख मिलता है। यह नगर वाणिज्यग्राम (जिसका वर्णन नीचे है) के तथा उस बगीचे के बीच में पड़ता था।

(४) वाणिज्यग्राम—यह जैनसूत्रों का 'वाणिज्यग्राम'—बनियों का गाँव है। गण्डकी नदी के दाहिने किनारे पर यह बड़ी भारी व्यापारी मण्डी थी। ऐसा जान पड़ता है यहाँ बड़े-बड़े धनाढ्य महाजनों की बस्ती थी। यहाँ के एक करोड़पति का नाम आनन्द गाथापति था जो महावीर के बड़े भक्त सेवक थे। आजकल की वैशाली (मुजफ्फरपुर जिले की बसाइपट्टी) के पास बनिया ग्राम है। बहुत सम्भव है कि यह गाँव 'वाणिज्यग्राम' का ही प्रतिनिधि हो।

बौद्धग्रन्थों के विशेषतः दीघनिकाय के अनुशीलन से पता चलता है कि बुद्ध के समय में वैशाली बड़ी समृद्धिशालिनी नगरी थी। उसमें ७ हजार ७ सौ ७७ महुलों के होने का उल्लेख स्पष्टतः उसे विशाल तथा समृद्ध नगर बतला रहा है। नगर के भीतर अम्बपाली नामक बड़ी ही धनाढ्य और गुणवती मणिका रहती थी। ६ या ७ बड़े-बड़े चैत्यों के नाम मिलते हैं

जहाँ भगवान् बुद्ध ने अपना चातुर्मास्य बिताया। इसके पास ही 'वेणुग्राम' का उल्लेख मिलता है जहाँ बुद्ध ने वर्षा में निवास किया था। इस वर्णन से स्पष्ट है कि वैशाली बड़ी नगरी थी जिसके उपनगर अनेक थे तथा उस समय खूब प्रसिद्ध थे।

वैशाली : महावीर की जन्मभूमि

वैशाली को हमने महावीर वर्धमान की जन्मभूमि बतलाया है, परन्तु आजकल सर्व-साधारण जैनियों की मान्यता है कि बिहार में कपूल स्टेशन से पश्चिम आठ कोस पर स्थित लच्छु-माड़ गाँव ही महावीर की जन्मभूमि है, परन्तु सूत्रों की आलोचना से यह मान्यता निर्मूल ठहरती है। इस विषय में पं० कल्याणविजयजी गणी ने अपने प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ 'अमण भगवान् महावीर' में जो विचार प्रकट किये हैं, वे मेरी दृष्टि में नितान्त युक्तियुक्त हैं—

(१) पहली बात ध्यान देने योग्य यह है कि सूत्रों में महावीर विदेह के निवासी माने गये हैं। कल्पसूत्र ने महावीर को 'विदेहे विदेहदिने विदेहजन्मे विदेहसूमाले' अर्थात् विदेह विदेहदत्त विदेहजात्य विदेहसुकुमार) लिखा है। वे 'वैशालिक' भी कहे गये हैं। अतः इन्हें विदेह की राजधानी वैशाली का निवासी मानना अनुचित नहीं है।

(२) 'क्षत्रियकुण्डग्राम' के राजपुत्र जमालि ने ५०० राजपुत्रों के साथ जैनधर्म ग्रहण किया था। इससे यह कोई बड़ा समृद्ध नगर प्रतीत होता है। महावीर का प्रायः नियम सा था कि जहाँ कोई धनाढ्य भक्त हो वहाँ वर्षावास करना। अतः इस 'क्षत्रियकुण्डग्राम' की प्रसिद्धि तथा समृद्धि के अनुकूल महावीर का वर्षावास करना नितान्त स्वाभाविक है, परन्तु यहाँ वर्षावास का बिलकुल उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। इसका कारण क्या? उचित तो यह मालूम पड़ता है कि यह नगर वैशाली के पास था। अतः वैशाली में वर्षावास करते समय उन्होंने जो उपदेश दिया था उससे कुण्डग्राम के निवासियों ने लाभ उठाया। अतः यहाँ पृथक् रूप से वर्षावास करने का उल्लेख सूत्र-ग्रन्थों में नहीं मिलता।

(३) प्रव्रज्या के अनन्तर महावीर ने जिन स्थानों पर निवास किया, उन स्थानों की भौगोलिक स्थिति पर विचार करने से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि वे सब स्थान वैशाली के आसपास थे। दीक्षा लेने के दूसरे दिन महावीर ने कोल्लाक संनिवेश में पारणा की थी। जैनसूत्रों के आधार पर कोल्लाक संनिवेश दो हैं और वे भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों पर हैं—एक तो वाणिज्यग्राम के पास और दूसरा राजगृह के पास। अब यदि वर्तमान जन्मस्थान को ही ठीक माना जाय, तो वहाँ से कोल्लाक संनिवेश बहुत ही दूर पड़ता है जहाँ एक ही दिन में पहुँच कर निवास करने की घटना युक्तियुक्त सिद्ध नहीं हो सकती। राजगृह वाला स्थान जालीस मील पश्चिम की ओर पड़ेगा और दूसरा स्थान इससे भी अधिक दूर। अतः महावीर को वैशाली का निवासी मानना ठीक है; क्योंकि यहाँ से कोल्लाक संनिवेश बहुत ही समीप है।

१. अमण भगवान् महावीर—शास्त्रसंग्रह-समिति, जालौर, के द्वारा प्रकाशित, सं० १९९८, भूमिका (भारंवाड़) पृष्ठ २५-२८।

(४) पं० कल्याणविजयजी ने जैनसूत्रों के आधार पर महावीर के चातुर्मास्य के बिताने के स्थानों का बड़ा ही सांगोपांग वर्णन किया है। महावीर ने प्रथम चातुर्मास्य अस्थिक ग्राम में बिताया और दूसरा राजगृह में। राजगृह जाते थे 'श्वेताम्बिका' नगरी से होकर गये और तदनन्तर गंगा को पार कर राजगृह में पहुँचे। बौद्धग्रन्थों से पता चलता है कि श्वेताम्बिका श्रावस्ती से कपिलवस्तु की तरफ जाते समय रास्ते में पड़ती थी। यह प्रदेश कोशल के पूर्वोत्तर में और विदेह के पश्चिम में पड़ता था और वहाँ से राजगृह की तरफ जाते समय बीच में गंगा पार करनी पड़ती थी, यह इन स्थानों की भौगोलिक स्थिति के निरीक्षण से प्रतीत होता है। आधुनिक क्षत्रियकुण्डपुर जहाँ बतलाया जाता है, वहाँ से ये दोनों बातें ठीक नहीं उतरती। वहाँ से श्वेताम्बिका नगरी न तो रास्ते में पड़ती है और न राजगृह जाते समय रास्ते में गंगा को पार करने का अवसर आवेगा।

इन सब प्रमाणों पर ध्यान देने से प्रतीत होता है कि वैशाली ही वर्धमान महावीर की जन्मभूमि थी, इसमें किसी प्रकार का सन्देह नहीं हो सकता। महावीर की मृत्यु 'पावापुर' में मानी जाती है। बौद्धग्रन्थों के अनुशीलन से जान पड़ता है कि वह स्थान जिला गोरखपुर के पडरौना के पास 'पप-उर' ही है। संगीति परियायसुत (दीघनिकाय ३३वाँ सुत) के अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि यहाँ मल्ल नामक गणतन्त्र की राजधानी थी जिसके नये संस्थागार (संठागार) में बुद्ध ने निवास किया। यह भी पता चलता है कि बुद्ध के आने से पहले ही 'निगंठ नातपुत्त' का देहावसान हो चुका था और उनके भक्तों तथा अनुयायियों में मतभेद भी होने लगा था। बौद्धग्रन्थों में महावीर 'निगंठ नातपुत्त' के नाम से विख्यात है। 'नातपुत्त' तो जातिपुत्र है। जाति नामक क्षत्रियवंश में उत्पन्न होने से यह नाम पड़ा। 'निगंठ' निर्ग्रन्थ है जो संसार की ग्रन्थियों से मुक्त होने के कारण केवल ज्ञान-सम्पन्न वर्धमान की उस समय की उपाधि प्रतीत होता है।

जैनधर्म की विपुल उन्नति के कारण ये ही वर्धमान महावीर हैं, जिनका जन्म क्षत्रिय-कुण्डग्राम में ५९९ ई० पू० तथा तिरोधान ५२७ ई० पू० पावापुर में हुआ। इनकी जीवन-घटनाएँ नितान्त प्रसिद्ध हैं। पार्श्वनाथ के द्वारा जिस जैनधर्म की व्यवस्था पहले की गई थी उसमें इन्होंने संशोधन कर उसे समयानुकूल बनाया। पार्श्वनाथ ने चार महाव्रतों—अहिंसा, सत्य, अस्तेय तथा अपरिग्रह—के विधान पर जोर दिया है, पर महावीर ने 'ब्रह्मचर्य' को भी उतना ही आवश्यक तथा उपादेय बतला कर उसकी भी गणना महाव्रतों में की है। पार्श्वनाथ वस्त्रधारण करने के पक्षपाती थे, पर महावीर ने नितान्त वैराग्य की साधना के लिए यतियों के वास्ते वस्त्रपरिधान का बहिष्कार कर नग्नत्व को ही आदर्श आचार बतलाया है। आजकल के श्वेताम्बर तथा दिगम्बर सम्प्रदायों का विभेद इस प्रकार बहुत प्राचीन काल से चला आता है।

महावीर ने व्यक्ति के लिए जो सन्देश प्रस्तुत किया है वह सदा मनुष्यों के हृदय में आशा तथा उत्साह का संचार करता रहेगा। प्राणी अपना प्रभु स्वयं है। उसे अपने कर्मों के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी भी व्यक्ति पर आश्रय लेने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। जीव स्वावलम्बी

है। जीव स्वसन्न है। वह अनन्त चतुष्टय से सम्पन्न रहता है। उसमें अनन्त सामर्थ्य भरी हुई है। वह इस सामर्थ्य को नहीं जानता, इसीलिए वह संसार में नाना क्लेशों को भोग रहा है; परन्तु अपने सच्चे स्वरूप का ज्ञान होते ही वह क्लेशमय बन्धनों से मुक्ति पा करके बड़ी होकर विश्राने लगता है। जगत् के कोने-कोने में जीवों की सत्ता मानना, उन्हें किसी प्रकार भी हिंसा न पहुँचाना, मानव की अनन्त सामर्थ्य की पहचान करना—आदि सुन्दर शिक्षाएँ हमें वैष्णवी के इस महापुरुष ने दी है। इस दिव्य विभूति की यह बाणी सदा स्मरण रखने योग्य है कि जब तक व्याधियाँ नहीं बढ़तीं, जब तक इन्द्रियाँ अशक्त नहीं होतीं, तब तक धर्म का आचरण कर लेना चाहिए, बाद में कुछ होने का नहीं—

जरा जाव न पीडेइ, बाही जाव न बड्डइ ।

आविदिया न हायन्ति, ताव धम्मं समायेरे ॥





THE GLORIES OF BIHAR

J. W. HOULTON, I. C. S.

In Bihar we have especial opportunities for the study of history and archaeology at first hand, for Magadha is prominent in the ancient history of India, and particularly in that period which to my mind is the most fascinating of all, the Mauryan epoch. From the description of those who visited the capital of Aśoka's empire, from other writings, and from the excavations financed by Sir Ratan Tata, we know more about that period than about the centuries which followed. We can conjure up in imagination the glories of Pāṭaliputra, with its royal palace and pillared halls, wide streets, and shops and restaurants, its lofty wooden ramparts, and its jetties on the Ganges and the Sone. For we may assume that when Pāṭaliputra was selected as the successor to Rajgir, it was especially favoured by its location at the point where at the time the Sone flowed into the Ganges. It was a period when the arts, especially architecture, sculpture and terra-cotta work, reached great heights. The Didarganj statue and a few other remains are enough to show how high was the artistic attainment of that period. We can only hope that future excavations in our province will reveal more such masterpieces and will teach us more of the manners and customs of the time. To recall the wealth of Bihar in historical associations, we have only to mention a few of the famous places in our province: Rajgir, Nālandā University, Bodha Gaya, a hundred other sites which are associated with Gautama Buddha; places which recall the founder of the Jain religion; still older cities, like Campānagar near Bhagalpur, and other sites famed in Hindu mythology.

In Nepal I wandered about the ancient city of Pāṭana, which was perhaps visited by Gautama Buddha himself, and saw the *stūpas* erected by Aśoka at the four corners of that city and in the centre. I saw the village where Aśoka's daughter lived, and I thought of the far-flung Mauryan Empire which stretched from the northern mountains of Nepal down to Southern India, and within whose confines the traveller could move unmolested along tree-lined roads, with rest houses every few miles, and when the whole country was at peace. That golden age did not last long. But some of the cities were still prosperous, and the great buildings were still standing, when Fa Hien travelled through the country 600 years after Aśoka's death. In Pāṭaliputra he saw the lofty halls with their elaborate carving and inlaid sculpture-work, which made such a profound impression on the pious traveller. He could not believe that these marvels had been erected by human hands. At Vaiśālī he saw the double-galleried *Vihāra* where Buddha dwelt, and the *Vihāra* which the woman Ambapālī built in his honour.

Other writers for this volume will perhaps tell us of the glories of the city of Vaiśālī and the fame of the Licchavis. Such accounts will be read with great interest by many readers. I congratulate all those who are concerned in the publication of this volume dealing with that chapter of the storied past in which Vaiśālī and its people flourished.





SOME ASPECTS OF THE VAIŚĀLĪ ANTIQUITIES AT THE PATNA MUSEUM

S. A. SHERE, M. A. (LOND.), CURATOR, PATNA MUSEUM

It is interesting to find that Bimbisāra, the fifth king of the Śiśunāga dynasty (who greatly extended the kingdom of Magadha), strengthened his position by taking a consort from the influential Licchavi clan of Vaiśālī (Bāsāḍha, Muzaffarpur). Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty also married a Licchavi lady. His queen who is mentioned as Mahādevī Kumāradevī, daughter of a Licchavi, has the first place in the genealogical lists. Gold coins of this king depict the actual ceremony of marriage, wherein the wedding ring is being offered. His son Samudragupta by the Licchavi lady in his Allahabad inscription introduces himself as "Licchavidauhitra", the son of the daughter of the Licchavi and he is always described as such by his successors in their inscriptions. The importance of status of the Licchavi lady may be seen from her title Mahādevī which looks like corresponding to Mahārājādhirāja. The wives of Mahārājas had the title Devī, while queens of paramount sovereigns i. e., Mahārājādhirājas were known to have the title Mahādevī. The marriage of Candragupta I with the Licchavi lady is further known by many of the coins of his son which were issued in the joint names of Candragupta, Kumāradevī and the Licchavis probably with a view to place on record the marriage of Candragupta and Kumāradevī and alliance with the powerful Licchavis. Such specimens of coins have on their obverse, "Candragupta standing to left wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left and a crescent-topped standard bound with fillet, and with right hand offering an object, which on some coins is clearly a ring to Kumāradevī who stands on left to right wearing loose-robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and light fitting head-dress both nimbate," and on the reverse we have "goddess Lakṣmī, nimbate, wearing long loose robe, seated facing on

lion couchant to right or left holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopia in left arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on left are traces of the back of a throne on most specimens. The commemoration of the event appears to have had great significance and it is more than probable that Candragupta I must have derived much benefit from it. It may be a matter of conjecture if the Gupta Emperor had political considerations in issuing a gold coinage in names of himself and Licchavis jointly bearing the image of his Licchavi consort.

Excavations were carried out at the site of the Licchavi capital Vaiśālī (Basādh) by Dr. Bloch in the year 1903 and the work was continued by Dr. Spooner in 1912 who like Dr. Bloch brought to light a large number of terracotta figurines, pieces of pottery and inscribed seals, among which one clay seal is ascribed to the Mauryan Period.

The number of vessels and potsherds unearthed at Vaiśālī is very large. They are mostly of the same type as recovered from Pāṭaliputra and modern Patna. Overlaps of pottery types from one stratum to another enable us to suggest a continuous occupation of the place of excavation for many centuries.

This theory holds good in the case of Vaiśālī as well where overlapping of pottery types is a common feature. There each stratum produced varieties of potsherds and vessels besides other minor antiquities. The vessels found at Vaiśālī are mostly red wares with red slip. Fragments having leaf design showing admixture of mica flakes and decorated with "rain drop" pattern are interesting specimens of this collection. The use of mica in earthen wares to impart lustrous surface may be common in those days as articles found in Pāṭaliputra and Patna also show the same characteristic. Some of the fragments have been found to be ornamented and decorated in high relief. There are specimens which are decorated with incised lines and geometrical design. There are also some yellow, green, brown, grey and black polished potsherds such as the beautiful fragment of glazed dish the upper surface of which shows pattern of radiating rays with border. Its colour is yellow ground with green and brown lines having plain light yellow colour for the outer surface. There are fragments which have blue, black glaze. Some of the grave wares have black slip and are highly polished. There are dishes which have a painted base and rim. Some of the types of pottery found in different strata may be briefly mentioned as follows :—

1. Among the wares jar is very common. It has a light body with thin walls and no well designed neck.
2. Bottle necked jar in small sizes.

3. The commonest particular type of bowl is of small dimension with a flat base and inturned rim.
4. Cooking pans with small lug-ears on their rims.
5. Lamp with lip and high central projection.
6. Perforated lid with figure of peacock.
7. Dish having round bottom and broad flat edge and with circular projection in centre.
8. The commonest type of cup has flat base, gradually increasing upwards in various dimensions to an inturned rim.
9. Sorahi (vessel for water).

It is interesting to record that Dr. Bloch found over 700 clay sealings and something like 1100 seal impressions of approximately 120 varieties which were mostly of unbaked clay and went back to the Imperial Gupta Kings (4th and 5th centuries A. D.). The scripts on the seals are of the Gupta type, but the emblems on them have no Buddhist symbols. The most numerous of the seals refer to officials, guilds, corporations, temples, and private individuals. The seals exhibited at the Patna Museum will show from the grooves on their back that they were perhaps meant to be attached to letters or documents.

A few of the interesting seals may be described thus :—

1. The device is a fantail peacock, facing which is the emblem characteristic of the Mauryan dynasty and of the eastern mintage of Gupta coinage. The legend reads *Vyāghravāṣya*, i.e., (the seal) of Vyāghravalā, who is shown to have been a banker on the authority of a seal from this collection.
2. The device is a small lion, seated on a flat pedestal, facing.
3. The device is a small conventional *Śaṅkha*, high in the field.
4. The device is very small modelled bull, standing to right.
5. The device is an unusually clear and perfect representation of a *stūpa*, hemispherical in form, resting on a platform, surrounded by a three-barrel railing, with box-like receptacle or railing on the top.
6. The device is the representation of a lion standing, to right, over the prostrate form of some other animal, presumably a deer whose head bent back so as to be looking downwards. The forelegs of the lion are upon this figure, and his tail is swishing proudly in the air.

7. The device is a central figure of Lakṣmī standing on a low pedestal, facing, with the two customary elephants above, pouring water over her from jars held in their trunks.

8. The device is a bull, facing and standing in the centre. There is a legend in a continuous circle around the edge: Professor Rapson and Professor Venis translate the legend thus :—(The seal) of the Great Queen Prabhudamā, sister of the king of the Mahākṣātrapa Svāmī-Rudrasena, and daughter of the king of Mahākṣātrapa Svāmī-Rudrasimha.

9. The device is a tall standing figure, facing with the upper part of the body bent considerably to the left. The left hand is resting on the hip; the right is extended towards the right as in the Varadamudrā. The figure is seemingly nude, but there are draperies floating to left and right. The most curious feature of all is head-dress which she wears, like a single high horn with streamer floating to the left.

10. The device is a tall, well built male figure, nude, standing to left with graceful draperies floating to either side. The left arm is resting on the hip; the right arm is extended towards the left.

11. The device is a very bold, heraldic lion, sejant, to left tail held high above the back. The animal rests on a square pedestal and bears a considerable resemblance to the big lion on the top of the Mauryan Column at Kolhua in the vicinity of Vaiśālī (Bāsāḍha).

Among the minor antiquities recovered from Vaiśālī are beads, bangles, terracotta cylinders, potters, dabbers, spindlewhorls, discs or moulds for stamping ornamental medallions, combs, iron axe-head, etc. The collection of beads is remarkable in its own way. Some of the very interesting pieces are as follows :—

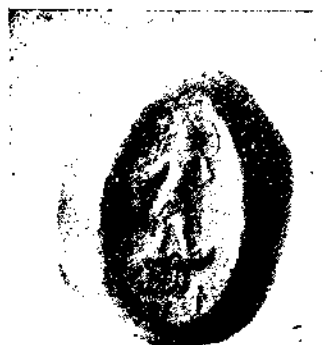
1. Bead of crystal, barrel shaped.
2. Opaque grey and highly polished also banded red with white spots and of bluish grey colour.
3. Opaque, pinkish white.
4. Agate, grey, barrel shaped.
5. Agate, white, brown and amber colour.
6. Translucent blue cube.
7. Translucent red, three sided.
8. Translucent yellowish white.
9. Green glass, barrel shaped.
10. Blue glass.



Seal, oval $2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2''$. Central figure of Gaja Lakshmi standing on a low pedestal; to her proper left conch; to her right uncertain object. Legend *Veśālinamakundē-kumārā (2) mātyādhikaraṇa (sya)* 'of the Crown-Prince's Minister at the Kuṇḍa called *Veśālī*' (?). $6' 6''$ deep.



The clay sealing shows only one impression with a square area measuring $1.3/8''$ to a side. It contains twelve Aksharas and three very archaic symbols. The legend may be read as '*Veśālī-anusaṃyānakatākāre*. Dr. Spooner interpreted it as (seal of) the *Vaiśālī* Police at *Takara* (outpost). The date of the sealing may be assigned to the third century B. C.



From $7' 3''$ deep. Oval $1\frac{1}{4} \times 5/8$. Device tall, draped figure, nimbate standing on pedestal, facing. Legend, *Bindinikah*.

[*Courtesy Curator Patna Museum*]

SOME VAISALI SEALS



Oval area $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$. Device bull standing on base facing, with a small sphere between the horns. Legend not clear.



The obverse only with seal impression $\frac{7}{8}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$ oval device Sankha, legend Sarvādāsaya.



The field is divided into two by a ribbonlike band running horizontally a little below the true centre. Above this are five objects, some of which are difficult to define. From left to right they appear as (1) a tall vase with radiating rays (2) something that looks like a tall tree, (3) the central figure which has the outline of a tree with spreading base, (4) a battle axe to left surmounted by a trident, (5) a kalasa with rays. In the lower field below the dividing band. Legend : Aramikiśvarasya.

11. Yellow with dotted bands round, and spotted with white.
12. Brown cylindrical.
13. Black, banded with white.
14. Reddish brown spotted with white.
15. Cornelian, red.
16. Amethyst barrel shaped.
17. White quartz, etc.

Not only in Pāṭaliputra and modern Patna which are already known to scholars but also in Vaiśālī itself very interesting and varied specimens of terracotta male and female and animal figurines have been found. The Vaiśālī figurines which give supplementary insight into the fashion of the day are remarkable specimens of the Śuṅga and post-Śuṅga periods. Some of them may be described thus :

1. Female figurine. Head ornaments and jewellery affixed. Breast chain pendant to naval, covers high breasts. Wearing heavy earrings. This is more or less similar to a figure unearthed at Bulandibagh.

2. Plaque with standing winged figure with a long and slim body.

3. Fragment of a very thin rectangular plaque from an excellent mould of two slim figures. Body in front view standing on the right foot, shown in profile. Long and transparent loin cloth may be seen around the legs of the figures.

4. Squatting pot-bellied male figurine with knees wide apart and hands on thighs. Sex is exposed.

5. Round plaque with three pairs of wrestlers.

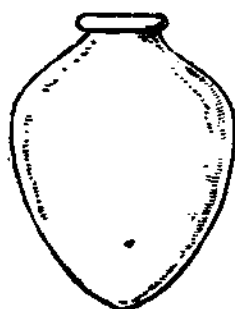
6. Head with a certain amount of Hellenistic modelling. Wide open eyes and lips opened.

7. Bust with nimbate head and flat heavy head dress. The left hand is held against the breast with a lotus flower on the shoulder and the right hand upholds a round object which looks like a fruit.

Quite good many animal figurines and toys for children have also been unearthed. Some of them are as follows :—

1. Head of bull with eyes and ringlets impressed.
2. Horse. Head caprisoned and trappings affixed.

3. Fish having lines on fins.
4. Hind part of a squirrel. A similar specimen has been found in Patna.
5. Elephant.
6. Ram.
7. Bear.
8. Head of monkey.
9. Duck.
10. Tortoise, etc.
11. Ram, tricycle. Muzzle holed.





VAIŚĀLĪ, THE BIRTHPLACE OF LORD MAHĀVĪRA

YOGENDRA MISHRA, M. A., SAHITYARATNA

It is an irony to find that the Jains of modern times do not know correctly where Mahāvīra Vardhamāna, their twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, was born. Some of them regard Kṣatriyakunḍa and Licchuār (or Licchavār) in the Monghyr district (near Lakkhisarai Junction) as Mahāvīra's birthplace; others, especially the Digambaras, regard Kuṇḍalapura, a village two miles from Nālandā, as the place where the great Jaina prophet was born. Evidently both the views are wrong and based on misconception and an incorrect reading of the Jain Scriptures. As a matter of fact, Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī (Bāsāḍha in the Hajipur sub-division of Muzaffarpur district). Kuṇḍagrāma is represented by Basukunḍa these days.

Our arguments for regarding Basukunḍa and Vaiśālī as Mahāvīra's birthplace and discarding Licchuār-Kṣatriyakunḍa or Kuṇḍalapura as such are as follows :—

1. Mahāvīra is also known as Videha, Videhadatta, Videhasukumāla and Vaiśālīka. This indicates that he was born not in Aṅga (near Lakkhisarai Junction in the Monghyr district) or Magadha (near Nālandā), but in Videha and at Vaiśālī. All scholars agree that Vaiśālī, the ancient Licchavi capital, is represented by Bāsāḍha.

2. Videha is north of the Ganges, while the modern Kṣatriyakunḍa is south of the Ganges. Thus the so-called birthplace of Mahāvīra is not situated in Videha.

3. In the ancient Jain books Kṣatriyakunḍa is shown near Vaiśālī. The modern so-called Kṣatriyakunḍa has no Vaiśālī near it.

4. There is a *nālā* near the present Kṣatriyakunḍa; this cannot be the Gaṇḍak. The Gaṇḍak river flows near Vaiśālī even today.

5. In the ancient Jain Scriptures there are no references to mountains when Kṣatriyakunḍa is mentioned. Indeed, Kunḍagrāma, as the name itself indicates, was a village. There are no mountains at or near Basukunḍa or Vaiśālī, whereas the so-called Kṣatriyakunḍa of these days is situated on the mountain. Thus Basukunḍa near Vaiśālī seems to be the real birthplace of Mahāvīra, and not Licchuār or Kṣatriyakunḍa or Kunḍalapura.

6. The people of Vaiśālī and the adjoining areas regard Basukunḍa as the birthplace of Mahāvīra. Thus tradition also supports our view.

Below we propose to quote the views of eminent European and Indian scholars to show that they too regard Vaiśālī as the birthplace of Mahāvīra or that Basāḍha is identified with the ancient capital of the Licchavis to which clan Mahāvīra belonged.

1. In the *Sacred Books of the East*, Volumes 22 (Jaina Sūtras, Part One) and 45 (Jaina Sūtras, Part Two) are devoted to the Jaina sacred books. They have been translated into English by Hermann Jacobi, one of the greatest authorities on Jainism and Jaina Literature. In Vol. 22, pp. x-xiii (Introduction) he has discussed the birthplace and parentage of Lord Mahāvīra. There he says :—

“The Jainas, both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, state that Mahāvīra was the son of King Siddhārtha of Kunḍapura or Kunḍagrāma. Kunḍagrāma is called in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra a Saṁnivesa, a term which the commentator interprets as denoting a halting-place of caravans or processions. By combining occasional hints in the Buddha and Jaina scriptures we can, with sufficient accuracy, point out where the birthplace of Mahāvīra was situated; for in the Mahāvagga of the Buddhists we read that Buddha, while sojourning at Koṭiggāma, was visited by the courtesan Ambapālī and the Licchavis of the neighbouring capital Vesālī. From Koṭiggāma he went to where the Nātikas (lived). There he lodged in the Nātika Brick-hall. From there he went to Vesālī, where he converted the general-in-chief (of the Licchavis), a lay-disciple of the Nirgranthas (or Jaina monks). Now it is highly probable that the Koṭiggāma of the Buddhists is identical with the Kunḍaggāma of the Jainas. Apart from the similarity of the names, the mentioning of the Nātikas, apparently identical with the Jñāṭika Kṣatriyas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged, and of Siha, the Jaina, point to the same direction. Kunḍagrāma, therefore, was probably one of the suburbs of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha. This conjecture is borne out by the name Vesālīe, i. e., Vaiśālīka given to Mahāvīra in the *Sūtra-kṛitāṅga* I, 3. Vaiśālīka apparently means a native

of Vaiśālī; and Mahāvīra could rightly be called that when Kuṇḍagrāma was a suburb of Vaiśālī.

Siddhārtha's wife Trīśalā was sister to Ceṭaka, king of Vaiśālī. She is called Vaidehī or Videhadattā, because she belonged to the reigning line of Videha, [Thus Mahāvīra was connected by blood with the important republican chiefs of the time]. Again, on the death of Mahāvīra the eighteen confederate kings [of Kāśī and Kośala, the Licchavis and Mallakīs,] instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event. We are enabled to understand why the Buddhists took no notice of Ceṭaka, as his influence was not very great, and besides, was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact, that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent."

The same authority, writing about Mahāvīra in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7, p. 466 (s. v. Jainism), says :—

"He was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of the town Vaiśālī (the modern Basāḍha, some 27 miles north of Patna). Kuṇḍaggāma and Vāṇiyaggāma, both suburbs of Vesālī, have been identified by Hoernle with the modern villages, Baniyā and Basukuṇḍa."

2. Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, in whose masterly address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 2nd February, 1898 a convenient summary of the Jaina traditions with references to the original sources will be found, in his Translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bibliotheca Indica Series) has clearly shown (pages 3-6) that modern Basāḍha is the birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra. He says :—

"Vāṇiyagāma, Skr. Vāṇiyagrāma; another name of the well-known city of Vesālī (Skr. Vaiśālī), the capital of the Licchavi country. In the *Kalpa Sūtra*, § 122, it is mentioned separately, but in close conjunction with Vesālī. The fact is, that the city commonly called Vesali occupied a very extended area, which included with its circuit, besides Vesālī proper (now Basāḍh), several other places. Among the latter were Vāṇiyagāma and Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍapura. These still exist as villages under the names of Baniyā and Basukuṇḍa. Hence the joint-city might be called, according to circumstances, by any of the names of its constituent parts..... Under the name of Kuṇḍagāma, the city of Vesālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, who hence is sometimes called Vesālīe or the 'man of Vesālī'..... Mahāvīra's father, Siddhārtha, was the

chief of the Nāya-clan, resident in the Kollāga suburb of the city of Vaiśālī or Kuṇḍagāma."

3. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M. A., Sc. D., in her famous book, *The Heart of Jainism* (pages 21-22), writes :

"Some two thousand years ago in Beśārḥ the same divisions existed as would be found today ; and there in fact, the priestly (Brāhman), the warrior (Kṣatriya), and the commercial (Baniyā) communities lived so separately that their quarters were sometimes spoken of as though they had been distinct villages, as Vaiśālī, Kuṇḍagrāma, and Vāṇijyagrāma. Strangely enough, it was not in their own but in the Kṣatriya ward that the man was born who was to be the great hero of the Baniyā, and who was to found amongst these commercial people a religion which, with all its limitations, yet made one of the most emphatic protests the world has ever known against accounting luxury, wealth, or comfort the main things in life. It seems almost paradoxical also that the warrior caste should produce the great apostle of non-killing. He was afterwards known from his exploits as Mahāvīra—the great hero—but his earliest name he derived from his birthplace, being known simply as Vaiśālīya, 'the man of Vaiśālī' (the main ward of the town)."

The same writer writes on p. 28 of that book :

"It is only through the labours of European scholars like Jacobi, Hoernle and Bühler that Mahāvīra's historical existence has been proved. It seems strange that the Jainas should still be dependent on the labours of scholars of another faith and speech for all they know about their greatest hero !"

4. Dr. Vincent A. Smith, the famous historian, also believes that Vaiśālī was the birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1902 (on pages 282-3, 286-7) he writes :

"According to Jain tradition, Vaiśālī consisted of three distinct portions, Vaiśālī proper, Kuṇḍagāma, and Vāṇiyagāma, besides the Kollāga suburb. Vaiśālī proper has been sufficiently identified as being represented by Bisālgarḥ and an indeterminate portion of the other extensive ruins. The village of Baniyā (with the adjacent Chak Rāmdās) is almost certainly the representative of Vāṇiyagāma. The lands of the village contain "extensive mounds", and some ten years ago two statues of Jain Tīrthāṅkaras, one seated, the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface, and 500 yards west of the village. Vāṇiyagāma was the residence of Mahāvīra, the great prophet of the Jains, and this discovery of Jain images strongly confirms the identification suggested by the name. Kollāga is probably now represented by the village situated close to

the Monkey Tank called Kolluā or Kolhuā, on the eastern side of which a large mound exists. Kuṇḍagāma, the Brahman section of Vaiśālī, may be represented by the hamlet called Basukuṇḍa."

The same authority, writing in 1921 in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12, pp. 567-68 (s. v. Vaisali), says :

"The ancient city of Vaiśālī was equally sacred to the Jains and the Buddhists long ago. It is now represented unquestionably by the village named Basāṛh situated in the Hajipur sub-division of the Muzaffarpur district. The identity of Vaiśālī with the group of remains associated with the village of Basāṛh is conclusively proved

(i) by the survival of the ancient name with only slight modifications ;

(ii) by geographical bearings taken from Patna and other place ;

(iii) by topographical details as compared with the description recorded by Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim in the 7th cent. ; and

(iv) by the finding on the spot of sealings of letters inscribed with the name Vesālī.

Few places in India have stronger claims upon the veneration of both Jains and Buddhists. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, commonly spoken of as the founder of the Jain Church, belonged to a noble family of Vaiśālī, where he was born and spent all his earlier life. After he had entered upon the ascetic career, he is said to have resided in his native town or the immediate neighbourhood for twelve rainy seasons. The Jain scriptures often mention Vaiśālī. The archaeologists have not sought for Jain remains on the site, and nothing in their reports would lead the reader to suppose that the Basāṛh area was the birthplace of Jainism, as it is known to the moderns."

5. Dr. Jarl Charpentier, Ph. D., University of Upsala, writes in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 157 :

"Just outside Vaiśālī lay the suburb Kuṇḍagrāma—probably surviving in the modern village of Basukuṇḍa—and here lived a wealthy nobleman Siddhārtha, head of a certain warrior-clan called the Jñatrikas. This Siddhartha was the father of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra."

6. A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (*Life of Buddha*, p. 62) mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts :—"There were three districts in Vesālī. In the first district were 7000 houses with golden towers, in the middle district were 14000 houses with silver towers,

and in the last district were 21000 houses with copper towers ; in these lived the upper, the middle, and the lower classes, according to their positions." These may very well have been Vesālī proper, Kuṇḍapura and Vāṇiyagāma, occupying respectively the south-eastern, north-eastern and western portions of the area of the total city. [Dr. Hoernle's Translation of Uvāsagadasāo, pp. 4, 6.]

7. Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vols. I and XVI and in his Ancient Geography of India has identified Vaiśālī with Basāḍha in the Muzaffarpur district.

In his Archaeological Survey of India Reports Vol. XVI he throws some light on the Kūṭāgāra hall which may have something to do with Kuṇḍagāma, the birthplace of Mahāvīra. From the Dīvyā Avadāna it is known that on the bank of the Markaṭahrada stood the Kūṭāgāra hall, where Buddha addressed his disciples after having announced to Ānanda his approaching Nirvāṇa. A little north-west to the city of Vaiśālī Cunningham found the tank which now-a-days is called Rāma-Kuṇḍa. The Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang has also described the tank and the nearby monuments. Cunningham noticed several eminences to the west and south of the tank which looked like heaps of rubbish from which bricks had been removed. Here was found a thick wall running from east to west, made of well-burnt bricks $15\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches. Judging from its thickness Cunningham thinks that the wall must have formed part of some large building, and most probably of the Kūṭāgāra hall—which is known to be situated on the bank of the Monkey Tank. If Kūṭāgāra hall has got to do anything with Kuṇḍagāma, it confirms the existence of Kuṇḍagāma as a suburb of Vaiśālī.

8. Dr. T. Bloch, in Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1903-04 (pp. 81-122) gives an account of 'Excavations at Basāḍh.' There on p. 82 he says :

"Mahāvīra, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, is called *Vesālīe*, "a native of Vaiśālī" in the Jaina Scriptures and it is also related there that his birthplace, Kuṇḍagāma, lay in Videha. Videha and Tīrabhukti, however, are used almost synonymously by ancient authors. An identification of Vaiśālī with a place outside the borders of Tirhut, therefore, appears *prima facie* very unlikely, the more so when there is an ancient site in Tirhut [i.e., Basāḍh] which fulfils all the necessary requirements."

9. Dr. D. B. Spooner, in Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1913-14 (pp. 98-185) thinks that for the identification of Vaiśālī with Basāḍh there is not inconsiderable body of evidence to support this (p. 98).

10. F. E. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* gives an account of the dynastic history of pre-historic Vaiśālī which later turned to be the glorious capital of the ancient Licchavi republic.

11. Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I. C. S., in *Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer*, has accepted Basāṛh as the site of Vaiśālī, the ancient Licchavi capital.

12. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (New Edn., Oxford, 1908) also has accepted the identification of Vaiśālī with modern Basāṛh (Vol. 7 p. 94 and Vol. 24 pp. 294-95).

13. The writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, Vol. 12, p. 868 (London, 1929) says :—

“Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, their (i. e., the Jains’) last leader, is identifiable on strong grounds with Nigaṇṭha Nāta-putta (Nirgrantha of the Jñatrika clan) of the Buddhist *Piṭakas* and Buddha’s contemporary. Mahāvīra is said to have been a Kṣatriya (like all the rest of the 24 Jins) of Vaiśālī, 27m. north of Patna.”

14. The writers in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (e. g., Jacobi and V. A. Smith, both already quoted in this article) also hold that Mahāvīra belonged to Vaiśālī.

Let us now consider the views of some important Indian scholars.

15. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I says that Vardhamāna was born at Vaiśālī about 599 B. C. and that the Nātaputta of Pali Buddhist literature is Vardhamāna.

16. Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, in his *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 173 (Cambridge, 1922) says :—

“Mahāvīra, the last prophet of the Jains, was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Vaiśālī (modern Basāṛh), 27 miles north of Patna. He was the second son of Siddhārtha and Trisālā.”

17. Dr. B. C. Law also holds that Mahāvīra belonged to Vaiśālī (See his *Tribes in Ancient India*, *Vaiśālī and Mahāvīra in Jaina Antiquary*, and numerous other articles).

18. Śrī Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his *Darśana-Digdarśana*, p. 492 (Allahabad, 1944) says that Vardhamāna Jñātiputra (=Nātaputta), the founder of Jainism, was one of the teachers who flourished in the time of Buddha. He was born in the Jñātṛ clan, a branch of the Licchavis,

at Vaiśālī (modern Basāḍha, 27 miles north of Patna), the capital of the ancient Vajji republic (Muzaffarpur District in Bihar). Further he says that Vardhamāna's father was a member of the republican Senate (Gaṇa-Samsthā).

19. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, in his Preface to a Hindi brochure entitled 'Vaiśālī' (written by Śrī Vijayendra Sūri), says that Mahāvīra was born in the Kṣatriya ward of Kuṇḍapura which may be identified with the village Basukūṇḍa near Vaiśālī (in the Muzaffarpur district).

20. Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya of Banaras Hindu University also believes that Mahāvīra was born at Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma (Muzaffarpur district). He says that the popular Jain belief of regarding Licchu-ār (near Kiul Station) as the birthplace of Mahāvīra is based on wrong notions and should be discarded at once.

21. Dr. G. P. Malalasekara in his Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. II, p. 943 (London, 1938) accepts Basāḍh (Muzaffarpur District) as the ancient Vaiśālī and says (Vol. I, p. 64) that Mahāvīra belonged to the Nāta (or Nāya) clan of Vesālī.

Let us consider the views of some Jain scholars as well.

22. Mr. Chimanlal J. Shah, M. A., in his Jainism in North India 800 B. C.—A. D. 526, says (pp. 23-24) :—

"Mahāvīra is believed to have been born of Triśalā, near the town of Vaiśālī, nearly twenty-seven miles north of Patna. His father, Siddhārtha, seems to have been a chieftain of Kuṇḍagrāma village, and his mother, Princess Triśalā, was the sister of the chieftain of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha, and was related also to Bimbisāra, King of Magadha."

23. Paṇḍita Kalyāṇavijaya Ji Gaṇī, a famous Jain scholar, has written a life of Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra in which (Introduction, pp. xxv-xxviii) he shows that Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī in Videha.

24. Śrī Vijayendra Sūri, another Jain scholar, has written a brochure in Hindi called 'Vaiśālī,' wherein he gives strong arguments for accepting Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī (Muzaffarpur district) as the real birthplace of the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara.

Now that Vaiśālī (or Kuṇḍagrāma near it) is proved to be the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the Jain community owes a great duty to the birthplace of its prophet. Indeed there should be some shrine and also

some Guest House for visitors. A good library of Jain literature and a Museum of Vaiśālī Antiquities should also be established. The Jain community should organise every year at Vaiśālī Śrī Mahāvīra-Janma-Kalyāṇaka-Pūjā on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra which is the birthday of Lord Mahāvīra. The place must be brought into limelight and in this connection the Jain community should not forget its duty.





जैन दृष्टिकोण से वैशाली

विजयेन्द्र सूरि, इतिहासतत्त्वमहोदयि

भौगोलिक स्थिति

प्राचीन वैदिक साहित्य में विदेह की राजधानी मिथिला बताई गई है^१ और बृहद्-विष्णुपुराण में विदेह की सीमा बताते हुए लिखा है : विदेह के पूर्व में कौशिकी (आधुनिक कोशी), पश्चिम में गण्डकी, दक्षिण में गंगा और उत्तर में हिमालय है। पूर्व से पश्चिम की ओर २४ योजन (लगभग १८० मील) और उत्तर से दक्षिण में १६ योजन (लगभग १२५ मील) है। इसी प्रकार विक्रम सं० १२वीं शताब्दी के जैन ग्रन्थ प्रवचनसारोद्धार^२ तथा विक्रम सं० १४वीं शताब्दी के विविध तीर्थकल्प^३ में विदेह जनपद की राजधानी मिथिला बताई है। विविधतीर्थकल्प में ही विदेह जनपद को भारतवर्ष के पूर्व देश में बताया है तथा इसका प्रचलित नाम 'तिरहुत' लिखा है। परन्तु इन दोनों ग्रन्थों से भी बहुत प्राचीन ग्रन्थ निरयाबलियाओ^४ में विदेह की राजधानी वैशाली बताई है तथा विक्रम सं० १२वीं शताब्दी में निर्मित त्रिवेदशलाका पुरुषचरितम्^५ में भी विदेह की राजधानी वैशाली होने की पुष्टि की गई है।

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि मिस्र-मिस्र कालों में विदेह की राजधानी में परिवर्तन होता रहा है। वैदिक साहित्य के प्रसिद्ध जनकों की राजधानी मिथिला रही होगी और बाद में

१. शतपथ ब्राह्मण प्रथमकाण्ड, ४ अ० १ भा०; बृहद्विष्णुपुराण मिथिलाखण्ड।

२. प्रवचनसारोद्धार वृत्तिसहित पत्र ४४६।

३. विविधतीर्थकल्प (सिन्धु ग्रन्थमाला) पृष्ठ ३२।

४. निरयाबलियाओ (ए० एस० गोपानी और बी० जे० ओझी द्वारा सम्पादित), पृष्ठ २६।

५. त्रिवेदशलाका पुरुषचरितम् पत्र ७७, (पर्व १०, सर्ग ६)।

वही से उठ कर वैशाली में राजधानी आ गई होगी।^१ एक ही काल में होने वाले लिच्छवियों, बुद्ध और महावीर स्वामी के समय में विदेह की राजधानी वैशाली होने का सर्वत्र ही उल्लेख मिलता है। महावीर स्वामी के मित्र-मित्र नामों में उनके १. विदेह, २. वैदेहदत्ता, ३. विदेह-जात्य और ४. विदेहसुकुमार नाम जैन ग्रन्थों^२ में मिलते हैं, साथ ही वैशालिय (=वैशालिक) नाम का भी उल्लेख मिलता है।^३ इन नामों से यह स्पष्ट रूप से प्रकट होता है कि महावीर स्वामी के समय विदेह जनपद की प्रमुख नगरी वैशाली थी, उसी जनपद और नगरी के साथ विशिष्ट सम्बन्ध होने के कारण ही महावीर स्वामी को उपर्युक्त नाम प्राप्त हुए थे। महावीर स्वामी के कुल चातुर्मासों में से १९ चातुर्मास विदेह में हुए थे—१२ चातुर्मास वैशाली में, ६ मिथिला में और १ अस्थिगर्भव^४ में। इन चातुर्मासों से यह भी प्रकट है कि महावीर स्वामी के समय मिथिला नगर की सत्ता तो थी, पर वह प्रमुखतम नगर न था।

वैशाली और राजा चेटक

ऊपर महावीर स्वामी के नामों में वैदेहदत्ता नाम का उल्लेख किया गया है। यह नाम उन्हें विदेहदत्तापुत्र होने के कारण प्राप्त हुआ था। विदेहदत्ता^५ उनकी माता त्रिशला का नाम था। यह नाम उनकी माता को इसलिए प्राप्त हुआ था, क्योंकि माता त्रिशला विदेह देश की नगरी वैशाली के गणसत्ताक राजा चेटक की बहिन थी।^६ यह घराना विदेह नाम से प्रसिद्ध था। इसी कारण माता त्रिशला को विदेहदत्ता कहा गया है।

निरयाबलियाओ^७ के अनुसार राजा चेटक वैशाली का अधिपति था और उसे परामर्श देने के लिए नौ मल्ल गणराजा और नौ लिच्छवि गणराजा रहता करते थे। मल्ल जाति काशी में रहती थी और लिच्छवि कोशल में रहते थे। इन दोनों जातियों का एक सम्मिलित गणतन्त्र राज्य था जिसकी राजधानी वैशाली थी और इसी गणतन्त्र का अध्यक्ष अथवा अधिपति चेटक था। इस

१. हमारे इस कथन की पुष्टि श्री जयचन्द्र बिस्मालंकार ने अपनी 'भारतीय इतिहास की रूपरेखा' में और श्री एस० एन० सिंह ने 'बी हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ तिरहुत' में की है।

२. आचाराङ्गसूत्र पत्र ३८९।

३. भगवतसूत्र सटीक भाग १, पृष्ठ २३१; और सूत्रकृताङ्गशौलाङ्गाचार्यकृत टीका सहित—अध्याय २, उद्दे० ३।

४. आधुनिक 'हायागाँव' जो कि मुजफ्फरपुर से २० मील पूर्व में बागमती नदी के निकट है।

५. आचाराङ्गसूत्र पत्र ३८९ में पाठ इस प्रकार है : 'समणस्स णं भगवदो महावीरस्स अम्मा वासिट्ठस्स गुत्ता तीसे णं तप्पि मा०, तं०—तिसला इ वा विदेहविज्ज, इ वा पियकारिणो इ वा'।

६. आवश्यकचूर्णि (पूर्व भाग) पत्र २४५ में पाठ इस प्रकार है : 'भगवतो माया चेटगस्स भगिणी, ओ (जा) यो चेटगस्स धूया'। अर्थात् भगवान् महावीर की माता चेटक की बहिन थी और भोजाई चेटक की पुत्री थी।

७. निरयाबलियाओ पृष्ठ २७।

राजा चेटक के पारिवारिक इतिहास के सम्बन्ध में आवश्यकपूर्णि^१ में इस प्रकार वर्णन मिलता है : 'वैशाली नगरी में हेह्य वंश में राजा चेटक का जन्म हुआ था । इस राजा की भिन्न-भिन्न रानियों से सात पुत्रियाँ हुई थीं जिनके नाम ये थे : १. प्रभावती २. पद्मावती ३. मृगावती ४. सिवा ५. ज्येष्ठा ६. सुज्येष्ठा और ७. चेल्लणा ।.....प्रभावती भीतिभय के उदायन से, पद्मावती चम्पा के दक्षिवाहन से, मृगावती कौशाम्बी के घटानीक से, सिवा उज्जयिनी के प्रसोत से और ज्येष्ठा कुण्डग्राम के वर्धमान स्वामी के बड़े भाई नन्दिवर्धन से ब्याही गई थीं । सुज्येष्ठा और चेल्लणा तब तक कुमारी ही थीं ।

उपर्युक्त वर्णन महावीरचरित्र^२ में भी ज्यों-का-त्यों मिलता है । इसी ग्रन्थ के अनुसार बाद में मगध के राजा श्रेणिक (=बिम्बिसार) ने राजा चेटक से सुज्येष्ठा से ब्याह करने की प्रार्थना की; परन्तु राजा चेटक ने उत्तर दिया : 'बाह्यिक कुल में उत्पन्न होकर हेह्यवंश की कन्या चाहता है !'^३ इस प्रकार सुज्येष्ठा का श्रेणिक से विवाह करना अस्वीकार कर दिया । तब श्रेणिक ने सुज्येष्ठा की अनुमति से उसके हरण की योजना गढ़ी, पर नान्यवश वह सुज्येष्ठा से छोटी कन्या चेल्लणा का ही हरण कर सका और उसने उसी से ब्याह कर लिया ।

इस घटना-चक्र से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि राजा चेटक तथा उस समय के अन्य लोग भी बाह्यिक कुल के इस राजघराने की धृष्ठा की दृष्टि से देखते थे । वस्तुतः बात यह थी कि मगध का राजघराना वहाँ का नहीं था, अपितु पंजाब से मगध की ओर आया था । इस कुल के सम्बन्ध में यह प्रसिद्धि थी कि यह वंश वहि और हीक नाम के दुष्टात्माओं का वंश है ।^४ इसलिए अन्य लोग इस वंश से धृष्ठा करते थे ।

१. शाठ इस प्रकार है : एतो य वेसालीए नगरीए चेटको राया हेह्य कुलसंभूतो । तस्स देवीणं अण्णभण्णानं सत्त धूताओ । प्रभावती, पद्मावती, मिगावती, सिवा, सुजेठ्ठा, चेल्लणात्ति । सो चेटको सावओ परविवाह करणस्स पचवक्कातं । धूताओ ण वेति कस्सत्ति । ताओ याति भिस्सगाओ रायं आपुच्छिता अण्णेत्ति इच्छितकानं सरिसगाणं वेति । प्रभावती भीतिभए उदायणस्स विण्णा, पद्मावती चंपाए वहिवाहनस्स, मिगावती कोसंबीए सताणियस्स, सिवा उज्जेनीए पण्णोत्तस्स, जेठ्ठा कुंडरगाओ बद्धमानसामिणो जेठ्ठस्स भविष्यदणस्य विण्णा । सुजेठ्ठा चेल्लेण । य वो कण्णगाओ अण्णत्ति ।—आवश्यकपूर्णि (उत्तरभाग) पत्र १६४ ।

२. श्रीहेमचन्द्राचार्य विरचित त्रिवेदिकाशिका पुरुषचरित्र, पृष्ठ १०, सर्ग ६, श्लोक १८४-१९३ ।

३. मूलपाठ इस प्रकार है :

'बाह्यिककुलओ बाण्णन् कन्या हेह्यवंशजाम् ।'

त्रि० शा० पु० च० पृष्ठ १०, सर्ग ६, श्लोक २२६ ।

४. महाभारत कर्णपर्व में इस वंश के सम्बन्ध में लिखा है :

बहिष्क नाम होकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकी ।

तयोरपत्यं बाहीकाः तेषां सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥

राजा चेटक और कूणिक

साध्य की विहम्बना ही कहनी चाहिए कि राजा चेटक की अध्यक्षता में जिस वैशाली गणतन्त्र का विकास हुआ था और जिसने इस काल में अपने संगठन और न्यायप्रियता के लिए इतनी प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त की थी, उसका नाश चेल्लणा के पुत्र और चेटक के दोहित्र तथा ममष के अधिपति राजा कूणिक (=अजातशत्रु) बाह्यिक द्वारा हुआ। इसकी कथा निरयावलि्याओ^१ और त्रिषद्विशलाका पुरुषचरित्र^२ में इस प्रकार दी है :

श्रेणिक ने अपने जीवनकाल में चेल्लणा के पुत्र और कूणिक के छोटे भाई वेहल्ल^३ को सेवणग हाथी और अट्टारसवक^४ हार दिये थे जिन्हें कूणिक की पत्नी ने प्राप्त करने की इच्छा प्रकट की। कूणिक ने इन दोनों वस्तुओं को वेहल्ल से माँगा। वेहल्ल ने उन्हें इस शर्त पर देना स्वीकार किया कि कूणिक उसे अपना आधा राज्य दे दे। पर कूणिक ने उसकी बात पर ध्यान न देकर अपनी माँग को पुनः-पुनः दोहराया। वेहल्ल यह सोच कर कि यदि मैं ये वस्तुएँ कूणिक को नहीं दूँगा तो मार दिया जाऊँगा, चम्पा से भाग कर अपने नाना राजा चेटक के आश्रय में चला गया। कूणिक ने अपने दूत को भेज कर हाथी, हार और वेहल्ल को चेटक से वापिस माँगा। चेटक ने उत्तर दिया कि 'कूणिक भी राजा श्रेणिक का पुत्र और चेल्लणा से उत्पन्न है, अतएव मेरा दोहित्र है, एवं वेहल्ल भी राजा श्रेणिक का पुत्र और चेल्लणा से उत्पन्न है, अतएव मेरा दोहित्र है। राजा श्रेणिक ने अपने जीवनकाल में वेहल्ल को हाथी और हार दिये थे। यदि कूणिक वेहल्ल को आधा राज्य देना स्वीकार करे तो मैं हाथी, हार और वेहल्ल को लौटा दूँगा।' परन्तु कूणिक ने इसे अस्वीकार करके युद्ध-घोषणा की सूचना दी और वैशाली पर आक्रमण कर दिया। राजा चेटक ने भी नवमल्लिक और नवल्लिच्छवि गणराजाओं की सम्मति से उस आक्रमण का प्रतिरोध किया, पर दुर्भाग्य से इस युद्ध में राजा चेटक की हार हुई और इस हार से दुःखी होकर वह एक कुएँ में कूद पड़ा।

गणतन्त्र के पतन का कारण

बौद्ध साहित्य की अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार तो कूणिक (=अजातशत्रु) ने इस गणतन्त्र में फूट डाल कर इस गणतन्त्र को नष्ट किया था। पर जैनसाहित्य इस सम्बन्ध में चुप है। जैनसाहित्य के अनुसार वैशाली के इस गणतन्त्र को समाप्त करने में कूणिक की साम्राज्यवादी प्रवृत्ति प्रमुख कारण थी। बौद्धसाहित्य में जहाँ कूणिक ने इस गणतन्त्र को नष्ट करने के लिए बुद्ध से परामर्श माँगा है उस प्रकरण से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि वैशाली एक संगठित और शक्तिसम्पन्न प्रदेश था। इसे जानते हुए और गणतन्त्र के अध्यक्ष राजा चेटक से रक्त-सम्बन्ध होते हुए भी कूणिक ने वैशाली को नष्ट करने का जो संकल्प किया था, उससे प्रतीत होता

१. निरयावलि्याओ, पृष्ठ २६-२८।

२. त्रि० श० पु० च० पर्व १०, सर्ग १२।

३. त्रि० श० पु० च० में हल्ल और वेहल्ल दो भाइयों के नाम का उल्लेख है।

है कि दोनों प्रदेशों के राजवरानों तथा उच्चवर्गों में एक दूसरे के प्रति अत्यन्त द्वेष तथा तीव्र घृणा थी। राजा चेटक ने राजा श्रेणिक को अपनी कन्या देने से अस्वीकार करते हुए जिन वाक्यों का प्रयोग किया है, उससे हमारे उपर्युक्त अनुमान की पुष्टि होती है। वैशाली के लोग अपने को उच्च कुल का समझते थे और मगध के राजकुल को हीन कुल का। स्वभावतः इस विचार-धारा की प्रतिक्रिया हो सकती है। कृष्णिक के मन में यह विचार भी हो सकता है कि राजा चेटक द्वारा किये गये अपने कुल के अपमान का प्रतीकार करे।

जैनग्रन्थों^१ और बौद्धग्रन्थों^२ में तत्कालीन वैशाली गणतन्त्र का वर्णन करते हुए उसे अत्यन्त समृद्ध और वन-वैभवसम्पन्न बताया है, इस कारण भी कृष्णिक की गृध्र-दृष्टि वैशाली पर थी।

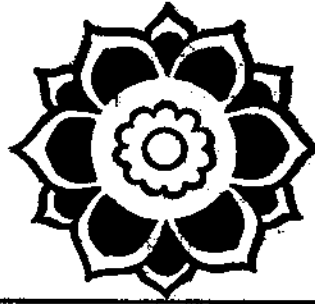
बौद्ध साहित्य द्वारा प्रतिपादित कृष्णिक की राजनीतिक योजनाओं और सैनिक सज्जाओं से भी उपर्युक्त अनुमानों की पुष्टि होती है। जिन योजनाओं को कृष्णिक बहुत देर से तैयार कर रहा था, उनका तात्कालिक कारण बेहूस्ल और हूस्ल द्वारा भाग कर चेटक की शरण में जाना बताया गया। इस प्रकार इस गणतन्त्र के नष्ट होने में मुख्यतया तीन कारण थे—प्रथम तो कृष्णिक की साम्राज्यवादी प्रवृत्ति और देश-विस्तार की इच्छा, दूसरा दोनों राजवंशों में परस्पर द्वेष और घृणा तथा तीसरा वैशाली गणतन्त्र का वैभव।

संक्षेप में जैनदृष्टिकोण से विदेह जनपद की राजधानी वैशाली थी। यह महावीर स्वामी के समय एक गणतन्त्र राज्य था और इसका अध्यक्ष राजा चेटक था। राजा चेटक महावीर स्वामी का मामा था। महावीर स्वामी—जो कि २४वें तीर्थंकर माने जाते हैं—भी इसी वैशाली नगर के निकटस्थ क्षत्रियकुण्ड (आधुनिक बासुकुण्ड) में उत्पन्न हुए थे। वे ३० वर्ष की आयु तक वैशाली में ही रहे। दीक्षा लेने के बाद उन्होंने १२ चातुर्मास वैशाली में किये।

१. त्रि० श० पु० च० पर्व १०, सर्ग ६, श्लोक १८४।

२. महापरिनिर्वाणसुत्त १. १।





संस्कृत-महाकाव्यों और पुराणों में वैशाली

प्रो० जगन्नाथराय शर्मा, एम० ए०

‘वैशाली’ या ‘विशाला’ एक प्राचीन नगरी है। पुराणों में इसके विशाल, विशाला तथा वैशाली ये तीन नाम दिये गये हैं। इसकी प्राचीनता निर्विवाद है। पाटलिपुत्र नगर से तो यह अवश्य ही प्राचीन है। जहाँ वाल्मीकीय रामायण में विशाला के नाम से इसका और इसके संस्थापक तथा उसके वंशजों का वंशावली-वर्णन मिलता है, वहाँ पाटलिपुत्र नगर की चर्चा भी नहीं है। इससे स्पष्ट सिद्ध है कि यदि पाटलिपुत्र नगर गंगा के दक्षिण कूल पर उस समय तक बना होता तो रामचन्द्र उसके सम्बन्ध में भी विश्वामित्र से प्रश्न अवश्य करते। भगवान् रामचन्द्र के समय से लगभग ८-१० पीढ़ी पूर्व विशाला नगरी का निर्माण हो चुका था। यह भागवतपुराण और वाल्मीकीय रामायण दोनों ही के आधार पर सिद्ध है। पाटलिपुत्र नगर का निर्माण अजातशत्रु के समय में हुआ था, यह बात प्रसिद्ध है। अजातशत्रु बुद्धदेव का समकालीन था; अतः पाटलिपुत्र नगर का निर्माण केवल छई हजार वर्ष पूर्व हुआ था। किन्तु विशाला की प्राचीनता का पता लगाना कठिन है। उसके सम्बन्ध में हम सिर्फ यही कह सकते हैं कि उसका निर्माण आधुनिक ऐतिहासिकों की दृष्टि से प्रागैतिहासिक-काल में भगवान् रामचन्द्र से भी आठ-दस पीढ़ी पूर्व हुआ था। उसकी प्राचीनता की गणना बर्षों में न कर युगों में ही करना उचित होगा।

वैशाली की चर्चा वाल्मीकीय रामायण के आदिकाण्ड के ४२वें, ४६वें और ४७वें सर्गों में की गई है। ४५वें सर्ग में यह कहा गया है कि इसी स्थान पर देवों और दानवों ने समुद्रमन्थन की मन्त्रणा की थी। ४६वें सर्ग में दिति की उस तपस्या का वर्णन है जो उसने इन्द्र को मारनेवाले पुत्र की उत्पत्ति के लिए की थी। उसी सर्ग के अन्त में तथा ४७वें सर्ग के प्रारम्भ में इन्द्र के प्रयत्न से दिति की तपस्या का विफल होना वर्णित है। इसके पश्चात् ४७वें सर्ग के अन्त में विशाला के निर्माण का इतिहास निम्नलिखित ढंग से दिया गया है—

इक्ष्वाकु की रानी अलम्बुषा के एक परम धार्मिक पुत्र हुआ, जिसका नाम था विशाल।

उसी ने इस स्थान में विशालापुरी बनवाई।^१

इसके अनन्तर विशाल से लेकर रामचन्द्र के सम्बन्धों और उनका आतिथ्य करने-वाले विशाला-नरेश सुमति तक की वंशावली खी गई है। वह इस प्रकार है—

(१) विशाल, (२) हेमचन्द्र, (३) कुचन्द्र, (४) धूम्राक्ष, (५) सृञ्जय, (६) सहदेव, (७) कुशाग्र, (८) सोमदत्त, (९) कानकुस्थ और (१०) सुमति।

विशाल-नरेशों के सम्बन्ध में महाविद्वान् विष्णुमित्र ने यह कहा है कि वे सब इक्ष्वाकु की कृपा से वीर्यायु, महात्मा, वीर्यशाली और धार्मिक हुए।^२

केवल चार पुराणों में वैशाली या विशाला की चर्चा पाई जाती है। ये हैं—वाराह, नारदीय, मार्कण्डेय और श्रीमद्भागवत। वाराह पुराण के सप्तवें अध्याय में विशाल राजा के गया में पिण्डदान करने से उनके पितरों की मुक्ति कही गई है।^३ उसी पुराण में ४८वें अध्याय में भी एक विशाल राजा का उल्लेख है, पर वे काशी नरेश थे, वैशाली नरेश नहीं। नारदीय पुराण के उत्तर खण्ड के ४४वें अध्याय में भी विशालानरेश विशाल की चर्चा की गई है और यह कहा गया है कि वे त्रेता युग में थे। पुत्रहीन होने के कारण पुत्र प्राप्ति के लिए उन्होंने पुरोहितों की राय से गया में पिण्डदान किया और अपने पिता, पितामह तथा प्रपितामह का नरक से उद्धार किया; किन्तु वहाँ विशाल के पिता का नाम 'सित' बतलाया गया है। सम्भव है इक्ष्वाकु का दूसरा नाम 'सित' रहा हो। मार्कण्डेय पुराण में सूर्यवंश-वर्णन के प्रसंग में विशाल राजा का नाम आया है। वहाँ अवीक्षित और वैशालिनी की कथा दी गई है और यह कहा गया है कि वैशालिनी विशालानरेश विशाल की कन्या थी। किन्तु श्रीमद्भागवत के अनुसार अवीक्षित विशाल से ११ पीढ़ी पहले था। विशाल ने ही वैशाली बसाई। तब फिर अवीक्षित का विवाह वैशालीनरेश की कन्या से कैसे हुआ? अतः वैशालिनी की कथा कल्पित-सी प्रतीत होती है। मार्कण्डेय पुराण और श्रीमद्भागवत की वंशावलियाँ बहुत-कुछ एक-सी हैं। अन्तर केवल इतना ही है कि श्रीमद्भागवत में राजाओं का केवल नामोल्लेख मात्र है। किन्तु मार्कण्डेय पुराण में उनमें से प्रसिद्ध राजाओं का चरित्र विस्तार से वर्णित है। श्रीमद्भागवत के नवम स्कन्ध के प्रथम अध्याय में सूर्यवंश का वर्णन दिया हुआ है। इसके अनुसार वैवस्वतमनु और उसकी पत्नी अद्वा के दस पुत्र हुए। इनके नाम हैं—इक्ष्वाकु,

१. इक्ष्वाकोस्तु नरध्यात्र पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः । अलम्बुषायामुत्पन्नो विशाल इति विद्युतः । तेन वासीविह स्थाने विशालेति पुरी कृता ॥११-१२॥ (सर्ग ४७; भा० रामायण आदिकाण्ड)।

२. इक्ष्वाकोस्तु प्रसादेन सर्वे वैशालिका नृपाः ।

वोर्यायुषो महात्मानो वीर्यवान्तः सुधार्मिकाः ॥

(भा० रामायण, सर्ग ४७, दलोक १८)

३. वेक्षिण्—वाराहपुराण, अध्याय ७, दलोक १३-१४।

नृग, शर्पाति, दिष्ट, घृष्ट, बल्लभक, नरिष्यन्त, पृषध, नमग और कवि । मागवत पुराण के अनुसार विशाल इक्ष्वाकु का पुत्र नहीं था, वरन् उसके भाई दिष्ट के वंश में उत्पन्न हुआ था । उसकी माता का नाम उक्त पुराण के अनुसार भी अलम्बुषा ही था । श्रीमद्भागवत के अनुसार विशाल के पूर्वजों और वंशजों की सूची यों है—

- (१) दिष्ट, (२) मलन्दन, (३) वत्सप्रीति, (४) प्रांशु, (५) प्रमति, (६) क्षनित्र, (७) चाक्षुष, (८) विविशति, (९) रम्भ, (१०) क्षनिनेत्र, (११) करन्धम, (१२) अवीक्षित, (१३) मरुत, (१४) दम, (१५) राज्यवर्द्धन, (१६) सुवृति, (१७) नर, (१८) बन्धुमान्, (१९) वेगवान्, (२०) बन्धु, (२१) तृणविन्दु (उसकी पत्नी अलम्बुषा), (२२) विशाल (इसीने वैशाली बसाई)^१, (२३) हेमचन्द्र, (२४) धूम्राक्ष, (२५) संयम, (२६) कृष्णस्व (उसका भाई देवज या सहदेव), (२७) सोमदत्त, (२८) सुमति, (२९) जनमेजय ।^२

श्रीमद्भागवत पुराण में जो वंशावली दी गई है, उसके अनुसार इक्ष्वाकु के भाई दिष्ट से लेकर रामचन्द्र के समकालीन सुमति तक २७ पीढ़ियाँ बीत चुकी थी । किन्तु वाल्मीकीय रामायण की वंशावली के अनुसार इक्ष्वाकु से लेकर सुमति तक केवल दस ही पीढ़ियाँ बीती थीं । अब इन दोनों वंशावलियों में कौन-सी ठीक है, इसका निर्णय करना आवश्यक है । सबसे पहली बात तो यह है कि वाल्मीकीय रामायण को छोड़ कर और कहीं विशाल का इक्ष्वाकु का पुत्र होना वर्णित नहीं है । भागवत के अनुसार इक्ष्वाकु के नौ पुत्र थे जिनमें से विकुक्षि (शशाद), निमि और दण्डक ये तीन ही प्रसिद्ध थे । विकुक्षि अयोध्या का, निमि मिथिला का और दण्डक दण्डकारण्य का राजा था । यदि विशाला का निर्माता विशाल भी इक्ष्वाकु का ही पुत्र होता, तो वह भी प्रमुख माना जाता और अन्य ६ पुत्रों के साथ उसकी गणना न करके इक्ष्वाकु के इन तीन पुत्रों के साथ ही उसकी भी गणना होती । अतः श्रीमद्भागवत पुराण के अनुसार विशाल का इक्ष्वाकु का पुत्र नहीं होना ही सत्य प्रतीत होता है । यह इक्ष्वाकु के वंश में है अवश्य; किन्तु वह उसका औरस सन्तान नहीं । अतः उसको दिष्ट का वंशज मानना ही उचित प्रतीत होता है ।

वाल्मीकीय रामायण की वंशावली पूरी-पूरी वंशावली नहीं है । इस बात का प्रमाण रामचन्द्र के विवाह के समय में वशिष्ठ द्वारा महाराज दशरथ के पूर्वजों का वर्णन है । उसके अनुसार इक्ष्वाकु से लेकर रामचन्द्र तक ३५ पीढ़ियाँ बीत चुकी थीं ।^३ तब इक्ष्वाकु से या उसके भाई दिष्ट से लेकर सुमति तक केवल दस ही पीढ़ियाँ कैसे बीतीं ? वाल्मीकि रामायण

१. विशालो वंशकुवराजा वैशालीम् निर्ममे पुरीम् ।

(भा० पुराण, नवम स्कंध अ० २, श्लो० ३३)

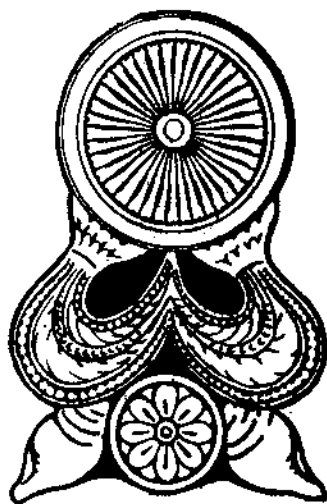
२. एते वैशालभूपालाः तृणविन्दोर्यक्षोधराः ।

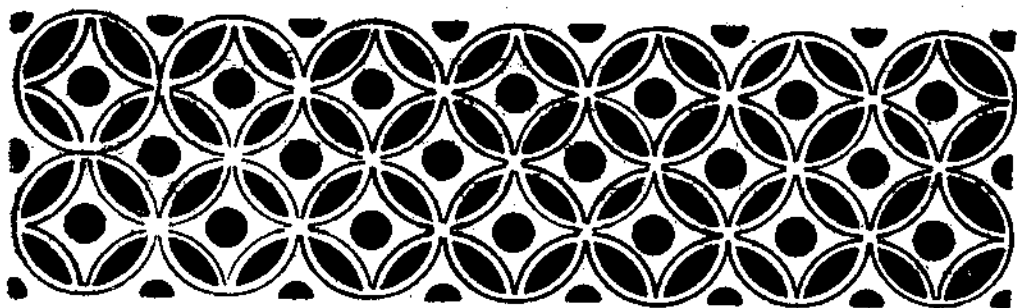
(भा० पु० नवम स्कंध, अध्याय २, श्लो० ३६)

३. देखिए—भा० रामायण, सर्ग ७१, श्लो० १९ से ४५ तक ।

के अनुसार विद्याल के राजा दीर्घायु थे, पर कितने भी के दीर्घायु क्यों न हों, रामचन्द्र के तीस-तीन पूर्वजों के समय तक सुमति के एक-एक पूर्वज राज्य करते रहे हों—यह सबंधा अविश्वसनीय है। अतः हमारी समझ से श्रीमद्भागवत पुराण में जो वैशाली नरेशों की वंशावली दी गई है, वह सम्भव और सत्य है; क्योंकि उसके अनुसार विष्ट से लेकर सुमति तक २७ पीढ़ियाँ बीती हैं और वाल्मीकीय रायायण के अनुसार इक्ष्वाकु से लेकर रामचन्द्र तक ३५ पीढ़ियाँ बीती हैं। वैशाली-नरेश दीर्घायु प्रसिद्ध ही हैं, अतः अबतक इक्ष्वाकु के वंश में ३५ राजे हुए तब तक विष्ट के वंश में २७ राजाओं का होना असम्भव नहीं कहा जा सकता।

विद्याल के इस इतिवृत्त के अतिरिक्त उसके विस्तार और वैभव का वर्णन महाकाव्यों और पुराणों ने सम्यक् रूप में कहीं नहीं दिया है। किन्तु वैशाली की यह प्राचीनता और उसके नरेशों की अविच्छिन्न वंशपरम्परा तथा माहात्म्य और पराक्रम से यह सूचित होता है कि वैशाली चिरकाल तक शान्ति और समृद्धि का केन्द्र थी।





वैदिक काल में वैशाली

मथुराप्रसाद बोसित

‘ऋग्वेद संहिता’ आर्य जाति का प्राचीनतम धर्म-ग्रन्थ है। इसमें आर्यों के आदिम निवास का परिचय है। इसके मन्त्रों की आलोचना करने से यह ज्ञात होता है कि इनके रचना-काल में आर्यगण पञ्चनद प्रदेश के आगे पूर्व की ओर नहीं बढ़ पाये थे। पञ्चनद को वेदों में ‘सप्त-सिन्धु’ अर्थात् सात नदियोंवाला देश कहा गया है। पारसियों के धर्म-ग्रन्थ ‘अवस्ता’ में इस प्रदेश का नाम ‘हप्त-हिन्दु’ है। पारसी लोग ‘स’ की जगह प्रायः ‘ह’ का ही प्रयोग और उच्चारण किया करते हैं। यह उच्चारण-भेद है, जिस प्रकार आसामवाले “चाय” को “घाय” और ‘शुक्रवार’ को ‘सुखुरवार’ कहते हैं।

ऋग्वेदोक्त भौगोलिक विवरणों की आलोचना करने से पता चलता है कि पंजाब से ठीक दक्षिण की ओर जो राजपूताना-प्रदेश है, वहाँ पहले एक समुद्र था। वर्तमान सिन्धु-प्रान्त भी किसी समय समुद्र के गर्भ में अवस्थित था। इस बात की सभी भू-तत्त्वविशारद स्वीकार करते हैं। राजपूताना तथा सिन्धु-प्रदेशों की सुवस्तृत बालुका-राशि आज भी इस बात का प्रमाण है कि इस जमीन पर किसी जमाने में एक बृहत् समुद्र था।

ऋग्वेद में पूर्व एवं पश्चिम (अपर) समुद्र का भी उल्लेख पाया जाता है। यह पूर्व समुद्र आधुनिक बंगोपसागर नहीं था। यह पंजाब के ठीक पूर्व भाग में अवस्थित था। ऋग्वेदीय युग में यह समुद्र समग्र गण्डेय प्रदेश अर्थात् पाञ्चाल, कोशल, वत्स, मगध, विदेह, अंग और बंग आदि देशों की जमीन पर क्रीड़ा कर रहा था। यही कारण है कि ऋग्वेद में इन देशों की चर्चा नहीं पायी जाती है; क्योंकि उस समय तक ये सभी देश सुविस्तृत जल-राशि में निमग्न थे—समुद्र-गर्भ से ये देश तब तक बहिर्भूत नहीं हुए थे।

ऋग्वेद में लांक-प्रसिद्ध गंगा और यमुना आदि नदियों की चर्चा का भी प्रायः अभाव ही है। जहाँ पर सिन्धु, सरस्वती, दृषद्वती, विपाशा आदि नदियों की चर्चा बार-बार आती है, वहाँ गंगा-यमुना जैसी प्रशस्त नदियों की एक या दो जगह चर्चा देख कर हृदय में भारी विस्मय उत्पन्न होता है। किसी-किसी पुरातत्त्व-विशारद के मतानुसार गंगा-यमुना के ये नाम

भी किसी-किसी स्त्री के सम्बन्ध में आते हैं; न कि नदी विभेग के विषय में। पर बादर अविनाशचन्द्रदास के मतानुसार इन नदियों का अर्थात् गंगा-यमुना का विस्तार और विकास ऋग्वेदिक युग तक नहीं हो पाया था। ये छोटी ही दूर तक बहने वाली छोटी नदियाँ थीं। ये हिमालय के समतल क्षेत्रों में अवतीर्ण होकर पूर्ब समुद्र में निपटित हुई थीं। इसी से इन दोनों नदियों का गौरव-गान ऋग्वेद में नहीं है। सम्भव है कि उस समय तक गंगा अधिकशः अथवा हरिद्वार तथा यमुना कुरु-पाञ्चाल के निकट पूर्ब समुद्र में—जो पास में ही अवस्थित था,—मिलती हों।

ऋग्वेद में, एक-दो स्थानों पर, सरयू नदी का भी नाम आता है। कुछेक लोगों का मत है कि यह सरयू नदी कोशल-राज्य के पास से बहनेवाली सरयू है। पर बात ऐसी नहीं हो सकती। ऋग्वेद-कालीन भूगोल के जानने वालों को यह बात मलीमाति विदित है कि उस समय तक कोशल-राज्य का निर्माण नहीं हुआ था और वैदिक आर्यगण पंजाब से बहुत पूरब की ओर नहीं बढ़ पाये थे। विद्वानों का मत है कि यह सरयू अफगानिस्तान की एक नदी थी। किसी-किसी के मत से तक्षशिला के पास से बहने वाली किसी नदी का नाम सरयू है। जेन्द-अबस्ता में इस नदी का नाम 'हरोयू' कहा गया है। पारसी लोग 'स' की जगह प्रायः 'ह' का उच्चारण किया करते हैं। सुदूर पश्चिमोत्तर प्रदेश के पास बहनेवाली 'हरीरुद' नदी को बहुतेरे विद्वान् अब 'अबस्ता' की 'हरोयू' तथा ऋग्वेद की 'सरयू' नदी समझने लगे हैं। बहुत सम्भव है, यह विचार ठीक हो।

उपर्युक्त बातों से यह मलीमाति प्रकट हो जाता है कि ऋग्वेदिक-काल में आर्यगण पंजाब से बहुत दूर नहीं हटे थे; पंजाब के पूरब बहनेवाली नदियाँ गंगा-यमुना आदि का यशोविस्तार तबतक प्रायः न के बराबर था; तथा कुरु-पाञ्चाल, वत्स, कोशल, काशी और विदेह आदि जनपदों या देशों का निर्माण भी तब तक नहीं हो पाया था। ये सारे देश ऋग्वेदोक्त पूर्ब समुद्र के गर्भ में अवस्थित थे। ज्यों-ज्यों पूर्ब समुद्र सुदूर पूर्ब की ओर हटता गया, त्यों-त्यों नयी मिट्टी निकलती गयी। इन जमीनों पर ज्यों-ज्यों नये-नये पेड़-पौधे उगते और पनपते गये त्यों-त्यों आर्यगण पहले तो शोचरण के सिलसिले में इन जंगलों का उपयोग और उपभोग करने लगे, पश्चात् उनकी जनसंख्या ज्यों-ज्यों बढ़ती गयी, उन जंगलों को वे काट-काट कर, नयी-नयी बस्तियाँ—नये-नये देश बसाते गये।

अब हम ब्राह्मण-युग में प्रवेश करते हैं। आर्यों की पूरब की ओर बढ़ने की सूचना पहले 'शतपथ ब्राह्मण' में हमें स्पष्ट रूप से मिलती है। 'शतपथ ब्राह्मण' (१।४।१०-१९) में लिखा है कि सरस्वती के तट पर विदेह मिथि नाम का राजा था। गौतम रतूगण उसका पुरोहित था। ये दोनों अग्नि वैश्वानर का अनुसरण करते हुए 'सदानीरा' नदी के तट तक पहुँचे। अग्नि वहाँ रुक गया और राजा विदेह मिथि 'सदानीरा' के उस पार यानी पूर्ब पार जाकर रहने लगा। तब से उस देश का नाम विदेह अथवा मिथिला पड़ा। समयान्तर में यह विदेह देश दो भागों में विभक्त हो गया। एक पूर्ब विदेह तथा दूसरा पश्चिम विदेह। पश्चिम विदेह को लोग वैशाली भी कहते हैं—जैसा कि आगे चल कर मालूम होगा।

‘शतपथ’ के मतानुसार यह ‘सदानीरा’ नदी कोशल और विदेह राष्ट्रों की सीमा है। इसके पूर्व पार में पहले ब्राह्मण लोग नहीं रहते थे, अथवा अगर रहते हों तो बहुत कम तायदाय में। आज भी हम लोगों को मालूम है कि जो ब्राह्मण सरयू के पूर्व पार में आ बसे, उनकी समाज में वह इज्जत नहीं, जो सरयू के पश्चिम पार में बसनेवाले ब्राह्मणों की है। सरयू नदी भी किसी काल में कोशल राज्य की पश्चिमीय सीमा थी। अस्तु, अब विचारणीय विषय यह है कि यह ‘सदानीरा’ नदी कहाँ थी और यदि आज वर्तमान है तो इसका मौजूदा रूप क्या है ?

यह बात प्रायः सभी पाठकों पर मलीनति बिदित है कि नदियों की धाराएँ सदा बदलती रहती हैं। जल की प्रचुरता अथवा न्यूनता के कारण भी नदियों की धाराएँ क्रमशः फैलती और सिकुड़ती रहती हैं। अब समुद्र अथवा कोई बड़ी नदी अपना जल सिमट कर नीचे की ओर अथवा दूसरी दिशा में हटती है तो वह अपना अवशिष्ट जल ग्रहण करने के लिए भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार के स्रोत-सरोवर आदि का प्रबन्ध कर लेती है। इसलिये अनुमान तो ऐसा किया जाता है कि ऋग्वेदोक्त पूर्व समुद्र ज्यों-ज्यों सुदूर पूर्व की ओर हटता गया, अपनी विरासत के रूप में गंगा, यमुना, सरयू, गंडक, कौशिकी आदि नदियों को पीछे की ओर छोड़ता गया। आज भी तो बंगोपसागर के मुहाने के पास गंगा की अनेक धाराएँ हैं, जिनका स्थानीय लोगों ने अपनी सुविधा के लियाल से जो कुछ भी नाम रख लिया हो, पर भूगोल में उनका कोई स्थान नहीं। जिस तरह से बंगोपसागर के मुहाने पर नित्य नयी मिट्टी जमती जाती है और आबादी बढ़ती जाती है उसी तरह क्या वे नदियाँ, जिनका जल सूखने से बच जायगा, अथवा जिनकी धारा अवकुंठित होने से बच जायगी, कालान्तर में वहाँ बड़ी नदियों का रूप नहीं धारण करेंगी जिनका प्रकाश अथवा प्रशस्ति सुदूर भविष्य में गंगा अथवा यमुना से किसी प्रकार भी कम नहीं होगी ?

रामायण और पौराणिक ग्रन्थों में सरयू को कोशल राज्य की पूर्वी सीमा कहा गया है; उसी प्रकार गंडक को विदेह की पश्चिमी सीमा। शतपथ के मतानुसार ‘सदानीरा’ कोशल को विदेह से अलग करती है। इससे यह पता चलता है कि ‘सदानीरा’ या तो वर्तमान काल की सरयू हो अथवा गंडक। प्रसिद्ध जर्मन विद्वान डा० वेबर ‘सदानोरा’ को वर्तमान गंडक बतलाते हैं। डा० मजुमदार शास्त्री भी इसी पक्ष का समर्थन करते हैं।

वर्तमान काल में हम ‘गंडक’ नदी को दो धाराएँ पाते हैं। एक ‘गंडक’ वह है जो रक्सौल (चम्पारण), मुजफ्फरपुर, समस्तीपुर (दरभंगा) आदि स्थानों के पास से गुजरती हुई नवगछिया (भूँगेर) के पास गंगा से मिलती है। इसको लोग बूढ़ीगंडक या पुरानीगंडक कहते हैं। इसकी धारा में वह वेग नहीं—वह बल नहीं—जो दूसरी बड़ी नदियों में हम पाते हैं। यद्यपि इस नदी में सदा पानी रहता है, पर हम कह सकते हैं कि इसकी धारा एक प्रकार से मुर्दा है, उसमें वह जोश-स्वरोध नहीं जो किसी नगर अथवा स्थान का कतर-न्योत करे और उसकी जगह पर दूसरा नगर या स्थान बसा दे। दूसरी बात यह है कि ‘कमला’ और ‘बामती’ की तरह यह नदी भी ज्यादातर मध्य मिथिला प्रान्त होकर गुजरती है।

इसलिए वेबर साहब के मतानुसार यदि 'सदानीरा' वर्तमान 'गंडक' है तो वह 'पुरानी गंडक' या 'बूढ़ी गंडक' नहीं हो सकती; कारण 'शतपथ' के मतानुसार 'सदानीरा' कोशल और विदेह राज्य की सीमा है, जो हुकीकत हम पुरानी गंडक में नहीं पाते।

अब रही बात नयी गंडक की। इसे लोग 'शालीग्रामी' भी कहते हैं। 'नारायणी' नाम से भी यह बहुत जगहों पर विख्यात है। यह बगहा (बम्पारन) के कुछ दूर उत्तर हट कर बिहार की सरहद को छूती है तथा बम्पारण और मुजफ्फरपुर जिलों को 'सारन' से पृथक् करती हुई हाजीपुर के पास गंगा से मिलती है। जिस समय रामचन्द्र विष्णामित्र के साथ बक्सर होते हुए जनकपुर जाते हैं, रास्ते में ऋषि ने अनेक नदियों का परिचय उन्हें दिया है। जहाँ गंगा, सोन और कोशिकी आदि नदियों का वर्णन प्रचुर मात्रा में हम 'वाल्मीकि' में पाते हैं, वहाँ 'गंडक' की चर्चा का बिल्कुल अभाव है। यद्यपि विष्णामित्र हाजीपुर के पास ही गंगा से नाव पर वर्तमान 'रामचौड़ा' पर उतरते हैं, और पास में ही गंडक नदी गंगा से मिलती है, पर परम आश्चर्य यह है कि विष्णामित्र अथवा वाल्मीकि—दोनों में से किसी एक का भी ध्यान 'गंडक' की ओर नहीं जाता है। क्या इससे यह अनुमान हम कर सकते हैं कि तबतक सम्भवतः 'गंडक' का निर्माण नहीं हुआ था?

बाद के पाली साहित्य में हम 'मही' नदी की चर्चा पाते हैं। कहीं-कहीं गंडक द्वारा वैशालिक बनिये श्रावस्ती नगर को व्यापार करने जाते थे—ऐसा भी पाठ हमें मिलता है। 'मही' को कहीं-कहीं पर 'सुखमही' और कहीं-कहीं पर 'मही-गंडक' भी कहते हैं। इसके अनेक स्रोत और धाराएँ आज भी सारन जिले में विराजमान हैं, जो फाल-क्रम से सूखती और भरती हुई चली जाती हैं। जिस प्रकार 'पुरानी गंडक' के पश्चिम नून, कदाने और बाया, किसी जमाने में मुजफ्फरपुर जिले की प्रसिद्ध नदियों में थीं, और आज भी उनकी रूप-रेखा थोड़े बहुत परिवर्तन के साथ ज्यों-की-त्यों मौजूद है, उसी प्रकार 'सरयू' नदी के पूर्व और नयी गंडक के पश्चिम सारन जिले में घग्घर, बौद्धा, मही और सुखमही आदि नदियाँ अपनी इस जीर्ण-शीर्ण अवस्था में भी अपने प्राचीन गौरव की स्मृति में साल में एक-दो महीना आँसू की धारा बहा लिया करती हैं।

अस्तु, लेखक का यह अनुमान और विचार है कि ब्राह्मण काल की 'सदानीरा' आधुनिक 'सरयू' और पुरानी गंडक के बीच अवस्थित थी। यह कोई संकुचित नदी नहीं थी। इसकी जलराशि का विस्तार बहुत बड़ा था। इसका प्रसार अथवा फैलाव लगभग ७० या ८० मील से कम में नहीं था। इसका जल ज्यों-ज्यों सूखता गया, अथवा नीचे की ओर (गंगा में) धसता गया, त्यों-त्यों इन इलाकों में नयी-नयी नदियों का निर्माण होता गया और सूखी हुई जमीन के जंगलों को काट कर आर्य लोग अपनी-अपनी बस्ती बसाते गये। जहाँ वैदिक 'सदानीरा' ने एक ओर सरयू, मही, बौद्धा, शालिग्रामी (नयी गंडक), बाया, नून, कदाने और पुरानी गंडक को जन्म दिया, अथवा अपनी विरासत के रूप में इन नदियों को छोड़ गयी, वहाँ दूसरी ओर उसने एक विशाल भू-भाग को भी अपने गर्भ से बाहर किया, जो बाद में 'वैशाली' के नाम से संसार में विख्यात हुआ। वैशालिक, वृज्जिक, मल्लिक अथवा

मद्रक जातियाँ इसी भू-भाग की रहने वाली थीं। जहाँ विदेह (पूर्व विदेह) और कोशल का निर्माण वैदिक युग—शाह्याण युग में हो गया था, वहाँ बैशाली का संस्थापन रामायण-काल में या उससे कुछ ही दिन पहले हुआ था। इसका एकमात्र कारण यही था कि बैशाली तब तक 'सदानीरा' के गर्भ से प्रकट नहीं हुई थी।

बैशालिकों की सम्प्रदाय वैदिक सम्प्रदाय थी। उनके सभी संस्कार वैदिक थे। इसका एक मात्र कारण यह था कि बैशाली के पूरव और पश्चिम विदेह और कोशल—दोनों अपने समय में वैदिक सम्प्रदाय के प्रधान केन्द्र थे। और सब तो यह है कि जिस प्रकार कोशल और विदेह वाले इक्ष्वाकु वंशीय क्षत्रिय थे, बैशालिक भी उसी वंश के क्षत्रिय थे। और इक्ष्वाकुवंशीय क्षत्रिय लोग वैदिक सम्प्रदाय के अनन्य भक्त और प्रतिपालक थे। वे धूर थे, वे वीर थे, वे साहसी थे, वे सुन्दर थे और सब प्रकार देश, समाज, प्रजा और परिवार के प्रतिपालक थे। अतिथि-सत्कार में तो वे ला-मिसाल थे, जैसा कि बाद के साहित्य से भी प्रकट होता है। बौद्ध-युग में भी उनके संस्कार में कोई विशेष विकार नहीं उत्पन्न हुआ था, कारण इसका यह अनुमान किया जाता है कि उनकी सम्बन्ध-परम्परा काशी, कोशल, विदेह आदि के वंशजों के साथ असुण्ण बनी रही।





प्रजातन्त्री बैशाली

प्रो० सूरजदेव नारायण, एम० ए०, बी० एल०

प्रो० हरिरंजन घोषाल, एम० ए०, बी० एल०, डी० लिट्०

प्राचीन लिच्छवियों की शासन-प्रणाली पर विचार करना बिल्कुल पिछपेचन नहीं होगा, यद्यपि इस विषय पर विद्वानों का ध्यान बहुत दिनों से आकृष्ट रहा है। यह निर्विवाद रूप से ऐतिहासिक सत्य है कि बुद्ध के समय बैशाली का प्रजातन्त्र वज्जि-संघ के आठ सदस्यों में से था। किन्तु अभी तक इस प्रजातन्त्र के उद्गम अथवा इसकी स्थापना के कारण पर स्पष्ट रूप से विचार करने का प्रयत्न नहीं हुआ है। पुराणों तथा कतिपय अन्य ग्रन्थों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि ब्राह्मणयुग में मिथिला और बैशाली दोनों में राजतन्त्र-शासन^१ कायम था। बैशालिकवंश का संस्थापक विशाल रामायण^२ द्वारा इक्ष्वाकु का पुत्र और पुराणों द्वारा नामग का वंशज माना गया है। बिष्णुपुराण में नामग^३ से लेकर ३४ राजाओं की वंशावली दी गयी है। सुमति, जिस राजा का नाम सबसे पीछे है, विशाल की दसवीं पीढ़ी में दिखलाया गया है और यदि रामायण के प्रमाण पर विश्वास किया जाय तो वह अयोध्या^४ के राजा दशरथ का समकालीन था। श्रीपाजिटर इक्ष्वाकु के साथ विशाल का सम्बन्ध अस्वीकार करने के पक्ष में हैं, किन्तु उनका कहना है कि बैशालिक राजाओं की सूचियाँ जो कई ग्रन्थों में उपलब्ध हैं, करीब-करीब मिलती-जुलती हैं^५। सुमति के बाद पुराणों

१. देखिये डॉ० एच० सी० राय चौधरी का पोलिटिकल हिस्टरी ऑफ़ ऐशियाट इण्डिया, पृ० ७५।
२. पाजिटर, ऐशियाट इण्डियन हिस्टोरिकल ट्रेडिशन, पृ० ५७।
३. देखिये इयामनारायण सिंह का हिस्टरी ऑफ़ तिरहुत, पृ० २१ और बी० रंगाचार्य प्रो-मुसलमान इण्डिया, पृ० ४२४-३२।
४. पाजिटर, उल्लिखित, पृ० ९७।
५. वही।

अथवा महाकाव्यों में वंशावली-क्रम नहीं मिलता और बुद्ध-युग के पहले तक वैशाली का इतिहास बिल्कुल अन्धकार पूर्ण है।

कब और किस प्रकार वैशाली ने गणतन्त्र को अपनाया? डॉ० एच० सी० रायचौधरी ने मिथिला^१ में राजतन्त्र से प्रजातन्त्र में परिवर्तन होने का कारण बतलाया है। किन्तु वैशाली में इस प्रकार के किसी परिवर्तन के सम्बन्ध में हमें कुछ मालूम नहीं है। फिर भी इतना तो सच ही है कि लिच्छवि-प्रजातन्त्र का जन्म बुद्ध के बहुत पहले हो चुका था। बुद्ध ने स्वयं वज्रियों की बहुत पहले से आती हुई प्राचीन संस्थाओं^२ की प्रशंसा खुले शब्दों में की है। यह भी सम्भव है कि महाभारत युद्ध के समय में लिच्छवि-गण का अस्तित्व रहा हो। जब भीष्म गणों के नाश के सामान्य कारणों का वर्णन करते हैं और उनकी समृद्धि एवं जीवित रहने का कारण उनके संघ जीवन की अविच्छिन्न परम्परा बतलाते हैं^३ तब उनकी दृष्टि में अवश्य ही लिच्छवि और वज्रि-संघ की अन्य जातियाँ हैं^४। इससे यह परिणाम निकाला जा सकता है कि वैशाली-गण की स्थापना वैशाली के राजा सुमति का आतिथ्य स्वीकार करने वाले^५ रामायण के नायक राम और महाभारत-युद्ध के बीच के समय में हुई। रामायण की रचना की तिथि जो कुछ भी रही हो, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि इसमें चित्रित ऐतिहासिक घटनाएँ महाभारत युद्ध से बहुत पहले घटित हुई थीं। राम के पुत्र कुश के बाद से बृहद्बल तक, जो उस वंश का अन्तिम राजा था और महाभारत-युद्ध में अभिमन्यु द्वारा मारा गया, अट्ठाईस राजाओं की सूची पुराणों में मिलती है^६। उस युद्ध की निश्चित तिथि का ढूँढ़ निकालना किसी प्रकार भी आसान नहीं है। किन्तु महाकाव्यों एवं पुराणों के प्रमाणों के आधार पर डा० हेमचन्द्र रायचौधरी का विचार है कि अभिमन्यु के पुत्र परीक्षित का

१. एच० सी० राय चौधरी, उल्लिखित, पृ० ५२-५३।
२. देखिये के० पी० जॉयसबाल, हिन्दू पॉलिटी, पृ० ४८। वैशाली में बुद्ध के आगमन के लिए देखिये, राधाकुमुद मुकुर्जी, मेन ऐण्ड थॉट इन ऐशियट इण्डिया, पृ० ६२-६३।
३. देखिये जर्नल ऑफ बिहार ऐण्ड उड़ीसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, सितंबर १९१५, पृ० १७६-७७।
४. डॉ० बेनीप्रसाद का अनुमान है कि भीष्म ने जिन गणों का उल्लेख किया है वे ऐसे प्रजातन्त्र थे जो “मुख्यतः हिमालय की तराई में कुछ समय के लिए फले-फूले थे।” — (व ज्योरी ऑफ गवर्नमेण्ट इन ऐशियट इण्डिया, पृ० ६६)। किन्तु ऐसा अनुमान करने का कोई कारण नहीं है कि ये प्रजातन्त्र कुछ ही समय के लिए फले-फूले; प्रत्युत भीष्म ने अपने समय के प्रजातन्त्रों के सम्बन्ध में संघ स्थापित करने और प्रजातन्त्र की अन्य स्वाभाविक विशेषताओं का जो उल्लेख किया है, उससे यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि उनका मतलब अन्य प्रजातन्त्रों के साथ-साथ लिच्छविगण से भी है।
५. एस० एन० सिंह, हिस्टरी ऑफ तराई, पृ० २४।
६. देखिये बी० रंगाचार्य, उल्लिखित, पृष्ठ ३९४-३९५।

राज्याभिवेक करीब चौदहवीं सदी ई० पू० के मध्य हुआ था^१। यदि ऐसी बात हो, तो बुद्ध के कई शताब्दी-पूर्व वैशाली-प्रजातन्त्र का अस्तित्व मानना पड़ेगा।

इस बात के जानने का हमारे पास कोई पुष्ट प्रमाण नहीं कि वैशाली में किस प्रकार राजतन्त्र के पश्चात् प्रजातन्त्र का आगमन हुआ। क्या सुमति वैशालिक-वंश का अन्तिम राजा था? केवल इस बात से कि वंशावली के नाम वहीं पर आकर रुक जाते हैं, ऐसा परिणाम नहीं निकाला जा सकता। फिर भी एक बात स्पष्ट है जिससे कुछ अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। जातक के अनुसार लिच्छवि-शासन के अधिकारी जो ७७०७ पुरुष थे वे अपने को 'राजूनम्'^२ कहते थे। शायद वे इसलिए ऐसा कहे जाते रहे हों कि किसी प्राचीन राजवंश से वे प्रादुर्भूत हुए हों। किन्तु हम 'राजूनम्' शब्द को उतना महत्त्व नहीं देते जितना इस बात को कि वैशाली के ७७०७ शासक राजकुलोद्भव कुमारों जैसा बताव करते थे। महसूस जातक में वैशाली की उस पुष्करिणी का उल्लेख है जहाँ से राजाओं के अभिवेक के लिए जल मँगवाया जाता था^३। इस पुष्करिणी के जल की भलीभाँति रक्षा की जाती थी और जो राजकुल का नहीं था, वह उसके जल को भ्रष्ट नहीं कर सकता था। क्या है कि एक बार कोसल के सेनापति ने अपनी स्त्री को इसमें स्नान कराया था, जिस लिए पाँच सौ क्रुद्ध लिच्छवि-राजाओं ने उसका बुरी तरह पोछा किया था^४। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वैशाली-प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना किसी क्रान्ति अथवा युद्ध के पश्चात् जिसके फलस्वरूप राजतन्त्र का अन्त हुआ हो, नहीं हुई थी। यह सच है कि यहाँ प्रजातन्त्र के पूर्व राजतन्त्र प्रचलित था। यहाँ का प्रजातन्त्र क्रमिक विकास का परिणाम प्रतीत होता है। राजा के ज्येष्ठ पुत्रों के साथ अधिकारों का उपयोग करने के कारण राजा के छोटे राजकुमारों द्वारा यह परिवर्तन लाया गया मालूम पड़ता है। प्रारम्भ में एकतन्त्र राजा की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उसके सभी पुत्रों को राज्याधिकार मिला होगा और इस प्रथा के चलते रहने के फलस्वरूप राज करने वाले कुमारों की संख्या क्रमशः बढ़ती गयी होगी, यहाँ तक कि उनकी संख्या ७७०७ पहुँच गयी। सम्भवतः जिस जातक ने इस संख्या का उल्लेख किया है उसकी रचना के समय लिच्छवि-शासकों की यही संख्या रही हो। यह संख्या लिच्छवि-शासन-विधान द्वारा निश्चित संख्या नहीं मानी जा सकती।

राजतन्त्र से प्रजातन्त्र में परिवर्तित होने का एक दूसरा कारण लिच्छवियों की बढ़ती हुई व्यापारिक समृद्धि के फलस्वरूप वैशाली के कुछ लोगों के पास अर्थसंचय हो सकता है। मार्कण्डेयपुराण में लिखा है कि राजा नामाग ने एक वैश्य कन्या से विवाह किया था, जिससे उनके वंशज वैश्य हो गये, किन्तु विदेह के राजा क्षत्रिय ही रहे^५। इससे यह पता चल सकता

१. हेमचन्द्र रायचौधरी, उल्लिखित, पृष्ठ १६।

२. देखिये के० पी० जायसवाल, उल्लिखित, पृष्ठ ५१।

३. देखिये आर० सी० मजूमदार, कॉरपोरेट लाइफ इन ऐंजियंट इंडिया, पृष्ठ २२७।

४. वही।

५. देखिये एस० एन० सिंह, उल्लिखित, पृष्ठ १२ (पादटिप्पणी)।

है कि वैशाली अतिप्राचीनकाल से ही व्यापार के लिए प्रसिद्ध थी। राज-परिवारों के सदस्यों के वैश्य होने के कारण यह असम्भव नहीं कि राजाओं के छोटे लड़के व्यापार में सक्रिय भाग लेते रहे हों। अर्धसंचय एवं राजकुलोद्भव होने की भावना होने से क्रमशः उसके मन में शासन-कार्य में सक्रिय भाग लेने की इच्छा उत्पन्न हुई होगी और इस प्रकार राजतन्त्र का जन्म कर प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना हुई होगी^१।

लिच्छविगण का चाहे जो भी उद्गम रहा हो, इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि इसमें खास लोग ही भाग ले सकते थे, सब नहीं। आबादी के एक भाग में ही राज्याधिकार सीमित था जिसकी संख्या एक समय ७७०७ थी। ये शासक राजधानी के रहनेवाले थे और उपराजा, सेनापति एवं माण्डागारिक जैसे राजपुरुषों द्वारा शासन करते थे। जातक में लिखा है कि ऐसे राज-पुरुषों की संख्या राजाओं की संख्या के बराबर थी^२। ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि शासकवर्ग के हर सदस्य का अधिकार-क्षेत्र किसी खास इलाके में पड़ता था और इस प्रकार के बहुत ही इलाके या विभाग थे, क्योंकि लिच्छविगण में केवल वैशाली का नगर ही नहीं सम्मिलित था, इसमें बाहर के विस्तृत राज्य भी शामिल थे^३। हर इलाके का शासन उपराजा या प्रतिनिधि के हाथ में था। यह सम्भव नहीं मालूम पड़ता कि समस्त राज्य से सम्बन्ध रखनेवाली बातों का निर्णय सर्वदा कई हजार शासकों द्वारा ही होता था। विशेष महत्वपूर्ण बातों के लिए ये सभी शासक बहुधा संस्थागार या सार्वजनिक मकान में मिलते थे^४। दैनिक शासनकार्य के लिए एक कार्यकारिणी समिति थी, ऐसा प्रतीत होता है। जैनकल्प-सूत्र में उल्लिखित 'नव-गण-रयनो' सम्भवतः लिच्छविगण के नौ कार्यकारक (एग्जिक्यूटिव) अफसर थे, जैसा कि डा० रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार का अनुमान है^५ और सम्भवतः इन्हीं से कार्यकारिणी समिति का निर्माण होता था।

लिच्छवियों की न्याय-प्रणाली के सम्बन्ध में भी हम एक बात कह देना चाहते हैं। जैसा डाक्टर का० प्र० जायसवाल ने कहा है, वैशाली में बहुत से छोटे-बड़े न्यायालय थे।

१. यह जानने की बात है कि कोटिल्य ने दो प्रकार के संघों का वर्णन किया है—(१) राज-शब्दोपजीवी अर्थात् वे जिनके शासक राजा की उपाधि धारण करते थे, (२) आयुषजोवी या वाताशस्त्रोपजीवी जिन्हें डा० के० पी० जायसवाल 'Nation-in-Arms republics' कहते हैं। यह असम्भव नहीं कि प्रथम वर्ग के संघ साधारणतः हमारे ऊपरलिखित ढंग से बन गये हों।
२. देखिये आर० सी० मजूमदार, उल्लिखित, पृ० २२७।
३. बज्जिवेश की सीमा के लिए देखिये जनरल ऑफ बिहार ऐण्ड उड्डोसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, भाग ६, १९२०, पृ० २५९-२६२। वैशाली-राज्य की सीमा पर कनिंगहम का मत जानने के लिए देखिये ऐशियटिक् ज्यॉफ़ो ऑफ इण्डिया, पृ० ५०८-९।
४. के० पी० जायसवाल, उल्लिखित, पृ० ५२।
५. आर० सी० मजूमदार, उल्लिखित, पृ० २३५।

विभिन्न प्रकार के राजपुरुष इनके समापत्ति होते थे^१। न्याय-प्रणाली की एक खास विशेषता यह थी कि अभियुक्त को तभी दण्ड मिलता था जब वह क्रमशः सात न्याय-समितियों से एक स्तर से अपराधी करार दिया जाय। इनमें से एक के द्वारा वह छोड़ दिया जा सकता था^२। इस प्रकार व्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा इस ढंग से की जाती थी जिसकी उपमा सम्भवतः संसार के इतिहास में नहीं है^३।

लिच्छविगण का एक बड़ा बल था वज्जि-संघ के अन्य सदस्यों से संयुक्त रहना। जैसा कि मीम्म ने कहा था, "गणों को यदि जीवित रहना है तो उन्हें सर्वदा संघ-प्रणाली का अवलम्बन करना चाहिए"^४। कौटिल्य ने अपने अर्थशास्त्र में भी इस पर बहुत जोर दिया है।^५ प्राचीन भारतीय शासकों ने संघ की उपयोगिता अच्छी तरह समझी थी। उनका विश्वास था कि "संघ-सेना के बल से" शैतिक समृद्धि प्राप्त की जा सकती थी। महामारत में इस बात का प्रमाण मिलता है जिससे सिद्ध होता है कि बाहरी राज्य भी संघ-राज्यों से सन्धि के इच्छुक रहते थे।^६ इस प्रकार मल्लों और लिच्छवियों से संघ कायम किया गया था। इस पर विश्वास करने का कारण है कि यह संघ महावीर की मृत्यु के समय था।^७ इस संघ की वास्तविक प्रकृति को ठीक निकासना मुश्किल है। यह एक प्रकार की सन्धि थी अथवा आज-कल के अर्थ में फेडरेशन था, यह कहना कठिन है। लेकिन आजकल के ही समान संघ-समिति में क्षेत्रफल अथवा जनसंख्या का कुछ भी विचार न करके संघ-बद्ध राज्यों की समानता अच्छी तरह बरती जाती थी। यह इस बात से स्पष्ट है कि संघ कौंसिल में नौ लिच्छवियों से और नौ मल्लों से कुल अठारह सदस्य थे।^८ डा० जायसवाल का विचार है कि कोसल के राजा के साथ भी इस संयुक्त कौंसिल का किसी प्रकार का राजनीतिक समझौता या मेल था।^९ इस बात पर आश्चर्य करने का कोई कारण नहीं, क्योंकि मगध कोसल लिच्छवियों का समान रूप से शत्रु था।

यहाँ प्राचीन भारतीय प्रजातन्त्रों के, विशेष कर लिच्छवियों के, शासनकार्य पर एक दृष्टि डाल लेना अच्छा होगा। गणों की साधारण-सभा में समानता का सिद्धान्त बरता जाता था। अर्थ पर पूरा ध्यान दिया जाता था। युद्ध-कला उतनी ही महत्त्वपूर्ण मानी जाती थी,

१. के० पी० जायसवाल, उल्लिखित, पृ० ५२-५३।
२. आर० सी० मजूमदार, उल्लिखित, पृ० २३३।
३. वही।
४. जर्नल ऑफ बिहार ऐण्ड उड़ीसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, सितम्बर, १९१५, पृ० १७७।
५. अर्थशास्त्र, पृ० ३७६।
६. जर्नल ऑफ बिहार ऐण्ड उड़ीसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, सितम्बर १९१५, पृ० १७७।
७. के० पी० जायसवाल, उल्लिखित, पृ० ५४।
८. वही।
९. वही।

जितनी शान्ति-कला । लिच्छवियों की शिक्षा और प्रतिभा एकाङ्गी न थी । राजनीतिक उन्नति उसने ही गहरे विचार का विषय थी जितनी जनता की आर्थिक उन्नति । डा० जायसवाल के शब्दों में, अधिकारों के विभाग एवं न्याय-प्रणाली से यही सूचित होता है कि उस समय तक लोगों ने गणों का कार्य-संचालन करने का बहुत अधिक अनुभव प्राप्त कर लिया था और उनमें इस कार्य के लिए बहुत उच्च कोटि की समझदारी आ गयी थी^१ ।

शासन-प्रणाली की सफलता की सबसे अच्छी कसौटी यह है कि उसके द्वारा राज्य चिरस्थायी हो । भारत की प्रजातन्त्र या गण-शासन-प्रणाली—उदाहरणार्थ लिच्छविगण की शासन-प्रणाली—राज्यों को चिरस्थायी बनाने में बहुत अधिक सफल प्रमाणित हुई थी ।^२ लिच्छवि शिशुनाग एवं मौर्य-साम्राज्यों के बाद भी बच रहे थे । उन्होंने गुप्त-साम्राज्य के निर्माण में भी सहायता दी । उनके सम्बन्ध के लेख भी बहुत समय तक के मिलते हैं । इससे सिद्ध होता है कि उनका प्रजातन्त्र स्थायित्व की कसौटी पर पूरा उतरा था ।

१. डा० बी० सी० लॉ का विचार है कि "बौद्धसंघ का संगठन करने में बुद्ध ने उत्तरपूर्वी भारत के, विशेष कर लिच्छवियों के राजनीतिक संघ को अपना आदर्श माना था" (बुनीलाल आनन्द के 'ऐन इन्ट्रोडक्शन टु द हिस्ट्री ऑफ गवर्नमेंट्स इन इण्डिया' पृ० ७१ पर उद्धृत) । डा० काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल की भी यही राय है (हिन्दू-राज्य-तन्त्र, पहला खण्ड, पृ० ६८) ।

२. डॉ० जायसवाल, हिन्दू-राज्य-तन्त्र, पहला खण्ड, पृ० २८६ ।





अम्बपाली : एक दृश्य'

रामबृक्ष बेनोपुरी

अम्बपाली का बसन्तोद्यान—सन्ध्या का समय—

बगीचे के बंगले के बरामदे से सटा एक ऊँचा मंच—मंच पर सजी-सजाई कथा—
उसपर बैठी अम्बपाली आहना सामने रखे शृङ्गार कर रही है—

मंच के आगे उद्यान का जो हिस्सा है, उसमें बेला, मोतिया, जूही आदि की पत्तियाँ
कलियों से लड़ीं - बीच में एक छोटा-सा नकली हौज जिसमें पालतू हंस का जोड़ा तैर रहा—

अम्बपाली की बगल में चयनिका खड़ी है—चयनिका कभी आसमान को देखती है,
कभी अम्बपाली के चेहरे को—वह आश्चर्य और विषाद की पुतली बनी हुई है—अम्बपाली के
चेहरे को पढ़ना उसके लिए मुश्किल हो रहा है—वह ठीक सन्ध्या का प्रतिरूप है, जिसमें दिन-
रात, हर्ष-विषाद का निर्णय करना कठिन हो रहा—

चयनिका की ओर देखकर अम्बपाली मुस्कराती है—फिर उससे पूछती है—

अम्बपाली—चुन्नी, देख तो, यह मेरा शृङ्गार कैसा उतरा ?

चयनिका—(नहीं बोलती है, सिर नीचा कर लेती है)

अम्बपाली—बोल-बोल, शृङ्गार कैसा उतरा ?

चयनिका—(फिर भी चुप है, सिर और नीचा कर लेती है)

अम्बपाली—(प्यार भरे गुस्से में) नहीं बोलती ? तुझे बताना होगा चयनिके, कि आज
का मेरा शृङ्गार कैसा उतरा ?

चयनिका—मैं कुछ नहीं समझ पाती, भद्रे !

अम्बपाली—तू कुछ नहीं समझ पाती और न समझ सकेगी ! अम्बपाली की बातें
समझ जाना आसान भी तो नहीं है, चुन्नी !

चयनिका—हाँ, आर्ये !

अम्बपाली—तू यही न सोच रही है कि कहीं आज सारी वैशाली में मातम है, रुदन है, हाहाकार है, और कहीं मेरा यह शृङ्गार, यह प्रसाधन, यह उल्लास, यह हास !—क्यों ?

चयनिका—हाँ, आर्ये !

अम्बपाली—लेकिन सोच, वैशाली में यह मातम क्यों है ? क्योंकि वह हार चुकी है । हारा आदमी अगर मातम न मनाये, शम में पड़ा आदमी न रोये, तो उसकी छाती फट जाय, धुकधुकी बन्द हो जाय, वह मर जाय । वैशाली मरना नहीं चाहती है, इसलिए मातम मनाती है । लेकिन.....(वह चुप हो जाती है)

चयनिका—‘लेकिन’ क्या मन्त्रे ? (उसकी आँखों में भय की छाया)

अम्बपाली—तूने सुना है, जब स्त्रियाँ सती होने जाती हैं, तब शृङ्गार कर लेती हैं । जिसने चिता से लिपटना तय कर लिया, वह अन्तिम साज-सज्जा से अपने को क्यों वंचित रखे ? जब घरवाले छाती पीटते होते हैं, वह हँसती है, मुस्कुराती है, शृङ्गार करती है । लेकिन घरवाले रो-पीटकर भी शमशान से जिन्दा लौटते हैं, वह हँसकर भी अपने को ज्योति में बिलीन कर देती है !

चयनिका—मन्त्रे, मन्त्रे, यह आप क्या कह रही हैं ? (उसकी आँखें छलछला उठती हैं)

अम्बपाली—बहुत ही सही कह रही हैं । अम्बपाली ने किसी एक व्यक्ति पर नहीं, वैशाली पर अपने को उत्सर्ग किया था । आज जीती-जागती वैशाली मुर्दा लाश-सी पड़ी है । इसे कोई नहीं बचा सका । अब अम्बपाली ने तय किया है, या तो इस लाश में वह जान फूँकेगी, या इसी के साथ जल मरेगी !

चयनिका—आर्ये ! आर्ये ! (तलहटी से मुँह ढककर रोने लगती है)

अम्बपाली—कातर मत बन, चयनिके ! अपने को अम्बपाली की योग्य अनुचरी सिद्ध कर ! देख, मेरा शृङ्गार अच्छा बना कि नहीं ? इच्छा होती है, जिसने भी शृङ्गार और प्रसाधन के सामान हैं, सब आज लाद लूँ, ओढ़ लूँ ! (कुछ ढककर) जल्दी कर, मगध-राज अजातशत्रु अभी यहाँ पधारने वाले हैं ।

चयनिका—मगधराज ! अजातशत्रु !

अम्बपाली—हाँ ! महाभाष्य ने कहा था, जो डरता है, उसके नजदीक सबसे पहले मृत आता है ! वैशाली में पहली मेहरबानी उनकी मुश्की पर हुई है । उन्होंने खबर भेजी है, आज अकेले-अकेले यहाँ पधारेंगे ! मगधपति का स्वागत भी तो साधारण साज-सज्जा से नहीं होना चाहिए । वह भी तो देख लें कि इस अलौकिक नगरी की राजनर्तकी कैसी है ?

चयनिक—(कुछ घृणा, कुछ क्रोध से) मगधपति के स्वागत के लिए ?.....मन्त्रे.....

अम्बपाली—(हँसकर) क्वकी क्यों है, बोल । आज का सब कहा-सुना माफ ।

चयनिका—(चुपचाप अम्बपाली का चेहरा घूर रही है)

अम्बपाली—हाँ रे, मगधपति के स्वागत के लिए ! राजनतंकी अपने स्वागत से किसी आगत को कैसे बंचित कर सकती है ? हाँ, स्वागत-स्वागत में फर्क है। दीपधिया भी तो पतंग का स्वागत करती है। और उसके स्वागत के दो ही नतीजे होते हैं—या तो पतंग अलेगा, या दीपक बुझेगा। जिस दीपक ने बुझना तय कर लिया उसकी धिया जितनी भी तेज रहे, उसना ही अच्छा !

चयनिका—(मर्राई आवाज में) फिर यह क्या कह रही हैं भद्र ?

अम्बपाली—चयनिके, अम्बपाली तय कर चुकी है, जिसे वैशाली नहीं हरा सकी, उसे अम्बपाली हरायगी। हरायगी, या देख (अँगूठी दिखाती है) इस अमृत को चूसकर अमर बन जायगी। जो पताका हमारे धोरों ने रंगभूमि में गिरा दी, आज अजातशत्रु देखेगा, इस मेरी रंगभूमि में वह किसनी ऊँची फहराती है !

चयनिका—यह अजीब द्रव्यमयी बातें हैं, आर्ये !

अम्बपाली—द्रव्यात्मक परिस्थिति में बातें भी द्रव्यात्मक हो सकती हैं। हम हराये जा चुके हैं, तो भी विजय की आकांक्षा रखते हैं। हम गिराये जा चुके हैं, तो भी उठने का अरमान हमसे हटा नहीं—इस मनहूस सन्ध्या में हम सुनहली मोर का सपना देख रहे हैं ! इस द्रव्यमयी परिस्थिति में सीधी-सादी बातें क्या हो सकती हैं, पगली !

वह हाथ बढ़ाकर चयनिका की उंगली पकड़ती और उसे खींचकर ठुड़ी पकड़ चुम-कारती है, उसके मस्तक पर चुम्बन देती है—

धुँधलका हो रहा है—एक परिचारिका वहाँ आकर दीप जला जाती है—एक ऊँचे चिरागदान पर कितनी ही दीप-धियाएँ जगमगा उठती हैं—उसके प्रकाश में अम्बपाली का सौन्दर्य और चमक उठता है—

दूसरी परिचारिका इसी समय एक अँगूठी लाकर अम्बपाली को देती है—अँगूठी पर वह नाम पढ़ती है और कहती है “जा उन्हें बुला ला !”—

अजातशत्रु आता है—साधारण नागरिक-सा है। बेध उसका—अम्बपाली आगे बढ़कर स्वागत करती और मंच पर बिठलाती है—

“चयनिके ! तू भी चली जा, यहाँ कोई न आवे”—कहकर बड़ी ही गम्भीर मुद्रा में अजातशत्रु से पूछती है—

अम्बपाली—मगधपति की आज्ञा !

अजातशत्रु—मगधपति मत कहो, राजनतंकी ! मैं मगधपति की हैसियत से यहाँ नहीं आया। मगधपति इस बेध-मूषा में नहीं आया करते।

अम्बपाली—क्षमा करें, मुझसे गलती हुई। मगधपति तो अनुष के टंकार और तलवारों की शंकार के साथ आया करते हैं।

अजातशत्रु—मगध को अपने अनुष और तलवार पर कम नाज नहीं है, राजनतंकी तुम्हारे व्यंग में भी सचाई है !

अम्बपाली—सिर्फ एक बात कहना मैं मूल गई थी; क्षमा कीजिए तो निवेदन करें।

अजातशत्रु—तुम्हारे लिए हमेशा क्षमा है !

अम्बपाली—क्योंकि मैं नारी हूँ और सुन्दरी भी ?

अजातशत्रु—तुम सुन्दरी हो, इसमें भी सचाई है।

अम्बपाली—(ताने के स्वर में) और इसमें भी सचाई है कि मगध को धनुष और तलवार के साथ ही अपने महामन्त्री वस्सकार पर भी कम नाज नहीं।

अजातशत्रु—(मुस्कराते हुए) तुम वस्सकार पर नाराज हो लो, राजनर्तकी, लेकिन मन्त्री वही है, जो विजय का पथ प्रशस्त करे।

अम्बपाली—चाहे वह धृति उपाय से हो ?

अजातशत्रु—विजय का पथ हमेशा ही कीचड़ से भरा और रक्त से सना होता है। जो गन्दगी और खून से डरे, उसे सिर से मुकुट उतारकर हाथ में शिक्षापात्र लेना चाहिए।

अम्बपाली—(जैसे निशाना लेकर) भगवान् बुद्ध ने मगधपति को यही शिक्षा दी थी ! क्यों ?

अजातशत्रु—भगवान् ने कुछ दूसरी ही शिक्षा दी थी। (मुस्कराते हुए) किन्तु, एक नन्ही-सी चीज ने सब बंटाकार कर दिया, राजनर्तकी ! देखोगी वह चीज ?

अम्बपाली—कैसी चीज ?

अजातशत्रु—(हाथी-दाँत पर बनी अम्बपाली की तस्वीर निकालकर उसके हाथ में देते हुए) यही है वह चीज !

अम्बपाली—(आश्चर्यचकित) ऐं, यह मैं ? मेरी.....

अजातशत्रु—हाँ, तुम्हारी इस छोटी-सी तस्वीर ने ही फिर एक बार पीला कपड़ा उतार फेंकने को लाचार किया, एक बार फिर गंगाजल के धोये हाथों को खून से धोने को बाध्य किया !

अम्बपाली—(मौचक बनी) मगधपति !

अजातशत्रु—राजनर्तकी, मगधपति ने जिन्दगी के इतने चढ़ाव-उतार देखे हैं कि उसने तय कर लिया था शेष जीवन वह गृध्रकुट पर ध्यान लगाते राजगृह में बिता डालेगा; या राजपाट की झंझटों को दूर फेंक बाँधवृक्ष की छाया में शान्ति-सुख प्राप्त करते सदा के लिए आँख मूँद लेगा। किन्तु, उसके सारे मसूने हवा हो गये—उसे छल की धारण लेनी पड़ी, बल का प्रयोग करना पड़ा। किसके चलते ? क्यों ? इस छोटी-सी तस्वीर ने.....(मुस्कराता है)।

अम्बपाली—तो आप राज्य के लिए वैशाली नहीं आये, सौन्दर्य के लिए वैशाली आये हैं।

अजातशत्रु—तुमने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा।

अम्बपाली—सौन्दर्य, जो राज्य से भी क्षणिक है !

अजातशत्रु—सौन्दर्य, जो राज्य से भी अधिक प्रलोभक, मोहक और आकर्षक है। हर दिव्य वस्तु क्षणिक होती है, राजनर्तकी! फूल की मुस्कान, चपला की चमक, इन्द्रधनु की रंगीनियाँ और ओस की चमकमाहट—सब क्षणिक हैं! क्षणिकता दिव्यता की अनुचरी ही नहीं, सहचरी है।

अम्बपाली—और, मानवता की महत्ता इसी में है कि क्षणिक के पीछे दौड़ा जाय ?

अजातशत्रु—क्षणिक के पीछे नहीं, दिव्य के पीछे। हर अच्छी चीज के पीछे उसका बुरा पहलू होता है, राजनर्तकी। जन्म के पीछे मरण है, उल्लास के पीछे विषाद, उत्सव के पीछे मातम। लेकिन, इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि जिवन्मयी और जयन—जीवन और उत्सव—को मूलकर हम हमेशा धोक-सागर में गोते लगाते रहें—मातम मनाते रहें !

अम्बपाली—(धृणायुक्त व्यंग्य में) और इस जिवन्मयी और जयन के लिए हजारों आदमियों का खून बहायें, हजारों माताओं को निपूती बनायें, हजारों युवतियों का सुहाग-सिन्दूर धोयें और हजारों मासूम बच्चों की जिवन्मयी को आँसुओं में डुबोयें !

अजातशत्रु—हाँ, हाँ। राजनर्तकी, इन भावुकता की बातों से तुम अजातशत्रु के दिल को दहला नहीं सकती—बल्कि ऐसा करके तुम उसके दिल में सोई उस राक्षसी को कुरेदकर जगाती हो, जिसे वह मुश्किल से सुला पाता है।

वह अचानक उठकर खड़ा हो जाता है—इधर-उधर टहलने लगता है—आसमान की ओर बार-बार देखता है—अम्बपाली कुछ देर तक उसकी भावमंगी देखती है—फिर नजदीक जाकर कहती है—

अम्बपाली—मगधपति, आसन ग्रहण करें।

अजातशत्रु—नहीं, मुझसे बैठा नहीं आयागा, सुन्दरी !

अम्बपाली—‘सुन्दरी’ कहकर मेरा अपमान न कीजिए।

अजातशत्रु—हाँ, हाँ, समझा, समझा ! (हँसकर) सुन्दरी का आप्रह कोई कैसे टाल सकता है। अच्छा, आओ बैठें।

अजातशत्रु बैठ जाता है—किन्तु अम्बपाली खड़ी ही रहती है—अजातशत्रु कहता है—

अजातशत्रु—बैठो, सुन्दरी !

अम्बपाली—क्या नारी सिर्फ सुन्दरी ही होती है ?

अजातशत्रु—हाँ, जो सुन्दरी नहीं है, वह नारी नहीं है। ठीक उसी तरह कि जो बीर नहीं है, वह मर्द नहीं है।

अम्बपाली—नारी बीर भी हो सकती है !

अजातशत्रु—और मर्द सुन्दर भी हो सकते हैं। लेकिन इन दोनों को प्राकृतिक गढ़बढ़झाला ही समझो, सुन्दरी !

अम्बपाली आँखें गड़ाकर अजातशत्रु के चेहरे को देखती है—उसके शीतला के दाग से भरे चेहरे पर अजीब क्रूरता दिखाई पड़ती है—अम्बपाली को यों धूरते देख वह हँसकर बोल्ता है—

अजातशत्रु—क्यों ? मैं क्रूर हूँ, यही न देख रही हो ?

अम्बपाली—इसके पीछे की बीज भी ।

अजातशत्रु—तुम मुझमुझ पढ़ सकती हो ?

अम्बपाली—आप शस्त्र चला सकते हैं ?

अजातशत्रु—आह ? (जोरों से हँसकर) तुम-जैसी राजनर्तकी पाकर कोई भी राजसभा धन्य हो सकती है ।

अम्बपाली—(उसका अभिप्राय भाँपकर) आप यों मेरा अपमान नहीं कर सकते ।

अजातशत्रु—मैं तो तुम्हें सम्मान देने आया हूँ । वैशाली-विजेता आज वहाँ की राजनर्तकी अम्बपाली से.....

अम्बपाली—(बीच ही में बात काटकर) प्रणय की भीख माँगने आया है ! क्यों, यही न कहना चाहते थे ?

अजातशत्रु—बिल्कुल ठीक ! उफ, तुम कितनी बुद्धिमति हो, सुन्दरी !

अम्बपाली—अम्बपाली प्रशंसा की भूखी नहीं है, मगधपति । और प्रशंसा वैशाली-विजेता के मुँह से । ऐसी प्रशंसा को वह लानत देती है; घोंसले को उजाड़नेवाले बहेलिये से चिड़िया चमकार सुनना पसंद नहीं करती ।

अजातशत्रु—हाँ, पहले पंख पटकती है, चंगुल और चाँच चलाती है; लेकिन पीछे पालतू बनकर हाथ पर खेलती है, कंधे पर फुदकती है और सिर पर घोंसला बनाती है । क्यों ? (अजीब उपेक्षाभाव से हँसता है)

अम्बपाली—(तमककर) कोई ऐसी चिड़िया भी हो सकती है, जो पंख पटक कर मर जाना पसंद करेगी, लेकिन बहेलिये का अहसान न लेगी ।

अजातशत्रु—ऐसी चिड़िया आज तक नहीं देखी गई ।

अम्बपाली—आदमी सिर्फ चिड़िया नहीं है ।

अजातशत्रु—मगधपति साधारण आदमी नहीं है ।

अम्बपाली—अम्बपाली भी साधारण नारी नहीं है ।

अजातशत्रु—तुम क्या बोल रही हो, सुन्दरी ?

अम्बपाली—आप क्या चाह रहे हैं मगधपति ?

अजातशत्रु—मैं क्या चाहता हूँ, यह कहने की जरूरत रह गई ? तो सुनो—(दर्प से) अम्बपाली वैशाली-विजेता की राजनर्तकी बनेगी, उसे राजगृह चलने को निमन्त्रण देने आया हूँ ।

अम्बपाली—और, अगर वह नहीं जाय ?

अजातशत्रु—अजातशत्रु अगर-मगर नहीं जानता !

अम्बपाली—उन्हें जानने को लाचार होना पड़ेगा ।

अजातशत्रु—(आश्चर्य में) क्या कहा ?

अम्बपाली—(लापरवाही से) मैंने कहा, मगधपति को सोचना पड़ेगा कि अम्बपाली अगर मगध जाने को राजी न हुई तो वह क्या करेंगे !

अजातशत्रु—तुम नहीं जाती ? (भयं डेढ़ी करता है)

अम्बपाली—जरा अपनी भवें सीधी कीजिए, मगधपति । यह हम नारियों का ही शृंगार है ।

अजातशत्रु—(आगबबूला होकर) सम्मूलकर बोलो राजनर्तकी, तुम किसके सामने बोल रही हो ।

अम्बपाली—उसके सामने, जो मुझसे प्रणय-मिक्षा मांगने आया है । मिश्रारी को बर्भट नहीं धोमता !

अजातशत्रु—फिर उचककर खड़ा हो जाता है । अजीब उसकी मुलमुल हो रही है—वह बैची से मंच पर टहलने लगता है—कुछ देर तक अम्बपाली चुपचाप खड़ी रहती है—फिर विनम्रता के शब्दों में कहती है—

अम्बपाली—मगधपति !

अजातशत्रु—(कुछ जवाब नहीं देता, टहलता रहता है ।

अम्बपाली—मगधपति से मेरा निवेदन है, आसन ग्रहण करें ।

अजातशत्रु—(रुककर, उसके चेहरे पर आँखें गड़ाकर) सुन्दरी, तुम्हें याद रखना चाहिए कि वैशाली-विजेता से बातें कर रही हो !

अम्बपाली—वैशाली-विजेता पर भी जिन्होंने विजय प्राप्त की थी, उनसे भी अम्बपाली ने ऐसी ही बातें की थी !

अजातशत्रु—(चौककर) कौन है, जिसने मुझ पर विजय प्राप्त की ? अजातशत्रु अजय है, राजनर्तकी !

अम्बपाली—आह ! आदमी अभिमान में अपने-आपको इतना भूल जाता है !

अजातशत्रु—(आँखें गुरेरता है)

अम्बपाली—मेरा मतलब भगवान् बुद्ध से था, मगधपति !

अजातशत्रु—ओह, अब समझा ! हाँ, सुना था, भगवान् बुद्ध तुम्हारे आश्रमकानन में ठहरे थे । उनसे तुम्हारी बातें हुई थीं ।

अम्बपाली—सिर्फ एक सन्ध्या को नहीं, सात दिन की सात सन्ध्याएँ उनसे बातें करने में मेरी गुजरी ।

अजातशत्रु—फिर क्या हुआ ?

अम्बपाली—वही, जो दो समान-बलशाली व्यक्तियों की और-आजमाई के बाद होता है।

अजातशत्रु—समान-बलशाली ?

अम्बपाली—जी, हाँ। बल सिर्फ तलवार और धनुष में नहीं है, मगधपति। कुछ ऐसी ताकतें भी हैं जिनके सामने सलवारें मोम की तरह गल जाती हैं और धनुष तिनके की तरह टूट जाते हैं। क्या आप मगधान् बुद्ध के निकट धनुष और तलवार लेकर गये थे ?

अजातशत्रु—(कुछ बोलता नहीं, सोचता है)

अम्बपाली—(मुस्कराती हुई) और अम्बपाली के पास भी आप तलवार और धनुष लेकर नहीं आ सके।

अजातशत्रु—तुम इस भ्रम में न रहो कि मैं निःशस्त्र हूँ।

अम्बपाली—मगधान् बुद्ध ने भी यह कभी न सोचा होगा कि मगधपति साधनहीन होने के कारण उनके पास निःशस्त्र गये थे।

अजातशत्रु—तुम अजीब नारी हो अम्बपाली।

अम्बपाली—मगधान् बुद्ध ने भी यही कहा था।

अजातशत्रु—उन्होंने और क्या कहा था ?

अम्बपाली—उनसे मेरी बातें अभी रह गयी हैं—वह फिर वैशाली पधारेंगे।

अजातशत्रु—अम्बपाली राजगृह चलो। वहीं गृध्रकूट पर मगधान् के दर्शन करना।

अम्बपाली—मगधपति, अपने को बोखे में भत रखाए। आप मुझे गृध्रकूट पर मगधान् के दर्शन कराने के लिए आमन्त्रित करने नहीं आये हैं। मगधान् और गृध्रकूट का दिव्य सन्देश आपने सुना होता, तब आप यहाँ इस रूप में आते ही नहीं। यहाँ पर आपको बोधि-वृक्ष की छाया नहीं, मार की आँधी उड़ा ले आई है। लेकिन सोचिए, सम्राट, जिसकी एक छोटी-सी तस्वीर ने आपके शरीर से पीला रक्त उतरवाया, नर-संहार पर उतारू कराया, उसका वहाँ सशरीर जाना आपके, राजगृह के और मगध के लिए, क्या मज्जल की बात हो सकती है ?

अम्बपाली की यह बात सुन वह थोड़ी असमंजस में पड़ जाता है, लेकिन, फिर जैसे सम्हल कर बोलता है—

अजातशत्रु—मैं अकेला लौट नहीं सकता। (उसकी आवाज भर्राई हुई है)

अम्बपाली—सभी यही कहते हैं, सभी यही चाहते हैं, लेकिन, एक दिन सभी को अकेले लौटना होता है, मगधपति। यही होता आया है, यही होता रहेगा। हाँ, अगर हमने सही मार्ग पकड़ा, तो एक दिन हम सभी एक साथ होंगे—अनन्त काल तक के लिए। सवाल सिर्फ क्षणिक और अनन्त के बीच चुनाव का है, सम्राट !

अजातशत्रु चुप हो जाता है—धीरे-धीरे टहलता है—किन्तु, अब उसके चेहरे पर उत्तेजना या रोष की भयानकता नहीं, विषाद और पराजय की भावना है—वह अचानक जैसे कुछ निर्णय कर लेता है और कहता है।

अजातशत्रु—अम्बपाली तुमने मुझे पराजित किया, मैं आज ही वापस जा रहा हूँ !

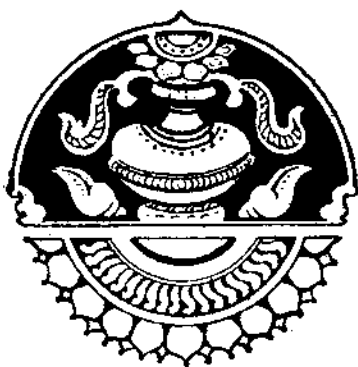
अम्बपाली—वैशाली-विजेता अम्बपाली को यह श्रेय दे रहे हैं, यह उनकी कृपा है ।

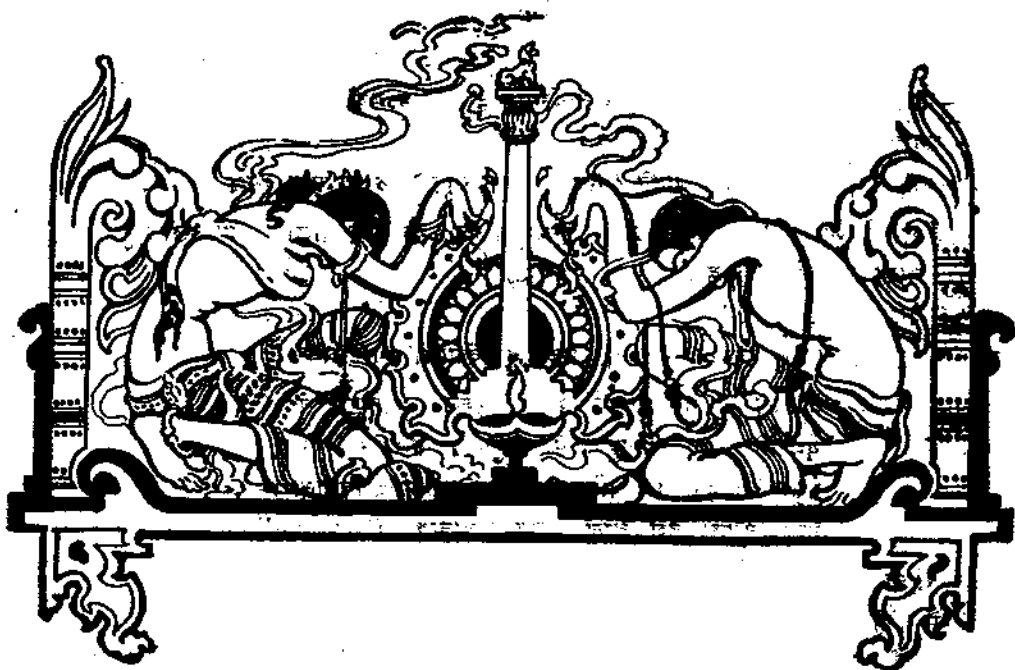
अजातशत्रु—अजातशत्रु के हृदय में दया, ममता, कृतज्ञता आदि कोमल भावनाएँ नहीं हैं, राजनर्तकी यह सिर्फ जय जानता है । अपनी पराजय को जय मानने की क्षुब्धता इसमें नहीं है । लेकिन, याद रखना, अजातशत्रु पराजय नहीं बर्दाश्त कर सकता । मुझे वैशाली-विजय को फिर आना पड़ेगा—

अम्बपाली—आइएगा, पर अब पहले महामन्त्री बस्सकार को नहीं भेजिएगा, सम्राट !

अजातशत्रु—अब उसकी जरूरत नहीं रह गई, अम्बपाली । मेरा वैशाली-विजय का पत्र तो प्रेषित हो चुका है !

वह क्षपटकर, तेजी से, वहाँ से चल पड़ता है—अम्बपाली उसकी पीठ को एकटक देखती रह जाती है—उसके मुँह से शब्द नहीं निकलता, लेकिन उसकी आँखें पुकार-पुकार कर कह रही हैं, यह अजीब पुरुष है !





वैशाली-दिग्दर्शन'

जगदीशचन्द्र माथुर, आई० सी० एस०

(गुनगुनाते हुए पथिक की प्रवेश—)

.....खोजता है—

खोजता है भीन धरती में निमन्त्रण

जो युगों की याद में रम

गंध सा

खेडहरों के दलित कुसुमों पर रुमासा

राह खोये मुझ भ्रमर को ।

खोजता है—

स्मृति सौरभ रज्जु का लेकर सहारा

खोजता है.....खोजता है—(फिर गुनगुनाता)

(एक ग्रामीण का प्रवेश)

प्रा०—तुम कौन हो ?

प०—मैं ! पथिक.....यात्री ।

१. ऑल-इण्डिया रेडियो (पटना) के सौजन्य से ।

प्रा०—यात्री ? बसाड़ में यात्री ? क्या यह तीर्थस्थान है जो तुम यहाँ यात्रा करने आये हो ?

प०—बसाड़ ? यह जगह बसाड़ है ?

प्रा०—वाह भई, इतना भी नहीं जानते ? यह है मुजफ्फरपुर जिले का गाँव बसाड़ ।

प०—हैं । मैं बसाड़ के इन खंडहरों, इस मग्न गढ़, इन सूखे तालों में अपने खोये हुए तीरथ को खोज रहा हूँ माई !

प्रा०—कौन तीरथ ?

प०—वैशाली ! जिसे तुम बसाड़ कहते हो, पहले वह वैशाली नगरी थी ।

“वैशाली इतिहास-मृष्ट पर अंकन अंगारों का,
वैशाली अतीत-गह्वर में गुंजन तलवारों का,
वैशाली ! जन का प्रतिपालक, मन का आदि विधाता ।
जिसे दूँइसा देश आज, उस प्रजातन्त्र की माता ।”

प्रा०—मैं तो यह सब नहीं जानता ।

प०—मैं तुम्हें दिखाऊँगा । चलोगे मेरे साथ ?

प्रा०—कहाँ ?

प०—दूर—सदियों पीछे । मैं समय का पथिक हूँ । अपनी पलकों के पाँवों से युगों को नापता हूँ । मेरे साथ चलो—आज से । ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व, जब गंगा, गंडक हिमांचल से आबद्ध इस सुरम्य प्रान्त में लिच्छवि निवास करते थे । यह एक तेजस्वी क्षत्रिय जाति थी जिसने वैशाली में ईसा से लगभग ७००, ८०० वर्ष पूर्व जनतन्त्र को चलाया; यों तो पुराणों के अनुसार सूर्यवंशी राजा इक्ष्वाकु के वंशज राजा विशाल ने इस नगरी की स्थापना की थी । वाल्मीकीय रामायण में भी लिखा है कि विश्वामित्र के साथ जनकपुरी जाते हुए राम और लक्ष्मण ने दूर से वैशाली के उत्तम शिखरों और भव्य भवनों को देखा । परन्तु लिच्छवियों द्वारा वैशाली का उत्थान हुआ । महाभारत के समर के उपरान्त जब उत्तरी भारत की राज्यप्रणाली खंड-खंड हो रही थी, उस समय गंडक-घाटी में नौगण या जनतान्त्रिक जातिसमूहों का राज्य था जिनमें प्रमुख थे वैशाली के लिच्छवि और कुशीनारा के मल्ल । इन नौ गणों को एक सूत्र में बौधनेवाला संघ वज्जिसंघ कहलाता था । वैशाली इसी वज्जिसंघ का केन्द्र थी । वज्जिसंघ ने नौ गणों को आंतरिक शासन में पूरी आजादी दे रखी थी । केवल बाहरी आक्रमण और विदेशी नीति का अधिकार संघ के हाथ में था । संघ में सब गण बराबर थे, न कोई सम्राट् था, न कोई महाराजाधिराज ।

प्रा०—उस समय भी पंचायती राज था क्या पथिक ?

प०—हाँ, आज हम उसे भूल गये हैं । लेकिन उन नौ गणों में से वैशाली के लिच्छविगण की शासनप्रणाली सबसे अधिक सुव्यवस्थित थी । उस समय वैशाली में लिच्छवियों के ७७०७ कुटुम्ब थे; हरेक कुटुम्ब का प्रमुख व्यक्ति गणसभा का समासद होता था और गणराज्य कहलाता था । लेकिन गणसभा की कार्यवाहक समिति एक और छोटी सभा

थी जिसे अष्टकुलक कहते थे। आठ प्रमुख गणराजन् इसके सदस्य थे और प्रायः गण-सभा इन्हें चुना करती थी। अष्टकुलकों में से प्रत्येक का अलग-अलग रंग था, विशेष उत्सवों और अवसरों पर हरेक अष्टकुलक उसी रंग के वस्त्र आभूषण पहन कर, उसी रंग के घोड़े पर सवार होकर आते। जब गणसभा की बैठक होती तो उसे गण-सन्निपात कहा जाता और उस बैठक के स्थान—समाभवन का नाम था संस्थागार। संस्थागार के निकट ही एक पुष्करिणी थी—‘अभिषेक-पुष्करिणी’ जिसमें केवल गण-राजन् ही स्नान करने के अधिकारी थे। जब नये गणराजन् का अभिषेक होता, तब बड़े समारोह के साथ वह इस पुष्करिणी में स्नान करता।.....देखते हो वह पुष्करिणी ?.....

ग्रा०—वह ? वह तो ‘सरोना पोखर’ है।

प०—वहीं अभिषेक-पुष्करिणी थी माई ! उसके दोनों तरफ जो टीले देखते हो वहाँ उन्नत शिखरवाले भवन थे, जहाँ लिच्छवि ललनाएँ बैठकर अभिषेकोत्सव देखती थीं।

(रुक जाता है। उस नीरव में वीणा के कुछ मंद स्वर जो क्रमशः तीव्र होते जाते हैं और उसमें और बाजों का संगीत भी मिलता जाता है।)

ग्रा०—कहो पथिक ! रुक क्यों गये ?

प०—तुम्हें कुछ दीखता है ? वह—भवनों की रूपरेखा।

ग्रा०—हाँ—आँ !.....संस्थागार, पुष्करिणी, जैसे बादलों के पीछे चाँद—

प०—अभिषेक-पुष्करिणी—वे भवन, वह जनसमूह—(वाद्यस्वर तीव्र हो रहा है।)

ग्रा०—यह क्या हो रहा है, पथिक ! यह कैसा चमत्कारपूर्ण दृश्य !

प०—सदियों के पर्व उठे हैं।.....समय का पंखो हमें उड़ाये लिए जा रहा है—ढाई हजार बरस पूर्व। वह देखो..... ढाई हजार वर्ष पूर्व लिच्छवियों का अभिषेकोत्सव।—

(वाद्य-स्वर धीरे निनाद में परिणत हो जाता है—तुरीयगति से।)

(कोलहल, फिर एक उच्च स्वर।)

प्रतिहारी—“सावधान, सावधान, सर्वगुणसम्पन्न लिच्छविगणाधिपति अष्टकुलक पधारते हैं। सबसे आगे महानायक चेटक हैं। उनके पीछे अन्य सारों वर्णवाले अष्टकुलक हैं। और सबसे पीछे आज के अभिषेकपात्र उपराजन् महालि हैं, जिन्हें गणसन्निपात ने गणराजन् चुना है। महानायक दीक्षा देंगे। आर्यमहालि लिच्छविगण के प्रति प्राणप्रतिष्ठा की शपथ लेंगे। उनके बाद युवक-युवतियों का यूयनृत्य होगा।— सावधान !

(तुरही का स्वर)

अभिवादनगण—“पीतास्या, पीतरथा, पीतरदिम प्रत्योदमुष्णीषा।

पीता च पंचककुदा पीता वस्त्रा अलंकारा।

नीलास्या, नीलरथा, नीलरदिम प्रत्योदमुष्णीषा।

नीला च पंचककुदा नीला वस्त्रा अलंकारा।”

(कोलाहल, फिर महानायक बैठक बोल्ते हैं ।)

वे०—आर्यमहालि ! आपको सुदूर तक्षशिला में शिक्षा प्राप्त करने भेजा गया था । वहाँ आपने वैशाली का नाम ऊँचा किया । आपकी उस कीर्ति और आपके गुणों पर मुग्ध होकर गणसभा ने आपको गणराज्य निर्वाचित किया है । इस पुष्करिणी में स्नान करने के पूर्व आपको हमारी परम प्रिय नगरी के इन सब नर-नारियों के सामने बह ब्रत लेना है, जो आपको इस अभिषेक के उपयुक्त बनायेगा । भन्तेगण सुनो । आर्यमहालि के वचन सुनो ।

महालि—“मैं, क्षेमेन्द्र का पुत्र महालि, प्रतिज्ञा करता हूँ कि मैं लिच्छवि मर्यादाओं का सखंदा पालन करूँगा, गणसभा में एकमत होकर आचरण करूँगा, ब्रह्मियों की प्राचीन संस्थाओं का सम्मान करूँगा, बूढ़ों और बड़े बूढ़ों का उचित आदर करूँगा । स्त्रियों और बालिकाओं पर बल प्रयोग नहीं करूँगा । बज्जी के नैर्घों की प्रतिष्ठा करूँगा, अपने अहंताओं का उचित रक्षण करूँगा और कठोर एवं अमघील जीवन बरतूँगा ।”

वे०—धन्य हो गणराज्य महालि ! यही लिच्छवियों की सच्ची मर्यादा है, जिसके लिए वैशाली युगयुगों तक प्रसिद्ध रहेगी । अब आप पुष्पसलिला पुष्करिणी में स्नान करें और हमारी नगरी की पताका को, जिस पर सिंह का लिच्छवि चिह्न अंकित है, प्रणाम करें ।

(विराट् संगीत और नृत्य की ध्वनि जो धीरे-धीरे मन्द हो जाती है ।)

वे०—कौन ? आर्यवासव ! गंगातीर से यहाँ क्यों आये ? तुम्हें तो उल्कावेष्ट में रहकर वृजिसंघ के शत्रुओं पर ध्यान रखना था ।

वा०—शत्रु कटिबद्ध है आर्यचेटक ।

वे०—कौन शत्रु ?

वा०—मगधराज बिम्बिसार । मैंने देखा, गंगा के उस पार पाटलि गाम के पास नौकाओं में उसकी सेना सवार हो चली है ।

वे०—यह घृष्टता ! हम प्रस्तुत हैं । प्रतिहारो ! तुरही बजाओ ! भन्तेगण, आपने सुना बिम्बिसार हमारे प्यारे वृजिसंघ पर आक्रमण कर रहा है । उसे वैशाली की संघशक्ति का अनुमान नहीं है ।

(सम्मिलित स्वर—“हम उसे कुचल देंगे”—।)

वे०—अवश्य ! अभी गणसन्निपात होगा । सब लोग संस्थागार में चलो (कोलाहल) । और सुनिये । हमारे नये गणराज्य महालि, जिनका अभी अभिषेक हुआ है, सुदूर तक्षशिला में सैन्यशिक्षा प्राप्त कर चुके हैं । गण की ओर से युद्ध का मार उन्हीं पर होगा ।

महालि—मैं प्रस्तुत हूँ, महानायक ! जय लिच्छविगण की जय ! (सम्मिलित स्वर—“जय लिच्छविगण की जय” ।)

चे०—आयंमहात्मा, आप सबके साथ संस्थागार चलें। मैं अभी जाता हूँ, (अवधनि)। वासव !
तुम किस मार्ग से आये ?

बा०—उत्तर पक्ष से। पहले कुण्डग्राम गया। सोचा, शायद आप वहाँ हों।

चे०—कुण्डग्राम में बहन त्रिगुला के पास मैं बहुत दिनों से नहीं गया हूँ।

बा०—तब तो आपको एक नूतन समाचार न मालूम होगा ?

चे०—क्या ?

बा०—आपकी बहन त्रिगुला के साथ ही एक पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ है।

चे०—सच ? त्रिगुला का पुत्र श्रुम घड़ी में आया, जब सारी बैशाली में खीर भाव छाया हुआ है। जानते हो वासव ! मैं उसका क्या नाम रखूँगा ?.....महावीर !

बा०—महावीर ?

चे०—हाँ ! लिच्छविपुत्र महावीर। उसके हाथों सारे मूलण्ड में बैशाली का प्रताप फैलेगा।
महावीर वर्षमान।

(वाद्यसंगीत जो धीरे धीरे मंद हो जाता है। पट परिवर्तन।)

ग्रामीण—पथिक, तो क्या सच ही इस महावीर ने अपने भुजबल और वीरता से सारे मूलण्ड को बैशाली के अधीन कर दिया।

पथिक—हाँ, लेकिन भुजबल से नहीं, आत्मबल से। ये ही वे महावीर स्वामी थे जिनके द्वारा बढ़ाये गये जैनधर्म को आज दिन भी भारतवर्ष में हजारों स्त्री पुरुष मानते हैं। ये जनों के सर्वोत्थक माने जाते हैं। इन्होंने श्री पारश्वनाथ के मत को अपनाकर उसे परिष्कृत रूप दिया। तुम्हारे इस गाँव से सटा जो बासुकुण्ड गाँव है, वही तब कुण्डग्राम कहलाता था और यहीं उनका जन्म हुआ। तीस वर्षों तक सांसारिक जीवन बिता कर फिर वह धर्मन बनकर निकल पड़े। सारा वज्जी और मगध प्रदेश उनके उपदेशों से अनुप्राणित हो चला। लेकिन बैशाली को वे न भूले और बहुत बार वे वर्षावास करने कुण्डग्राम भी आये। उस समय बैशाली के प्रमुख और समृद्धिवादी व्यक्ति उनके शिष्य थे—सेनापति सिंह, श्रेष्ठ आनन्दगाथापति, इत्यादि। जब मैं बासुकुण्ड को देखता हूँ तो मुझे ऐसा आभास होता है, मानो अब भी उनके शिष्य उनके चरणों में बैठे हैं और उनके उपदेशामृत का पान कर रहे हैं।

(संगीत ध्वनि, पट परिवर्तन)

महावीर वर्षमान—सेनापति सिंह, आज कल तुम बहुत व्यस्त रहते हो।

सिंह—हे निगण्डनाथपुत्र, मैं कितना भी व्यस्त रहूँ, आपके उपदेश मुझे चिन्ता से मुक्त करते रहेंगे।

महा०—सेनापति सिंह, सुनो ! मैं नहीं, तुम्हारी आन्तरिक शक्ति ही तुम्हें मुक्त करेगी। जीव स्वावलम्बी और स्वतन्त्र है। वह अनन्त बहुधन से परिपूर्ण है और अनन्त सामर्थ्यवान् है। परन्तु वह अपनी इस अनन्त सामर्थ्य को स्वयं ही नहीं पहचानता।

जिस दिन पहचान जाता है उसी दिन से क्लेशमय बन्धनों से विमुक्त हो जाता है।
इसको पहचानो। अपने में ही नहीं, जगत् के कोने-कोने में।

सिंह—हे नातपुत्र ! मैंने आज संस्थागार में कुछ लिच्छवियों को यह कहते सुना कि राजगृह से शाक्यश्रमण गौतम आये हैं और कल्याण के नूतन पथ का प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं।

महा०—तुम श्रमण गौतम के पास जाना चाहते हो।

सिंह—यदि नातपुत्र की आज्ञा हो तो।

महा०—सेनापति, तुम एक ही पथ पर स्थिर रहो, तो अच्छा है। श्रमण गौतम तो कर्मफल को, मुक्ति को मानते नहीं ! उनके सिद्धान्त तुम्हें विचलित कर देंगे। जब तक तुम स्वस्थ हो, तुम्हारी इन्द्रियों में शक्ति है, तब तक मेरे बताये धर्म पर आचरण करते रहो, तुम्हें शान्ति मिलेगी।

जरा जाव न पीछेइ बाही छाव न बड्ढइ,
जाविदिया न हायन्ति, ताव धम्मं समायरे।

(संगीत ध्वनि-पट परिवर्तन)

ग्रामीण—पथिक, ये श्रमण गौतम कौन थे, जिन्होंने वैशाली के सेनापति को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट किया ?

पथिक—ये थे महात्मा गौतमबुद्ध, जिनके बौद्ध धर्म की ज्योति ने सारे एशिया को देदीप्यमान कर रखा है। वैशाली नगरी में तो उस समय जितने नये आदर्श, नये धर्म, उत्पन्न होते थे, सभी के लिए जगह थी। गौतमबुद्ध का नाम सुना, तो लिच्छवियों ने बड़े आप्रह के साथ उन्हें बुलाया और कहते हैं कि बुद्ध भगवान् के चरण रखते ही वैशाली में जो महामारियाँ छायी हुई थीं, सब गायब हो गयीं। फिर तो वे अक्सर वैशाली आने लगे। वह अधोक का सिंह स्तम्भ देखतो हो।

ग्रा०—वह ? हम लोग तो उसे भीमसेन की लाठी कहते हैं।

प०—माई ! वह राजा अधोक का बनवाया हुआ स्तम्भ है—उसी जगह जहाँ बुद्ध भगवान् अक्सर ठहरा करते थे। और देखो यह टीला है न। वह टीला एक स्तूप था, जिसके नीचे भगवान् बुद्ध के शरीर का एक अंश दबा कर रखा गया था।

ग्रा०—अच्छा ?

प०—हाँ माई ! बुद्ध भगवान् को वैशाली और उसके लिच्छवि बहुत प्रिय थे। एक दिन की बात है, वैशाली के निकट महावन में भगवान् बुद्ध ध्यानावस्थित बैठे हुए थे और उनके निकट थे एक वृद्ध लिच्छवि महानाम। इतने में कुछ उच्छृंखल लिच्छवि युवकों का समूह गाना गाते हुए, धीरे मचाते हुए आखेट के लिए वहाँ आया।

(संगीत, पट परिवर्तन)

महानाम—देखिये तयागत, ये उच्छृंखल लिच्छवि युवक कितना ऊँचम मचा रहे हैं। मला इनसे क्या आशा करें कि ये तयागत के धर्म की शरण लेंगे।

बुद्ध—ठहरो महानाम ! इन्हें आने दो । (कोलाहल कम हो जाता है, बुद्ध के पास आते ही वे चुप हो जाते हैं ।) आओ भाई, बैठो । अमय, यहाँ आओ, माणिक्य बैठो न । मग्न बैठ जाओ । (कुछ देर ठहर कर) महानाम ! अब बोलो क्या कह रहे थे तुम ?

महानाम—मैं अचरज में पड़ गया हूँ । ये लिच्छवि युवक जिनकी उच्छृङ्खलता और उपद्रव से हम बड़े बड़े त्रस्त हैं, वे इस समय अपना उपाधिपूर्ण स्वभाव तज कर, धनुष बाण त्याग तथागत के निकट कितने शान्त और सौम्य बने बैठे हैं । यह अमिताम के अनन्त प्रकाश का प्रभाव है ।

बुद्ध—महानाम, इनकी उच्छृङ्खलता से त्रस्त मत होओ । ये लिच्छवि युवक तुम्हारी वैशाली नगरी के प्राण हैं । जानते हो क्यों ? एक बार मगध मंत्री वर्षकार ने मुझसे पूछा कि क्या अजातशत्रु लिच्छवियों को परास्त कर सकता है ? मैंने कहा कि लिच्छवि युवक तो काठ के तकिधे लगाकर सीते हैं; परिश्रमी और उत्साही हैं, आलस्य का उनमें नाम नहीं है, कठोर जीवन के आदी हैं । जब तक उनमें ये गुण हैं, तब तक उनकी पराजय सम्भव नहीं, चाहे वे कितने उच्छृङ्खल हों ।

महानाम—और मगवान् ! यहाँ की युवतियाँ ? वैशाली की युवतियाँ तो सागर की फेनिल लहरों की भाँति नृत्य और आमोद-प्रमोद में बिरकती रहती हैं ।

बुद्ध—जिस युवती समाज की शिरोमणि अम्बापाली जैसा रत्न है, वह सम्मान का पात्र है ।

महा०—अम्बापाली ? गणिका ?

(अम्बापाली का प्रवेश)

अम्बा—हाँ, अम्बापाली गणिका । वैशाली की सौन्दर्य-महिषी, अम्बापाली । तथागत को मेरा प्रणाम स्वीकार हो ।

बुद्ध—आज तुम बहुत उल्लसित हो भद्रे !

अम्बा—उल्लसित क्यों न होऊँ मगवन् ! आज तथागत मेरे घर—अम्बापाली के आश्रकानन में—पधारेंगे । आज मेरा गौरव सीमाहीन है । कल तथागत ने मेरा निमंत्रण स्वीकार किया, तो लोटते समय वैशाली के राजपथ पर चार पाँच गणराजों के रथों से मेरा रथ अटक गया । मैंने सारथी से कहा—“रथ आगे बढ़ाओ ।” गणराजन् बोले—“गणिका की इतनी स्पर्धा ।” मैंने जवाब दिया—“हाँ, जिसके यहाँ तथागत पधारेंगे, उसका रथ पवन की होड़ लेगा ।” वे अहंकार से हँसे और बोले, “तथागत और गणिका के यहाँ ! उन्हें आमंत्रित करने तो हम जा रहे हैं ।”

बुद्ध—भद्रे, वे गणराजन् मेरे पास आये थे ।

अ०—(चिन्तित स्वर) मगवन् ! मेरे निमंत्रण को ठुकरा कर कहीं आप उनके यहाँ तो न जाइयेगा ?

बुद्ध—नहीं, भद्रे ! तथागत वचनबद्ध हैं । मैंने उनका निमंत्रण अस्वीकार कर दिया ।

अ०—दासी आभारी है।

बुद्ध—लेकिन आज मेरे साथ तुम्हारे आभ्रकानन में वे गणराजन् भी आँवेंगे।

अ०—अवश्य आँवें। राजपुत्रों के स्वागत में अम्बापाली खुश है।

बुद्ध—आज वे राजपुत्र की तरह नहीं, एक भिक्षु के पीछे आ रहे हैं।

अ०—जिसके अमूल्य वस्त्रों की मिखा पाने को जम्बूद्वीप आतुर रहता है, उसे मैं भिक्षु कैसे समझूँ ?

बुद्ध—तुम्हारा वाक्-चातुर्य धन्य है, भद्रे ! तुम्हारी यह जन्मभूमि वैशाली धन्य है। वैशाली ने तथागत को ग्रहण कर लिया है। इसके सुरम्भ भवन, इसके गगनचुम्बी चैत्य, इसके निवासियों की उदारता—सभी में मुझे अनुपम आकर्षण लगता है। वैशाली में तथागत को अमूल्य पंचरत्न मिले हैं—धम्म की परिणति, धम्म के सच्चे अनुयायी, कृतज्ञजन, तथागत की अवतारणा और तथागत के धम्म के प्रचारक। युगयुगों तक तथागत की स्मृति में वैशाली संयुक्त रहेगी।

(वाद्य संगीत । पट परिवर्तन ।)

ग्रामीण—ऐसी जो वैशाली नगरी थी पथिक, उस पर तो कोई हथ नहीं लगा सकता था।

पथिक—वह एक कहानी है माई ! मगध के राजा बिम्बिसार को तो लिच्छवियों ने बुरी तरह हराया। लेकिन उन्होंने अपनी प्राचीन प्रथा के विपरीत अपने महानायक चेटक की पुत्री छलना का विवाह भी बिम्बिसार से कर दिया। छलना का पुत्र हुआ अजात-शत्रु—निर्भय, निष्ठुर, महत्वाकांक्षी सम्राट् जिसने अपने पिता को बन्दी किया। अपनी माँ के घरवालों—लिच्छवियों—को क्यों छोड़ता ? लिच्छवियों पर आक्रमण करने के लिए उसने पाटलिपुत्र में विशाल दुर्ग बनवाया। पहला आक्रमण तो निष्फल रहा, क्योंकि लिच्छवि एक मत होकर अनंतन के लिए लड़े। लेकिन दूसरी बार उसने अपने मंत्री वर्षकार को लिच्छवियों के बीच फूट डलवाने के लिए भेजा और इस तरह वैशाली को बिना युद्ध किये ही पराजित कर दिया।

आ०—क्या तभी से वैशाली की वह दशा हुई, जो आज है ?

प०—नहीं। यद्यपि वज्रिसंघ की राजनीतिक शक्ति नष्टप्राय हो गयी, तथापि लिच्छवि-जाति का शौर्य और प्रताप सदियों तक उत्तर भारत को प्रभावित करता रहा। बुद्ध के मरने के सौ वर्ष बाद वैशाली में ७०० बौद्ध-भिक्षुओं की द्वितीय धर्म-सभा हुई। अन्य राज्यों के नृप लिच्छवि कुटुम्बों से विवाह सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने को इच्छुक रहे और यहाँ तक कि ईसा की चौथी शताब्दी में गुप्त साम्राज्य के संस्थापक चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम ने एक लिच्छवि कुमारी कुमारदेवी से विवाह किया। उसके पुत्र ने तो अपने सिककों पर खुदवाया—“लिच्छविदोहित्र”।

प्रा०—पथिक, हमारे यहाँ तो कई सोने के सिक्के मिले हैं, बड़े सुन्दर।

प०—वे गुप्त सजाटों के ही हैं। तुमने एक सिक्का देखा होगा, जिसमें इम्राह् चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य एक प्रमुख किए अडे हैं। इन्हीं इम्राह के समय में चीन से एक यात्री आया - फाह्यान।

(घंटों की ध्वनि)

फा०—“यही बैशाली है?”

स्वर—हाँ, इधर से आओ यात्री। तुम चीन देश से कब चले थे?

फा०—कई बरस हुए। भिक्षु, यह कौन भवन है?

स्वर—कूटागारशाला। यहीं तथागत प्रायः विहार करते और उपदेश देते थे। कैसा रमणीक भवन है! यह तुम लिख रहे हो यात्री?

फा०—हाँ, लिख रहा हूँ, जिससे मेरे देश के निवासी बैशाली की दिव्य नगरी की शोभा का अन्दाजा लगा सकें। और बताओ, भिक्षु, इस भवन नगरी का माहात्म्य और बताओ।

(घण्टों की ध्वनि। पट परिवर्तन)

पथिक—दो सौ साल बाद उसी चीन देश से एक और यात्री बैशाली आया और उसका नाम था—ह्वेनसांग। उसने लिखा है—

(अन्य स्वर में—)

“इस देश की भूमि उत्तम और उमङ्गल है। फल और फूल अधिक होते हैं। प्रकृति स्वभाविक और सह्य है तथा मनुष्यों का आचरण शुद्ध श्रद्धा है। ये लोग धर्म से प्रेम और विद्या की बड़ी प्रतिष्ठन करते हैं। विरोधी और बौद्ध दोनों मिल जुल कर रहते हैं।”

प्रा०—पथिक।

प०—हाँ!

प०—क्या वैसी बैशाली फिर नहीं होगी?

प०—माई! उसी की खोज में मैं इन खँडहरों में मारा मारा फिर रहा हूँ। इस लिच्छवि भूमि की पवित्र धूलि, इसकी ये च्वस्त मूर्तियाँ, यह अकेला अशोकस्तम्भ, ये सूखते-से ताल—सभी में बीते हुए वैभव की कहानियाँ जिलरी पड़ी हैं।

प्रा०—उनमें एक और चीज छिपी पड़ी है, पथिक!

प०—क्या?

प्रा०—आने वाले वैभव के सपने!

प०—तुम्हारी बात मैंने नहीं समझी, माई!

ब्रा०—परिच, मैं एक साधारण ग्रामीण हूँ। लेकिन तुमने मेरी आँखें खोल दीं। तुमने मुझे बताया कि मैं किस विशाल धरोहर का उत्तराधिकारी हूँ। तुमने मुझे पिछले युगों का सिंहावलोकन कराया। अतः मैं तुम्हारी खोज पूरा करूँगा। मैं मविष्य के गौरवमय युग का निर्माण करूँगा। मैं इन सँडहरों की नींव पर नयी वैशाली को खड़ा करूँगा। मैं लिच्छवियों की सन्तान हूँ—वह जिसे काल नष्ट नहीं कर सकता, जिसे सबियों की बूलि छिपा नहीं सकती। मैं वैशाली की अमर ज्योति हूँ—जनशक्ति और गणतन्त्र की निर्भय आवाज हूँ। आओ मेरे साथ। गाओ मेरे संग —

(सम्मिलित स्त्री पुरुष स्वर में—)

“जय लिच्छविगान ! जय क्षत्रिय-ब्राह्म !

“जय जय वैशाली गणमान ।

सिंहों के पूत, यौवन के दूत ।

इक-सम वैशाली संतान ।

जय जय वैशालीगणमान ॥





वैशाली

रामधारी सिंह 'दिनकर'

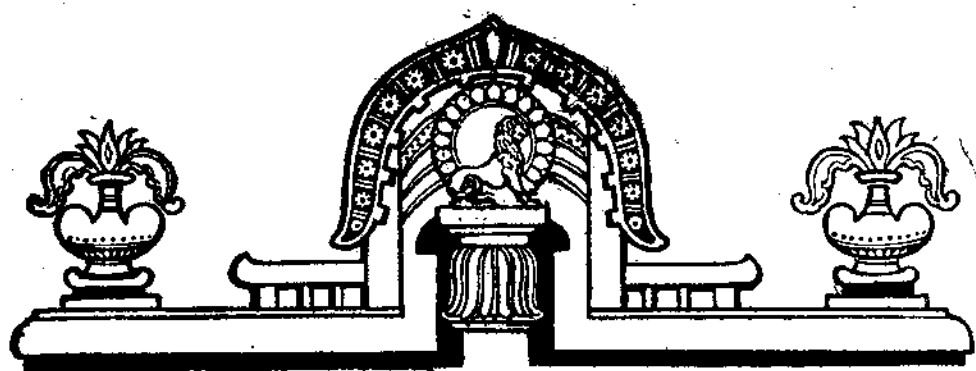
ओ भारत की भूमि बन्दिनी ! ओ जंजीरों वाली !
 तेरी ही क्या कुक्षि फाड़ कर जन्मी यो वैशाली ?
 वैशाली ! इतिहास-पृष्ठ पर अंकन अंगारों का
 वैशाली ! अतीत-गह्वर में गुंजन ललवारों का
 वैशाली ! जन का प्रतिपालक, गण का आदि विधाता !
 जिसे हूँदता देश आज उस प्रजातन्त्र की माता
 रुको, एक क्षण पथिक ! यहाँ मिट्टी की खीच नवाओ
 राजसिद्धियों की समाधि पर फूल चढ़ाते जाओ
 हूबा है दिनमान इसी खंडहर में हूबी राका
 छिपी हुई है यहीं कहीं धूलों में राजपटाका
 हूँदो उसे, जगाओ उनको जिनकी ध्वजा गिरी है
 जिनके लो जाने से सिर पर काली घटा घिरी है
 कहो, जगाती है उनको बन्दिनी बेड़ियोंवाली
 नहीं उठे वे तो न बसेगी किसी तरह वैशाली ।

×

×

×

फिर आते जागरण-गीत टकरा अतीत-गह्वर से
 उठती है आवाज एक वैशाली के खंडहर से
 "करना हो साकार स्वप्न को तो बलिदान चढ़ाओ
 ज्योति चाहते हो तो पहले अपनी धिक्का जलाओ
 जिस दिन एक ज्वलन्त पुरुष तुम में से बढ़ आयेगा
 एक-एक कण इस खंडहर का जीवित हो जायेगा
 किसी जागरण की प्रत्याशा में हम पड़े हुए हैं
 लिच्छवी नहीं मरे, जीवित मानव ही मरे हुए हैं ।"



इस वैशाली के आँगन में

प्रिंसिपल मनोरंजन प्रकाश सिंह, एम० ए०

(१)

किस अतीत गौरव की गाथा कवि ! तू गाने आया है ?
 किस युग की तू करुण कहानी हमें सुनाने आया है ?
 क्यों विस्मृत घटनाओं की फिर याद दिलाने आया है ?
 क्यों सचियों की सुख वेदना पुनः जगाने आया है ?
 रहने दे ये सूख ज्वबाएँ सारी अपने ही मन में ।
 मत कह, क्या क्या हुआ यहाँ इस वैशाली के आँगन में ॥

(२)

सुना, किसी दिन यहीं लिच्छवि शासन का गौरवशाली ।
 सुना, कभी यो उन्नति के उस उच्च शिखर पर वैशाली ॥
 जब जग में भी राजतन्त्र की घटा चिरी काली काली ;
 तब भी इस प्राचीन भूमि में प्रजातन्त्र की धी लाली ।
 लेकिन है क्या काम मला अब इस अतीत के चिन्तन में ?
 मत कह, क्या क्या हुआ यहाँ इस वैशाली के आँगन में ॥

(३)

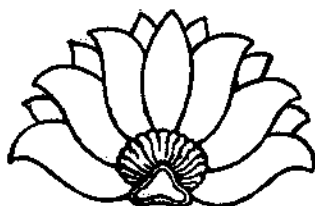
सुना, यहीं पर बुढ़ाई ने किया कभी सा आश निवास ।
महारण्य की पुण्य-कुटी में था उनका सुन्दर आवास ॥
यहीं सुन्दरी आभारिका तब कर सारे भोग-विलास,
आयी थी अदा सज्जत उपदेश ग्रहण को उनके पास ॥
विकसी थी वह मृदुल मञ्जरी यहीं आश्र के कानन में ।
मत कह, क्या क्या हुआ यहाँ इस वैशाली के आँगन में ॥

(४)

सुना, यहीं उत्पन्न हुआ था किसी समय वह राजकुमार,
त्याग दिये थे जिसने जग के भोग-विलास, साज-शृङ्गार,
जिसके निर्मल जैन धर्म का देश-देश में हुआ प्रचार,
तीर्थङ्कर जिस महावीर के यश अब भी गाता संसार ।
है पवित्रता भरी हुई इस विमल भूमि के कण-कण में ।
मत कह, क्या क्या हुआ यहाँ इस वैशाली के आँगन में ॥

(५)

है उस प्रियदर्शी अशोक का स्तम्भ आज भी गड़ा हुआ ।
उस असीम गौरव का है यह चिह्न आज भी लड़ा हुआ ॥
लुप्त हो गये सभा, जिन्हें था था करके यह बड़ा हुआ ।
राजनगर राजा विशाल का आज शून्य है पड़ा हुआ ॥
ध्वनि अब भी जाती है उसकी गण्डक के कल क्रन्दन में ।
मत कह, क्या क्या हुआ यहाँ इस वैशाली के आँगन में ॥





VAISĀLĪ CORPORATIONS

(AN ASPECT OF CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT VAIŚĀLĪ)

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A detailed, critical study of the antiquities unearthed at Basāṛh is a desideratum. It will throw new valuable light on administrative, social and cultural history of Northern India, and specially of N. Bihar during an approximate period of 800 years, from the Mauryan to the Gupta ages. An attempt has been made in this article to study a few references to corporations or guilds contained in inscribed seals found at Basāṛh, which represents the site of Vaiśālī.

Dr. T. Bloch considered the inscribed clay seals (numbering 720, with over 1,100 seal inscriptions, 120 varieties) to be "the most interesting find" among the antiquities, found during his excavations in 1903-4, and going back to the Gupta period. In 1912 Dr. D. B. Spooner also found in all 235 seals with 283 impressions; and some of his seals throw light on those of Dr. Bloch. There is absolutely no doubt, judging from the facts about economic life of India in pre-Gupta and post-Gupta periods, that huge organisations (*śreṇi*) for commercial purposes were made by traders, bankers, manufacturers, and producers and that there was a continuous history of the corporations and guilds during this period. It is interesting to note that while Dr. Spooner's seals, generally representing pre-Gupta periods, mostly refer to *śreṣṭhinigamasya* (i. e., seals of the Guild of Bankers)¹, Dr. Bloch's seals, generally representing

1. Nos. 808, 270A, 69B. A.S.I.R. 1913-14. Dr. Spooner observed: "In all, sixteen specimens of this seal were recovered. a very unusual number for any one type in this collection. Banking was evidently as prominent in Vaiśālī as we should have expected it to be, judging from the notice in Manu to the effect that the people in Magadha were bards and traders." (*Ibid.*, 122).

the Gupta period contain numerous references to *Śreṣṭhi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama* or sometimes *nigama*, i.e., corporation or guild of bankers, traders and merchants or elderly house-holders¹. This is almost always combined with seals of private individuals² and in one case with the seal of the Chief of Prince's Ministers:³ two or more seals of private persons are found together or with the seal of the guild of bankers, to which they evidently belonged. Dr. Bloch thinks: "It looks, as if during those days something like a modern Chamber of Commerce existed in upper India at some big trading centre, perhaps at Pāṭaliputra.....most of the persons to whom the seals belonged carried on business transactions with the royal family of Vaiśālī."⁴ The seals of temples and seals with religious legends also contain names of *Kulikas*. One Mātṛdāsa is referred to in Nos. 41 and 92: in both his seal is combined with that of the guild and those of some common *Kulikas*. Probably, he is to be identified with the Mātṛdāsa of the mutilated Gadhwa stone inscription of Candragupta II: "headed by Mātṛdāsa.....for the purpose of increasing the religious merit.....fashioned.....the Brāhmaṇas of the community of a perpetual almshouse.....by ten *dināras*." In No. 55 Dr. Bloch explains *Dharmmo-rakṣati-rakṣita* as 'a proper name, rather than as a benedictory formula'⁵ regarding him as a member of the guild, as his seal occurs along with that of the latter. Some seals with no proper names but only benedictory formulas, contain also seals of private individuals (e.g., Nos. 33, 38, 40) and those of the mercantile guild (e.g., Nos. 39, 40).

Corporate activity, similar to that suggested by Basārṇ seals, is also suggested by epigraphic⁶ and literary records⁷ of the period.

An analysis of the inscriptions yield the names of several individuals belonging to the following classes:⁸

1. No. 5, 29, A.S.I.R. 1903-4.
2. Vide Nos. 43, 44, 45, in *Ibid.* e.g. Ajapāla, Āryyabhaṭṭa, Āryyanandi and others. Sometimes we get only the words *śreṣṭhi-kulika-nigama* (No. 28).
3. No. 5 of A.S.I.R. 1903-4.
4. A.S.I.R. 1903-4.
5. "Victorious is the Lord, E. G., Ananta (*Śiva*) with Ambā (*Durgā*) (32); "Victorious is the Lord" (33); "Victorious is the Lord Ananta (*Śiva*) the chosen husband of Nandēśvarī (*Durgā*) (37).
6. Gadhwa stone inscription of Candragupta II.
7. *Mudrārākṣasa; Daśakumāracharita*.
8. The figure in the brackets indicate the number of seals in A.S.I.R. 1903-4.

(a) *Kulika*:—

Hari (40, 46, 51, 66, 76, 77, 94, 97)

Umābhadda (40, 49, 50, 61, 66, 87, 94) [Dr. Bloch found many specimens of Nāgasimha's seal along with other seals, specially the seal of Umābhadda. Dr. Spooner also found the latter's seal (272 B., A. S. I. R. 1913-14) p. 138]

Sālibhadra (45, 49, 50, 51, 66, 81, 94, 97, 98)

Dhaṇa (50, 66)

Harih (50)

Umāpālita (57, 83)

Vargga (60, 84)

Ugrasena (60)

Kṛṣṇadatta (45, 63, 78, 92)

Sukhita (66, 82, 92)

Nāgadatta (41, 68, 79)

Goṇḍa (45, 62, 75)

Nanda (80)

Varmma (33, 85)

Gauridāsa (94)

(b) *Sārthavāha*:—

Dodḍa (50, 94, 105)

(c) *Śreṣṭhi*:—

Saṣ(ṭh)i(datta) (94, 109).

Srīdāsa (45, 96, 110)

Kuloṭa, son of Gomika (59, 62, 88): The seal of Gomika was found by Dr. Spooner (1912); the two seals, of the father and the son, were of the same genral style showing that the son followed the father's tradition, and that Gomika was also a banker.

Dr. Spooner found the names of the following bankers¹:

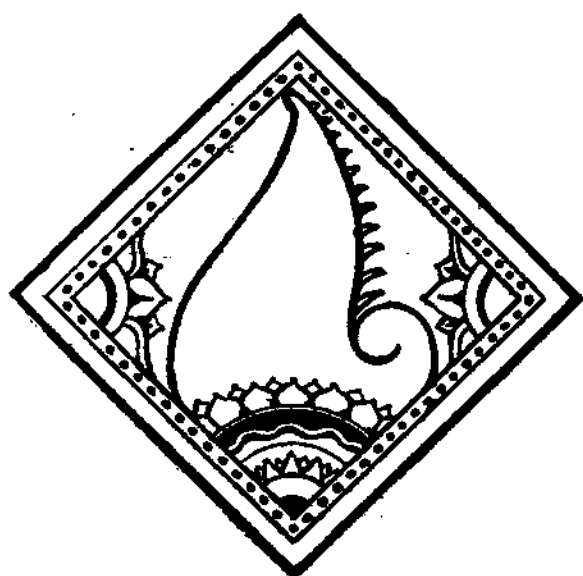
- (i) Viṣṇudāsa—adding his own signet to that of the Banker's guild (8 A, 8 B).
- (ii) Vyāghrabala—adding his own signet to that of the Banker's guild (14, 167, 271, 282).
- (iii) Bhadrādāsa, using, besides his own private signet, the seal also of the guild of Bankers (70, 81, 178, 270 B).

1. The figures within brackets are the numbers in unclassified list of seals in A. S. I. R. 1913-14.

Prathama Kulika

Hari (51, 66, 96, 97, 99)—describing himself both as *Kulika* (76, 77) and *Prathama Kulika*. Ugrasimha (44, 60, 100).

The identification of these and other names on the Basāṇh seals, from a critical study of other classes of sources, epigraphic and literary, will throw new light on the organisation and working of the guilds of Vaiśālī.





OBSERVATIONS ON THE VAIŚĀLĪ TERRACOTTAS

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The excavations carried on at Vaiśālī by T. Bloch in the year 1903-04 brought out a mass of materials including terracottas, pottery, clay-seals, coins etc. which together with the finds at Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Buxar, Pāṭaliputra, Belwā (Saran) and Kasiā (Kuşīnārā, Gorakhpur) supply us with a wealth of information about the life of the people in Northern India in the first four centuries of the Christian era. We choose here the terracottas for a study of the costume prevalent during the days of the Guptas and the four centuries before and after them. Little clay-toys burnt or otherwise give us a clue to the whole outlook of people of those times. They are in many ways better records of the thoughts and aspirations of the people of the times than the overwhelming flood of philosophical treatises and literary compositions synchronistic with these terracottas.

An examination of these terracottas together with those found at Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Buxar, Pāṭaliputra, Belwā (Saran), Kasiā (Kuşīnārā, Gorakhpur) and the Didarganj image of the Mauryan age as well as the reliefs at Bhārhut of the following century reveals that in matter of dress almost the same pattern was followed throughout Northern India all through the eight centuries beginning with the Mauryas (300 B. C.—500 A. D.): the head-dress and necklace, the waist-chain and the *dhoti* going round the waist with one end pressed by the chain behind and the other end hanging down in front between the thighs and legs up to the ankles and rings round the ankles; no cover for the portion of the body below the neck and about the waist; in case of males no cover for the thighs and legs; nothing, for the arms except a broad chain round each of them against the armpit. This pattern stands bold in a contrast with what obtains to-day in our society and has been in vogue for the last eight

hundred years at least beginning with the invasion of India by the Mussal-mans from the west. The difference is especially marked in women's dress. It would be difficult for a North-Indian to-day to conceive of his women-folk without any cover for the part between the neck and the waist.

To reach an explanation of this pattern of costume, we have to look into the climatic conditions that must have obtained in North India during the centuries under discussion and the cultural level of the people who inhabited that long and wide territory then. There is no evidence of any marked topographical changes in North India during the last twenty-five hundred years. We can therefore safely assume that in the days of Vaiśālī terracotta, climatic conditions were the same as they are today here. The Tropic of Cancer passing through the southern boundary line of the territory, for the greater part of the year, it has either excessively hot summer or mild hot spring and autumn and mild cold winter. Naturally therefore the necessity for clothes for protecting one's body from cold is not so great as it might be in the higher latitudes or on the mountain-heights. It is probably due to this fact that very few cloths were required as they are to-day to protect oneself from cold, but protection from the elements has not been the sole consideration with Man in deciding the pattern of his garments. It may have been the most important factor there; but the factor next in importance has been his desire to look better, more attractive than he is. This desire to look more attractive seems to be the guiding factor in setting the pattern of dress as we cast a glance at the mass of Vaiśālī terracottas; for nowhere there is any attempt to cover the parts most vital and sensitive to cold, e. g., the chest which has within it the lungs and the heart. Man having settled down to agriculture did not have as many worries for his livelihood as in his primitive days, could give more time and attention to the searching for the ways and means for satisfying the demands of his sex, and he prepared a number of garments to decorate his head, the neck, the arms, the waist, the ankles and thus tried to have a sure place in the heart of a member of the opposite sex. This is true of women as much as of man. Both vied with each other to look more attractive. Sex which manifested itself in an ugly form in the early and later medieval ages had already in the centuries preceding the medieval age established itself as a dominant factor in life and art of the times and shown unmistakable signs of its coming excesses in the medieval age in life and consequently in art both literary and plastic.

Even now we come across discussions claiming to be 'scientific' calling the times of the Guptas 'the Golden Age' of Indian History on

the ground of political and artistic—both literary and plastic—achievements of the people. Belonging to the camp of those that find it extremely difficult to shake off the prejudice in favour of their people and their country, we cannot but exult in enumerating the long list of victories gained by Samudragupta of Pāṭaliputra on a hundred battle fields scattered over the whole of India over kings and their comrades that had claimed invincibility before the approach of the gallant armies of the Imperial Guptas. Petty chiefs and self-seeking rulers were all laid low throughout India and the country was given peace and order so that it might allow free scope for the development of the finer aspects of the life of its citizens. But all these stories of glorious achievements on the battlefields or the mass of gold coins of the Guptas unearthed over a wide area of the country do not give as authentic a picture of the common man in those days as these terracottas do. And what is the story they unfold for us about the life and work of this common man? Poor and helpless as always, he has to direct all his energies towards creating the stage on which to appear himself with the wife, the children, kinsmen and the comrades, singing and dancing all, playing on the *mṛidaṅga* and the *vīṇā*, in perfect glee as it were, for the recreation of the king, the Lord of the earth. Bereft of all the aspirations after perfections as set for the ideal of life in the philosophical treatises and literary compositions, what were all these myriads of unthinking human beings, reduced to the state of the apes, their ancestors, running to? What was it they were engaging themselves with? Was it love, enjoyment of life? Or was it coquetry of the most degrading type that led these masses of human beings devoid of even the primary moral susceptibilities, following recklessly their impulses, to the stage where they saw no way to save themselves from the foreign invaders other than to conceal themselves behind the long cloth placed over their heads and hanging down up to the toes or to silently surrender themselves to the enemy like the spineless creatures that they had become by then?

The material and the theme in the artistic representation of the life of the members of the royal family and that of the people almost invariably point to the great gulf that separated the people from the rulers, to the degraded position to which the common man was pushed down. The gold coin with the king as lion-slayer on the obverse and the queen riding the lion on the reverse—that was His Majesty the King with his consort as represented in art. The little clay images of men and women and children dancing and singing and beating the hide-bound faces of their wooden drums with straw-sticks for the recreation of the Royal Master—that was the average citizen in the Golden Age of Indian History.

The trouser and the coat which form the dress of the king, as represented on his gold coins of the lion-slayer type, are conspicuous by their absence in the Vaiśālī terracottas. The common man was not expected to indulge in acts of heroism and hence he never required a smart, tight dress consisting of a coat and trouser. He was mostly concerned with playing attendance to the king, and that job could be better performed with a loose, flowing garment than a close-fit suit convenient on the battle field or on the hunting ground. To-day we generally call the suit, consisting of coat and trouser, a European dress and believe that it was the Europeans who originally adopted this style of dress. While trying to assign a date and a place to a particular form of dress, we often forget its origin in the exigencies of function and climate. In the same climate we require a close-fit garment while engaged in manual work and a loose one while at home. In a cold climate a warm close-fit dress would be a necessity, not so in a different climate. Quite often the form varies according to the rank so that at home while the king would appear in gold-laced drapery, the poor attendant would do with a *dhōti* tied round the waist with one end flowing down up to the knees and a scarf wound round the head. The coat and trouser also might have something to do with the rank in the days of the Guptas as they have to do to-day.

In consideration of their causes, the coming of the veil is the same as the disappearance of the coat and trouser by the end of the twelfth century of the Christian era. For to ensure the security of the women, she had to be kept from the sight of the invaders; and the Indians having surrendered themselves to these invaders, who became rulers of the land, and given up all intention to organise themselves into a well-knit band of fighters for the freedom of the soil and rise up in revolt against the foreign usurpers, the smart and close-fit suit consisting of coat and trouser was no longer required. It is however to be borne in mind that the preparation of the coat and the trouser in the days of the Guptas was not the same as it is to-day. With all other things in human life as well as in Nature, the dress has taken its share in undergoing transformations in the process of evolution so that though the principle remains the same, performance varies according to variances in individual taste and national trends of thought and culture.

With regard to the veil which is absent from the Vaiśālī terracottas, we are presented with some difficulty by the passage केयमवगुण्ठनवती कन्या etc. in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, if of course we take Kālidāsa to belong to the age of the Guptas. If अवगुण्ठन is veil or cover for the face, it is in conflict with what we find in the terracottas of the period. We

can get out of it only if we explain the fact as due to unsophisticated Śakuntalā's inability to bear the sight of the King in Majesty and hence an isolated, abnormal one having no social significance. Or in the face of the objective evidence in form of the terracottas and coins, we may summarily dismiss the subjective reference occurring in a literary composition whose form undergoes changes almost each time it changes hands, terms and expressions often leaving out their original meanings and taking on new ones. Under such circumstances, we may not even be sure if अवगुण्ठन means the cover for the face.

We have deliberately kept from discussing the date of the Vaiṣālī terracottas. We refer the reader for discussions of the same to the articles of T. Bloch and D. B. Spooner in the Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports for 1903-04 and 1913-14. The palaeography of the inscriptions on the coins and the seals as well as the strata in which the terracottas have been found point definitely to the period 300 A. D. —500 A. D. as their date. It has been deduced from the coins and the seals that Vaiṣālī was the seat of the governor of the province of Tirabhukti (Modern Tirhut) under the Imperial Guptas.





VAISĀLĪ AND GAUTAMA BUDDHA

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“Deity of the ruined temple ! The broken strings of the ‘vīṇā’ sing no more your praise. The bells in the evening proclaim not your time of worship. The air is still and silent about you. In your desolate dwelling comes the vagrant spring breeze. It brings the tidings of flowers—the flowers that for your worship are offered no more.”

Indeed, all things rush on. They stop not to look behind : they rush on. The world is so fleeting. Change is the rule of nature, the order of the universe. The glorious days of Vaisālī are things of the past. She lies in neglect and desolation. One could envy the glory that was Vaisālī, but one would perhaps even refuse to pity what remains of her.

Relics of her shining period of history lay scattered and buried near “Rājā Bisāl-kā-Gaḍh” in the village of Basāḍh. The spirit of ancient Vaisālī still hovers over them. Alas, if one could worship that deity of the past !

This is history. Where one does not care now to give even a visit to modern Basāḍh, in the ages long past, no less a personality than the great Tathāgata, the Buddha, could not help giving a sigh, while he was leaving Vaisālī never to return again. Simple are the words of the Enlightened One, when he said to Ānanda : “इदं अपच्छिमकं आनन्द ! तथागतस्य वैसालिदस्सनं भविस्सति” Casting a longing and lingering look behind, over the charming splendour and serenity of the city, he really felt moved at the final parting. These words bear witness to his feelings. How potent and tender are they ! What a pregnant and appealing suggestion they make ! The radiant and soft smile, with which the Sun bids us adieu in the annals of our day-to-day life, is a thing which we remember and forget till the occasion repeats itself ; but these words of the Amitābha can never be forgotten in a history of Vaisālī and her relations with the Buddha. Such an intimate association it was ! Such a fond love lay between them !

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Legends and traditions cannot be facts and history. They weave out such a weird atmosphere around facts that at times it becomes rather impossible to single out the kernel of truth. However, they give suggestions. The modern historian of ancient India is another speculator to give vent to his imagination over such suggestions and thereby shape out a structure of things which look like history. But here we must be cautious about our judgment. The purpose which the modern historian is to serve, the sincerity with which he approaches, and the methods, such as comparison and elimination, analysis and systematisation, which he employs, do not allow the picture drawn by him to be polluted by ugly spots of vain fanciful indulgences.

The story of the foundation of Vaiśālī is an addition to imaginative speculation, which is very often vain and ludicrous, in which some of the writers of ancient India, casting a side-glance over facts and traditions, tried to indulge. Buddhaghōṣa provides an interesting story in *Paramatthajotikā* for the origin of the Licchavis and the foundation of Vaiśālī. It is said that once the chief queen of the king of Banaras delivered a lump of flesh, when a son "resplendent like gold" was expected of her. To avoid the displeasure of the king the ladies-in-waiting managed somehow to get it sealed in a casket and thrown into the Ganges. A god, wishing to provide for its safety, wrote with a piece of cinnabar on a slip of gold the words 'The child of the chief queen of the king of Benares', tied it to the casket, and replaced it in the river. It was picked up by an ascetic thinking it to contain rags. But finding it otherwise, the ascetic took it to his hermitage and carefully tended the embryo, which in due course of time gave forth two children—a boy and a girl. The ascetic was filled with paternal affection and milk began pouring from his thumb. Whatever reached the stomach of the children could be seen as if put into a vessel of precious transparent stone, so that they appeared to have no skin (Licchavi) or to have thin skin (Līnāchavi). Thus the children came to be called Licchavis. The villagers living near the hermitage, having realised the difficulties of the ascetic in nursing the children, offered their services to bring them up. The ascetic assented and handed over the two infants with these words: "The children are possessed of great virtue and goodness; bring them up with great care, and when they are grown up, marry them together. Please the king and getting a piece of land, measure out a city, and instal the prince there." The villagers agreed. The village boys disliked them, for these two children harassed and troubled them and hence it was said they were avoided (*Vajjitabbā*). When they were sixteen years of age, the villagers married them and obtained land from the king, wherein the boy was anointed King. The country

came to be known as Vajji and the capital city founded by them as Vesālī, for, as the family grew rapidly, the city was again and again made larger and still larger.

The Ceylonese Buddhist work, *Pūjāvaliya*, also gives a similar account.

In Chapter XLVII of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* we are told that the city of Vaiśālī, called Viśālā, was founded by Viśāla, a son of king Ikṣvāku and the Apsarā Alambusā. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, however, makes Viśāla, a son of Trīṇabindu by Alambusā. Whatever may be the truth in connecting Viśāla with Viśālā, in the very suggestion that Vaiśālī was known as Viśālā we get an idea of the extensive area of the city of Vaiśālī, which has also been referred to in the above account given by Buddhaghōṣa.

In Hiuen Tsang we get a further support for the largeness of the city of Vaiśālī, nay, he actually gives a measurement of it. He says the foundations of the old city of Vaiśālī were sixty or seventy li in circuit and the palace city (i. e., the walled part of the city) was four or five li in circuit.

In the *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka* we are told, "At the time of Buddha the city of Vesālī was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a 'gāvvyuta' from one another and that at three places there were gates with watch-towers and buildings."

The Tibetan *Dulva* also gives an account of Vaiśālī. It says, "There were three districts in Vaiśālī. In the first district were seven thousand houses with golden towers, in the middle district fourteen thousand houses with silver towers, and in the last district were twenty-one thousand houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle and lower classes according to their positions."

Hoernle in his English translation of *Uvāsagadasāo* identifies these three districts mentioned in the *Dulva* with Vesālī proper, Kuṇḍapura and Vaṇiyagāma. And, as Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson would have us believe, these three represented the priestly (Brāhmaṇa), the warrior (Kṣatriya) and the commercial (Baniyā) communities.

From what has already been said, it is reasonable to believe that, at least in the time of Buddha, Vaiśālī was a large and flourishing city, fortified by walls with watch-gates. It was the capital of the strong clan of the Samvajjis. The populace which consisted mostly of the Licchavis was rich and prosperous with ample resources in food and luxuries. The Licchavis themselves, a united strong Kṣatriya clan of the then India, were

handsome in features, colourful in attire and energetic in action. The Buddha once compared them to the Tāvātimsa gods. The city of Vaiśālī was a beautiful spot in this earth full of decent parks and pleasant lotus ponds. The Buddha once remarked : "How beautiful, Ānanda, is the city of Vesālī, the land of the Vajjis." Verily it was regarded as heavenly. Outside the town, leading uninterruptedly up to the Himālaya, was the Mahāvana, a large, natural forest. Nearby were other forests, such as Gosiṅgalasāla.

Vaiśālī was a sort of a city-state, the likeness of which we find in ancient Greek history. It should not be called a completely republican state, for the franchise was limited only to the seven thousand seven hundred and seven Rājās.

In the sixth century B. C., the cauldron of anti-Brāhmanic feeling was boiling hot and Śramaṇic thoughts were raising their heads in Northern India from Kośala in the west to Aṅga in the East. Vaiśālī, then, together with other cities like Pāṭaliputra, Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī, was fast becoming a centre of such activities as helped the rise and growth of two of the most antagonistic sects of the Śramaṇic culture, i. e., Jainism and Buddhism.

Vaiśālī was already a stronghold of Jainism which is also called the sect of the Nigaṇṭhas. It is said that of the forty-two rainy seasons of the latter part of Mahāvīra's ascetic life, he passed twelve at Vesālī. The fact that Mahāvīra himself was related to Vaiśālī cannot in any case be overlooked. The influence of the Nigaṇṭha leader, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, can very well be seen in the fact that when Saccaka, one of his followers, visited the Buddha at Mahāvana, he was accompanied by five hundred Licchavis, who did not all salute the Buddha as their teacher, but showed him only such respect as was due to an honoured stranger.

Indeed, the Buddha's presence in Vesālī was a source of discomfort to the Nigaṇṭhas and we find mention of various devices resorted to by them to prevent their followers from coming under the influence of the Buddha.

As regards the relation of the Buddha with the city of the Licchavis, we first note a reference in the *Lalitavistāra*, wherein we find that some of the Devas of Tushitaloka request the Bodhisatta to take his birth in Vaiśālī, although the request was not granted owing to some weighty reasons.

But the first great visit to Vaiśālī of the Buddha was made five years after the Great Enlightenment when he spent the *vassa* there.

We are informed by the Buddhist sources (e.g., *Mahāvastu*) that, owing to drought, a famine ravaged the city of Vaiśālī to such an extent that people died in large numbers. The smell of the decaying bodies attracted evil spirits and many inhabitants were attacked by intestinal disease. The people complained of it in a general assembly convoked by them. The assembly, after much discussion, decided to invite the Buddha to their city. At that time the lord was in Veļuvana in Rājagaha. The Licchavi Mahāli, a friend of Bimbisāra and son of the chaplain of Vesālī, was sent for this purpose. The Buddha accepted the invitation. He started with five hundred Bhikkhus. Bimbisāra decorated the route from Rājagaha to the Ganges, a distance of five leagues, and provided all comforts on the way. He himself accompanied the Buddha up to the Ganges. They reached the Ganges in five days. Boats decked with great splendour were ready for the Buddha and his monks. The king of Magadha even followed the Buddha into the water up to his neck to give him his respectful farewell. On the yonder banks, the Licchavis were ready to pay obeisance to their Redeemer. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī decorated their roads with a magnificence that left the Haryāṅka king of Magadha far behind in preparations. As soon as the Buddha set foot in the Vajjian territory, there was a thunderstorm and rain fell in torrents.

The distance from the Ganges to Vesālī was three leagues. When the Sugata approached the city, Sakka, chief of the Devas, came to greet him and at the sight of the Devas, all the malign influences that hung over the country vanished and the evil spirits that worked havoc with the people of Vaiśālī fled in fear. In the evening the Enlightened One taught Ānanda the Ratana Sutta, and ordered that it should be recited within the three walls of the city. This was performed by Ānanda during the three watches of the night and all the pestilences of the citizens disappeared. The Tathāgata himself recited the Ratana Sutta to the assembled people and eighty-four thousand persons were converted. After seven days Buddha left Vesālī. The Licchavis accompanied him to the Ganges with redoubled honours. On the farther bank Bimbisāra awaited his arrival and conducted him back to Rājagaha.

It was probably during this visit of the Buddha to Vesālī that Suddhodana died. According to one account, the Buddha went through the air to visit his dying father and to preach to him and thereby enabling him to attain arahantship before his death.

Thus already we see that the city of Vaiśālī was hallowed by the happy light of the Great Amitābha even early in his career.

The closeness of his association with Vaiśālī and his great familiarity with Licchavi institutions is clear from another account. There was a port on the Ganges, extending over one *yojana*, half of which territory belonged to Ajātaśatru, and other half to the Licchavis. Nearby was a mountain, from which much fragrant material flowed into the river. While Ajātaśatru was making preparations to claim his portion of this material, the Licchavis would go before him and remove it all. This happened on several occasions and Ajātaśatru vowed vengeance. He ordered the construction of a city-fort on the banks of the Ganges near Pāṭaligrāma and sent his minister, Vassakāra, to the Buddha in order to learn from him the chances of his success. The Buddha, enquired from his disciple Ānanda, whether the Vajjis practised the seven points taught by him (i. e. Buddha) at the Sāranda Cetiya : that is, whether they held frequent public meetings of their tribe which they all attended; whether they met together to make their decisions and carried out their undertakings in concord; whether they upheld tradition and honoured their pledges; whether they respected and supported their elders; whether no women or girls were allowed to be taken by force or abducted; whether they maintained and paid due respect to their places of worship; and, whether they supported and fully protected the holy men (*arahants*) among them. When the Buddha was informed in the affirmative, he told the Magadha minister Vassakāra that so long as these seven अपरिहानि कर्मा were followed, it was next to impossible to achieve success against the Vajjis.

For its security a state needs to be informed of the different activities of at least the neighbouring countries. Before the accession of Ajātaśatru, the empire of Magadha, under the rule of Bimbisāra, had already developed into a consolidated state and Magadha had already formed relations with the Licchavis. Why is it that Ajātaśatru and his able ministers, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, could not have enough knowledge of the workings of the Licchavi mind? Why is it that for the knowledge of the internal condition of the Vajjis they needed the help, not of a fifth-columnist, not of a disgruntled Licchavi officer, but of no less a great force in religion than Tathāgata the Buddha? The reason is obvious. The ministers and the king might be knowing, no doubt, the external structure of the Vajjian confederacy, nay, they might have even harboured a vague idea of their unity and concord. But to know the real state of affairs it became necessary for these statesmen to consult the Buddha, who must have been in close contact and on familiar terms with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.

Again, in *Samyutta Nikāya*, the Buddha says : "Look ye Bhikkhus here, how these Licchavis live sleeping with logs of wood as pillows,

strenuous and diligent (*appamattā*), zealous and active (*ātāpino*) in archery. Ajātasattu Vedehiputto, the Magadhan king, can find no defect in them, nor can he discover any cause of action (against them)."

It is very difficult to say how many times the Buddha visited Vaiśālī. But we know from the Buddhist texts that many of the important *suttas* were preached at Vesālī. To name some of them, they are *Mahāḷī*, *Mahās hanāda*, *Cūlasaccaka*, *Mahāsaccaka*, *Tevijja*, *Vacchagotta*, *Sunakkhatta* and *Ratana*. And it is in these *suttas* that we find many interesting accounts of the different sojourns of the Buddha.

The Licchavis who wanted that the Buddha might be induced to stay in their city, built the Kūṭāgārasālā and offered it to him and the Saṅgha. Once the Licchavis heard that the Enlightened One had repaired to Cāpāla-Caitya for spending a day and so they made a present of it to him and the Saṅgha. Similarly, the Saptāmra-Caitya, the Bahuputra-Caitya, the Gautama-Caitya Kapinahya-Caitya and the Markaṭa-hradatira-Caitya were made gifts to the Buddha and his church. The famous courtesan Ambapālī of Vaiśālī also made a gift of her extensive mango-grove to the congregation and similarly Bālīkā made over Bālīkāchhavi which is probably the same as the Bālīkārama of the Pali Buddhist books.

Many important and far-reaching decisions affecting the Dhamma and Saṅgha of the Buddha were made at Vaiśālī.

The Mahāvagga informs us of an occasion when the Buddha saw some Bhikkhus of Vaiśālī with superfluous Cīvaras, 'almost smothered up in robes', going along with their robes made up into roll on their heads, on their backs and on their waists. Then the Buddha testing the severest winter nights by means of personal experience, fixed the maximum number of robes to be used by the Bhikkhus, i. e., one doubled Saṅghātī, one single Uttarāsaṅga and one single Antarvāsaka.

The Cullavagga speaks of another occasion when the Buddha was staying in the Kūṭāgāra Vihāra in the Mahāvana. There the water was unfit for drinking purposes and hence the Buddha permitted the use of strainers and filters for the Bhikkhus. The Buddha also taught the Bhikkhus many matters connected with "nava kamma" of the Vihāras. He also taught them what sort of houses they were to build and live in.

It is here again in Vaiśālī that one very important and momentous decision was taken which though on the one hand gave a right to the fair sex to get emancipation in the Dhamma of the Enlightened, on the other hand, signalled the coming of that notorious event in the history of a religion which sounds the death-knell of its organisation. Buddha

received a deputation of Sākya ladies headed by Mahāpajāpati Gotami. At long last permission was given to them, after a good deal of persuasion from Ānanda, by the Buddha, for their entrance into the Saṅgha. The womenfolk came into the Saṅgha, but they limited the age of the Saṅgha to five hundred years, which might have extended to one thousand.

No history of Vaiśālī can be complete without mentioning Ambapālī. She was no doubt a courtesan, but Vaiśālī was proud of her; nay, it is said, the prosperity and happiness that came to mark Vaiśālī was enhanced to a great degree by this courtesan. Her ravishing beauty bewitched Bimbisāra, but her simplicity and sincerity in the Dharma of the Buddha made her attain the highest stage of perfection. She felt proud of her luck when the Buddha agreed to take food at her place and accepted the gift of the mango-grove; and she drove her chariot neck to neck with the chariots of the Licchavi Rājaputtas.

According to the Buddhist books, the Licchavis were devout followers of the Buddha and held him in the highest esteem. Even careless boys wandering about with hounds and bows and arrows, and about whom even the elder Mahānāma complained, would lay aside their arms when they saw the Buddha seated under a tree and would surround him with folded hands, eager to listen to him.

It appears thus that the whole of Vaiśālī was under the influence of the magnetic personality of the Buddha. From the king in the palace to the beggar in the street, from the most serious man of the time to the notorious boys of the field all listened to him in reverence and paid their worshipful obeisance. The impress that they made in the heart of the Buddha himself was not effaced by time and place and the Tathāgata always remembered them, so much so, that while proceeding to Kuśinārā to attain the Mahāparinibbāna, he gave an elephant-like look behind to Vaiśālī. The people of Vaiśālī also gave evidence of their love and affection, respect and reverence, by enshrining a portion of the sacred relics of the Buddha in their city.

The soothing soft rays of the Amitābha are withdrawn from Vaiśālī, and she lies in darkness. The flourishing life of Vaiśālī is buried with the relics of the Tathāgata and she lies lifeless in ruins.

“The dew is on the lotus,
Rise, O great Sun.”





VAIŠĀLĪ IN GILGIT MANUSCRIPTS

YOGENDRA MISHRA, M. A., SAHITYARATNA

In 1931 several Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were discovered in a stūpa near Gilgit. It was a chance discovery made by a cowboy. The Government of Kashmir and Jammu took charge of the manuscripts and are arranging the publication of these "Gilgit Manuscripts." Parts of them have been published and the remaining ones will be published in due course. They are being edited by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, Ph. D., D. Litt, and Vidyavaridhi Pt. Shiva Nath Sharma, Sastri, D. O. C.

The manuscripts were written in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. and as such they are some of the earliest so far discovered in India, similar to the Bower manuscripts and to those discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. Most of the Manuscripts were known to us only through their Chinese and Tibetan translations and no one dreamt of the discovery of their Sanskrit originals.

The language of the manuscripts is similar to that of the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara* and other works. In a general way we may remark that the language of the early Mahāyāna texts is really a Prakrit of a peculiar type. In the language of the "Gilgit Manuscripts" we find endless examples of irregularities. There are several instances which distinctly prove that the compiler worked on a Prakrit original and found difficulty in Sanskritising the Prakrit words.

Vaiśālī, which occupies so prominent a place in Buddhism, is mentioned in the Gilgit Manuscripts on several occasions. Indeed the scene of many *Sūtras* is located there. A particular section of the text (i.e., the first section of the *Civaravastu* in the Vinaya Texts of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*s published in Gilgit Manuscripts, Volume III, Part 2, pp. 1-52) throws interesting light on the life and culture of the Licchavis of the 6th century B. C. The importance of this particular section has

been ably pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D. P. R. S. in his article entitled 'Historical Materials in Gilgit Manuscripts' published in B. C. Law Volume, Part I, pp. 134-141.

Below we propose to collect together the important references to Vaiśālī in the Gilgit Manuscripts and consider their significance.

The scene of the first Sūtra of the very first volume of Gilgit Manuscripts is laid at Vaiśālī. The Buddha arrives at the great city of Vaiśālī (*Vaiśālīm mahānagarīm*); he is surrounded by all the beings of the worlds. Mañjuśrikumāra stands up and requests the Tathāgata to give an exposition of the vows made formerly by the past Buddhas for rescuing the living beings from the miseries of existence. Bhagavā grants the request and explains the twelve vows taken formerly.

As has already been mentioned the first 52 pages of the Civaravastu published in the Second Part of the Third Volume of the Gilgit Manuscripts are devoted to the history of the Licchavis and their relations with contemporary powers.

The first story is that of the marriage of Bimbisāra with Cellanā. She was the elder daughter of Siṃha, the commander-in-chief (*Senāpati*) of the Licchavis and niece of Gopa, the chief minister of Bimbisāra. Gopa and Siṃha were the two sons of Khaṇḍa, who was at first the chief minister of the king of Videha, but on finding his fellow ministers envious of him for his abilities, resigned his ministership and became the *Senāpati* of the Licchavis (pp. 1-15).

The second story is that of the foundling Āmrāpālī, who was adopted as a daughter by a Licchavi nobleman called Mahānāma. Āmrāpālī became a courtesan and came into contact with Bimbisāra. To her was born a son, who came to be known as Abhaya (pp. 16-22).

In connection with the above two stories, interesting light is thrown on the political and social customs of the Licchavis.

The third story is that of Jivaka (pp. 23-48). In pages 49-52 is related the incident of Bimbisāra's mistaking an Ājīvaka for a Bhikshu, which led Buddha to devise a special dress (civara) for the Buddhist monks.

In the Civaravastu, we find other references as well to Vaiśālī (pp. 87-89). Buddha passes on to this place where he admonishes the monks to keep their articles of use clean (pp. 87-89). While at Vaiśālī, he refers to a monk who had misappropriated the property of the Saṅgha in his previous lives and as a result had suffered long. This story is followed by certain directions regarding seats, bed-covers, bandages, and segregation of monks suffering from leprosy (p. 91).

The monks of Vaiśālī are mentioned on page 120 (text) as well.

A quarrel between the monks of Vaiśālī and Kauśāmbī is related in the Kośambaka-vastu published in the same volume (i.e. Volume III, Part 2).

No important references to Vaiśālī are found either in Vol. II or Vol. III Pt. 3.

Of all the published portions of the Gilgit Manuscripts, the first section of the Civaravastu (Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. I-52, especially pp. I-22) is by far the most important from our point of view. This section has been summarised and its significance brought forth by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Hence, we shall be contented to point out certain important things relating to the Licchavis and their capital, as revealed in the texts. Our observations are based on the article of Dr. Majumdar which is gratefully acknowledged.

We get in the texts a vivid contrast between the republican and the monarchical forms of government, the former being called *gaṇādhīna*, and the latter *ekādhīna* (p. 5). The context in which Khaṇḍa makes the contrast leaves no doubt about the true democratic spirit which animated the citizens of Vaiśālī. Every important matter was discussed in the assembly and 'what was desired by ten was opposed by twenty.' Discussion formed an important feature in the working of the assembly. Even the question of marrying his daughter was placed by Mahānāma before the assembly. The executive authorities were controlled by the assembly even in minute details.

The Senāpati was the head of the state. Śirīha was elected to this post by the assembly, and we must presume the same procedure in the case of Khaṇḍa though the election by the assembly is not specifically referred to.

This democratic constitution, however did not mean social equality. The division of the capital city of Vaiśālī into three residential quarters based on wealth, and the restriction of marriage between equals in each quarter (pp. 6-7) prove clearly the existence of class distinction of a fairly rigid character. But that even a foreigner like Khaṇḍa and the courtesan Āmrāpālī were assigned residences in the highest quarter shows the flexibility of the social rules.

The convention, actually put into practice by the *gaṇa* in the case of Āmrāpālī, that the most accomplished woman (or women) in the city of

Vaiśālī (*Vaiśālīstrīratna*) should not be married but remain an object of enjoyment by the *gaṇa* as a whole (*gaṇasāmānyam paribhojyameva*, p. 7 of the text), throws an altogether new light on the social and moral ideas of the age. It is interesting to note that in the Pāli Vinaya texts, a pointed reference is made to the courtesan Āmrapālī as having added lustre and distinction to the city of Vaiśālī (Cp. "Through that person Vesālī became more and more flourishing". Mahāvagga VII. I, I). What is more, in order that Rājagṛīha might not lag behind Vaiśālī, a similar courtesan is installed there with the consent of king Bimbisāra.

The general political history of North-Eastern India, envisaged in the text, is also not without interest. In addition to Prasenajit, king of Kosala with his capital at Srāvastī, and Bimbisāra, king of Magadha with his capital at Rājagṛīha, to both of whom frequent references are made, mention is made of the kings Pradyota and Udayana, kingdoms of Videha, Vārāṇasī and Campā, and the tribal states of Sākya and Krauñcha. Thus it presents the political condition such as we find in other Buddhist canonical texts. It evidently refers to the period before Āṅga and Kāśī were conquered respectively by Bimbisāra and Prasenajit.

The mention of Videha as a kingdom is important. Rhys Davids includes Videha among the tribal republics and translates the epithet Vedehiputta, applied to Ajātaśatru, as the son of the queen of the Videha clan (S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 134). Both these views are opposed to the testimony of the present text. For, apart from the mention of Videha as a kingdom, it is clearly said that Ajātaśatru's mother was not a queen of Videha but the daughter of a citizen of Vaiśālī, and she was called Vaidehī as she was brought from Videha country.

The King of Videha is said to have hundred *amātyas* with Khaṇḍa as the chief or *agrāmātya*. This post of *agrāmātya* is also mentioned in connection with the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala, though there is no mention of five hundred *amātyas* in either case. Whether the body of five hundred *amātyas* denotes a sort of deliberative assembly cannot be determined. But although its exact nature cannot be defined it seems to be an interesting feature of the government.





THE SECOND BUDDHIST COUNCIL OF VAIŚĀLĪ¹

Translated by Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, Ph. D.

At the end of the tenth year of the reign of Kālāśoka [son of Susu-nāga] a century had gone by since the parinibbāna of the Saṃbuddha.

At that time in Vesālī many bhikkhus of the Vajji clan did shamelessly teach that the Ten Points² were lawful, namely :—

- (1) 'Salt in the horn'
- (2) 'Two fingers' breadth',

1. Our main sources of information for the history of the Second Council held at Vaiśālī are the *Cullavagga* of the Vinaya Piṭaka and the *Vinayaśūdrakavastu*, the Tibetan translation of the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*, which forms also the basis of Buston's and Tārānātha's accounts of the council, as also of Rockhill. The Ceylonese chronicles (i. e. the *Dipavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*) and Pāli commentaries derive their information mainly from the *Cullavagga*. The account of Yuan Chwang is also useful. Besides the above accounts derived from the Vinaya texts, there are three other texts written by Bhavya, Vasumitra and Vinitadeva on the history of the Buddhist schools. There are references to the session of the council in the *Mahāvastu*, *Samādhirāja*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and other later texts. The account of the Council given here is according to the *Mahāvamsa* which has been translated into English by Dr. Geiger. [Ed.]

2. The Ten Points are explained below ;—

- (i) Carrying salt in a horn vessel, in order to season unsalted foods, when received. This contravened according to one view the rule against the storing of articles of food.
- (ii) Taking food after midday, lit. when the shadow of the sun had passed two fingers' breadth beyond noon.
- (iii) Going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day if invited, committing thereby the offence of over-eating.

- (3) 'Visiting the village',
- (4) 'Dwelling',
- (5) 'Consent',
- (6) 'Example',
- (7) 'Unchurned milk',
- (8) 'Unfermented palm-wine',
- (9) 'Seat without fringe',
- (10) 'Gold and so forth',

When this came to the ears of the *thera* Yasa, the son of the brahman Kakaṇḍaka, gifted with the six supernormal powers, who was wandering about in the Vajji country, he betook himself to the Mahāvana (*vihāra*) with the resolve to settle the matter. In the uposatha-hall those (monks) had placed a vessel made of metal and filled with water and had said to the lay-folk: 'Bestow on the brotherhood¹ *kaḥāpaṇas* and so on'. The *thera* forbade them with the word 'This is unlawful; give nothing !' Then did they threaten the *thera* Yasa with the penance called the Craving of pardon from lay-folk. He asked for one to bear him company and went with him into the city proclaiming to the citizens, that his teaching was according to the dhamma.

Then the *bhikkhus* heard what (Yasa's) companion had to tell, they came to hrust him out and surrounded the *thera*'s horse. The *thera* left it, rising up and passing through the air, and halting at Kosambi, he forth-with sent messengers to the *bhikkhus* of Pāvā and Avanti; he himself went to the Ahogaṅga-mountain and related all to the *thera* Saṃbhūta Sāṇavāsi.

Sixty great *theras* from Pāvā and eighty from Avanti, all free from the *āsavas*, came together on the Ahogaṅga. The *bhikkhus* who met together

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- (iv) Holding the uposatha-feast separately by monks dwelling in the same district.
 - (v) The carrying out of official acts by an incomplete chapter, on the supposition that the consent of absent *bhikkhus* was obtained afterwards.
 - (vi) The following of a practice because it is so done by one's tutor or teacher.
 - (vii) Taking unchurned milk, even after the meal-time.
 - (viii) Drinking unfermented palm-wine.
 - (ix) The use of mats to sit on which were not of the prescribed size, if they were without fringe.
 - (x) Accepting gold and silver. [Ed.]
1. A square copper coin (Skr. *kārṣāpaṇa*).

here from this and that region were in all ninety thousand. When they had all conferred together they, knowing that the deeply learned *thera Revata* of *Soreyya* who was free from the *āsavas*, was the chief among them at that time, went thence to seek him out.

When the *thera* heard this resolution (by his divine ear) he set out at once, wishing to travel easily, upon the way to *Vesālī*. Arriving day by day in the evening at the spot whence the sage had departed in the morning (the *theras*) met him (at last) at *Sahajāti*.

There the *thera Yasa*, as the *thera Saṁbhūta* had charged him to do, at the end of the recital of the sacred word, addressing himself to the great *thera Revata*, questioned him on the Ten Points. The *thera* rejected them, and when he had heard the matter, he said, 'Let us make an end (of this dispute)'.

The heretical *bhikkhus*, too, in order to win support, sought the *thera Revata*. Preparing in abundance the things needful for ascetics, they took ship with all speed and went to *Sahajāti*, bestowing food sumptuously when the mealtime came.

The *thera Sāḷha*, free from the *āsavas*, who lived at *Sahajāti*, having thought on the matter, perceived: 'Those of *Pāvā* hold the true doctrine.' And the great good *Brahmā* drew near to him and said: 'Stand thou firm in the doctrine,' and he replied that he would ever stand firm in the doctrine.

They (i.e. the *Vajjian* monks) took those needful things (that they had brought as gifts) and sought the *thera Revata*, but the *thera* did not take their part and dismissed (the pupil) who took their part. They went thence to *Vesālī*, shameless they went from there to *Pupphapura* (*Puṣṣapura* or *Paṭaliputra*), and told king *Kālāsoka*: 'Guarding our Master's performed chamber we dwell in the *Mahāvanavihāra* in the *Vajji* territory; but *bhikkhus* dwelling in the country are coming, great king, with the thought: We will take the *vihāra* for ourselves. Forbid them !

When they had thus misled the king they went (back) to *Vesālī*.

Here in *Sahajāti* eleven hundred and ninety thousand *bhikkhus* were come together under the *thera Revata*, to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. And the *thera* would not end the dispute save in the presence of those with whom it had begun; therefore all the *bhikkhus* went thence to *Vesālī*.

The misguided king likewise sent his ministers thither, but led astray by the design of the *devas* they went elsewhere. And the monarch, when

he had sent them, saw himself in a dream, that night, hurled into the hell called Lohakumbhī. The king was sorely terrified and, to calm his fears, his sister, Nandā, the therī free from the āsavas, came to him passing through the air.

'An ill deed is this that thou hast done'! Reconcile thee with these venerable bhikkhus, the true believers. Placing thyself on their side, protect thou their faith. If thou dost so, blessed art thou !' she said, and thereon vanished. And forthwith in the morning the king set out to go to Vesālī.

He went to the Mahāvana (monastery), assembled the congregation of the bhikkhus there, and when he had heard what was said by both of the (opposing) sides, and had decided, himself, for the true faith, when moreover this prince was reconciled with all the rightly believing bhikkhus and had declared that he was for the right belief, he said : 'Do what ye think well to further the doctrine,' and when he had promised to be their protector, he returned to his capital.

Thereafter the brotherhood came together to decide upon those points; then, in the congregation (of monks), aimless words were spent. Then the therā Revata, who went into the midst of the brotherhood, resolved to settle the matter by means of an ubbāhikā.¹ He appointed four bhikkhus from the East, and four from Pāvā, for the ubbāhikā to set the dispute to rest. Sabbakāmi and Sālha, one named Khujjasobhita, and Vāsabhagāmika, these were the theras from the East; Revata, Sāṇasaṃbhūta, Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka, and Sumana these were the four theras from Pāvā.

Now to decide on those points the eight theras who were free from the āsavas betook them to the quiet and solitary Vālikārāma. There, in the beautiful spot prepared for them by the young Ajita, the great theras took up their abode, they who knew the thoughts of the Greatest of Sages. And the great therā Revata, skilled in questioning, questioned the therā Sabbakāmi successively on each one of those points. Questioned by him the great therā Sabbakāmi thus gave judgment: 'All these points are unlawful, according to tradition.' And when, in due order, they had ended (their task) in this place, they did all again, in like manner, with question and answer, in the presence of the brotherhood. And thus did the great theras refute the teaching of those ten thousand heretical bhikkhus who maintained the Ten Points.

1. Ubbāhikāya 'by means of a *Referat*', the settlement of a dispute being laid in the hands of certain chosen brethren,

Sabbakāmi was then the saṃghatthera on the earth, one hundred and twenty years did he number since his upasampadā.

Sabbakāmi and Sāḷha, Revata, Khujjasobhita, Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka, and Sambhūta Sāṇavāsika, the six theras, were pupils of the therā Ānanda; but Vāsabhaḡāmika and Sumana, the two theras, were pupils of the therā Anuruddha. These eight fortunate theras had beheld the Taṭhāgata in time past. One hundred and twelve thousand bhikkhus had come together, and of all these bhikkhus the therā Revata then was the chief.

At that time the therā, in order to hold a council, that the true faith might long endure, chose seven hundred out of all that troop of bhikkhus; (those chosen were) arahants endowed with the four special sciences, understanding of meanings and so forth, knowing the tipīṭaka.

All these (theras met) in the Vālikārāma protected by Kalāsoka, under the leadership of the therā Revata, (and) compiled the dhamma. Since they accepted the dhamma already established in time past and proclaimed afterward, they completed their work in eight months.

When these theras of high renown had held the Second Council, they, since in them all evil had perished, attained in course of time unto nibbāṇa.





FA-HIAN'S TRAVELS IN THE VAIŚĀLĪ REGION

Translated by Samuel Beal, B.A.

[I. Where Buddha left the Licchavis]

Going south-east twelve *yojanas* from this place [i.e. Kuśinagara], we arrive at the spot¹ where the Licchavis, desiring to follow Buddha to the scene of his *Nirvāṇa*, were forbidden to do so. On account of their affection for Buddha they were unwilling to go back, on which Buddha caused to appear between them and him a great and deeply-scarped river, which they could not cross. He then left with them his alms-bowl as a memorial, and exhorted them to return to their houses. On this they went back and erected a stone pillar, on which this account is engraved.

[II. Vaiśālī]

From this going five *yojanas* eastward, we arrive at the country of Vaiśālī.

To the north of the city of Vaiśālī there is the viḥāra of the great forest, which has a two-storied tower. This chapel was once occupied by Buddha.

Here also is the tower which was built over half the body of Ānanda.

Within this city dwelt the lady Āmrapālī (who built) a tower for Buddha; the ruins still exist.

Three *li* to the south of the city, on the west side of the road is the garden which the lady Āmrapālī gave to Buddha as a resting-place.

When Buddha was about to enter *Nirvāṇa*, accompanied by his disciples, he left Vaiśālī by the western gate, and turning his body to the

1. Cunningham identifies this place with Kesariyā (Champaran District) situated about 30 miles north-west of Basārh, the site of old Vaiśālī. Dr. Bloch accepts this identification. [Ed.].

right, he beheld the city and thus addressed his followers : "In this place I have performed the last religious act of my earthly career." Men afterwards raised a tower on this spot.

Three *li* to the north-west of the city is a tower called, "the tower of the deposited bows and clubs." The origin of this name was as follows—

On one of the upper streams of the Ganges there was a certain country ruled by a king. One of his concubines gave birth to an unformed foetus whereupon the queen being jealous, said, "Your conception is one of bad omen". So they closed it up in a box of wood and cast it into the Ganges. Lower down the stream there was another king, who taking a tour of observation, caught sight of the wooden box floating on the stream. On bringing it to shore and opening it, he found inside a thousand children very fair, well formed, and most unique. The king thereupon took them and brought them up. When they grew up they turned out to be very brave and warlike, and were victorious over all whom they went to attack. In process of time they marched against the kingdom of the monarch, their father, at which he was filled with consternation. On this his concubine asked the king why he was so terrified; to whom he replied, "The king of that country has a thousand sons, brave and warlike beyond compare, and *they are coming to attack my country; this is why I am alarmed.*" To this the concubine replied, "Fear not ! but erect on the east of the city a high tower, and when the rebels come, place me on it; I will restrain them." The king did so, and when the invaders arrived, the concubine addressed them from the tower, saying, "You are my children. Then why are you rebellious ?" They replied, "Who are you that say you are our mother ?" The concubine replied, "If ye will not believe me, all of you look up and open your mouths." On this the concubine, with both her hands, pressed her breasts, and from each breast proceeded five hundred jets of milk, which fell into the mouths of her thousand sons. On this the rebels, perceiving that she was indeed their mother, immediately laid down their bows and clubs. The two royal fathers, by a consideration of these circumstances, were able to arrive at the condition of Pratyeka Buddhas, and the tower erected in their honour remains to this day. In after times, when the Lord of the World arrived at supreme reason, he addressed his disciples in these words, "This is the place where I formerly laid aside my bow and my club." Men in after times, coming to know this, founded a tower in this place, and hence the name. The thousand children are in truth the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadrakalpa.

Buddha, when standing beside this tower, addressed Ānanda thus, "After three months I must enter *Nirvāṇa*", on which occasion Māra-rāja

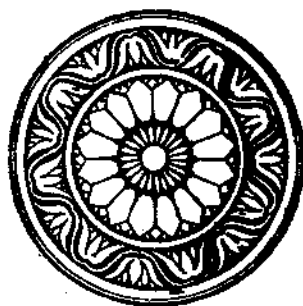
so fascinated the mind of Ānanda that he did not request Buddha to remain in the world.

Going east from this point three or four *li* there is a tower. One hundred years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha there were at Vaiśālī certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the *Vinaya* in ten particulars, saying that Buddha had said it was so, at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collated the *Vinaya Piṭaka* afresh. Afterwards men erected a tower on this spot which still exists.

[III. The confluence of the five rivers.]

Going four *yojanas* east, we arrive at the confluence of the five rivers. When Ānanda was going from the country of Magadha towards Vaiśālī, desiring to enter *Nirvāṇa*, the Devas acquainted King Ajātaśatru of it. The king immediately set out after him at the head of his troops, and arrived at the banks of the river. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī, hearing that Ānanda was coming, likewise set out to meet him and arrived at the side of the river. Ānanda then reflected that if he were to advance King Ajātaśatru would be much grieved, and if he should go back, then the Licchavis would be indignant. Being perplexed, he forthwith entered the *Samādhi* called the "brilliancy of flame," consuming his body, and entered *Nirvāṇa* in the midst of the river. His body was divided into two parts; one part was found on either side of the river; so the two kings, taking the relics of half his body returned and erected towers over them.

Crossing the river, and going south one *yojana*, we arrive at Magadha and the town of Pāṭaliputra (Palin-fu).





HIUEN TSIANG'S TRAVELS IN VAIŚĀLĪ AND THE ADJOINING VAJJIAN TERRITORY

Translated by : SAMUEL BEAL., B. A

Going north-east from this [i.e. the Droṇa Stūpa,] and crossing the Ganges,¹ after travelling 140 or 150 li, we come to the country of Fei-she-li (Vaiśālī).

FEI-SHE-LI (VAIŚĀLĪ)

This kingdom is about 5000 li in circuit. The soil is rich and fertile; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The *āmra* fruit (mango) and the *mocha* (banana) are very plentiful and much prized. The climate is agreeable and temperate.

The manners of the people are pure and honest. They love religion and highly esteem learning.

Both heretics and believers are found living together. There are several hundred *saṅghārāmas*, which are mostly dilapidated. The three or five which still remain have but few priests in them. There are several tens of Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of different kinds. The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous.

The capital city of Vaiśālī (or, called Vaiśālī) is to a great extent in ruins. Its old foundations are from 60 to 70 li in circuit. The royal precincts are about 4 or 5 li round; there are a few people living in it.

North-west of the royal city (*precincts*) 5 or 6 li, is a *saṅghārāma* with a few disciples. They study the teaching of the Little Vehicle, according to the Sāṃmatīya school.

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1. According to Cunningham, the pilgrim must have crossed the Gaṇḍak river, not the Ganges. This river flows within 12 miles of Dighwārā, the probable site of the Droṇa stūpa. So he regards the Ganges of this passage as a mistake for Gaṇḍak. Thomas Watters, however, regards the text as correct [Ed.].

By the side of it is a *stūpa*. It was here Tathāgata delivered the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (*Pi-mo-lo-kie-king*), and the son of a householder, Ratnākara, and others offered precious parasols (*to Buddha*).

To the east of this is a *stūpa*. It was here Sāriputra and others obtained perfect exemption (*became Arhats*).

To the south-east of this last spot is a *stūpa*; this was built by a king of Vaiśālī. After the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, a former king of this country obtained a portion of the relics of his body, and to honour them as highly as possible raised (*this building*).¹

The records of India state: In this *stūpa* there was at first a quantity of relics equal to a "hoh" (ten pecks). Aśoka-rāja opening it, took away nine-tenths of the whole, leaving only one-tenth behind. Afterwards there was a king of the country who wished again to open the *stūpa*, but at the moment when he began to do so, the earth trembled, and he dared not proceed to open (*the stūpa*).

To the north-west is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja; by the side of it is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank. This was dug by a band of monkeys (*Markaṭahrada*) for Buddha's use. When he was in the world of old, Tathāgata once and again dwelt here.

Not far to the south of this tank is a *stūpa*; it was here the monkeys, taking the alms-bowl of Tathāgata, climbed a tree and gathered him some honey.

Not far to the south is a *stūpa*; this is the place where the monkeys offered the honey² to Buddha.

At the north-west angle of the lake there is still a figure of a monkey.

To the north-east of the *saṅghārāma* 3 or 4 li is a *stūpa*; this is the old site of the house of Vimalakīrti (*Pi-mo-lo-ki*); various spiritual signs (*manifestations*) are exhibited here.

Not far from this is a spirit-dwelling (*a chapel*); its shape like a pile of bricks. Tradition says this stone-pile is where the householder Vimalakīrti preached the law when he was sick.

1. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī obtained a share of the relics of Buddha, and raised over them a *stūpa*. The scene found at Sāñchi (pl. xxviii, fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*) probably refers to this *stūpa* and its consecration.
2. This scene is also found at Sāñchi (pl. xxvi, fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). It is on the same pillar as the consecration scene alluded to above. The pillar was evidently the work or gift of the Vaiśālī people.

Not far from this is a *stūpa*; this is the site of the old residence of Ratnākara (*Pao tsi*).

Not far from this is a *stūpa*; this is the old house of the lady Āmra. It was here the aunt of Buddha and other Bhikṣuṇīs obtained *Nirvāṇa*.

To the north of the *saṅghārāma* 3 or 4 li is a *stūpa*; this indicates the place where Tathāgata stopped when about to advance to Kuśinagara to die, whilst men and Kinnaras followed him.¹

From this not far to the north-west is a *stūpa*; here Buddha for the very last time gazed upon the city of Vaiśālī.

Not far to the south of this is a *vihāra*, before which is built a *stūpa*; this is the site of the garden of the Āmra-girl, which she gave in charity to Buddha.

By the side of this garden is a *stūpa*; this is the place where Tathāgata announced his death. When Buddha formerly dwelt in this place, he told Ānanda as follows:—"Those who obtain the four spiritual faculties are able to extend their lives to a kalpa. What is the term of years of Tathāgata then?" Thrice he asked this question, and Ānanda answered not, through the fascination of Māra. Then Ānanda rising from his seat, gave himself up to silent thought in a wood. At this time Māra coming to Buddha², asked him, saying, "Tathāgata has for a long time dwelt in the world teaching and converting. Those whom he has saved from the circling streams (*of transmigration*) are as numerous as the dust or the sands. This surely is the time to partake of the joy of *Nirvāṇa*". Tathāgata taking some grains of dust on his nail, asked Māra, saying, "Are the grains of dust on my nail equal to the dust of the whole earth or not?" He answered, "The dust of the earth is much greater." Buddha

2. The Kinnaras are said to be the horse-faced musicians of Kuvera; but the Chinese symbols describe them as "something different from men." They may be seen figured in the sculpture at Sāñchi (pl. xxvi. fig. I), where they are coming to the place where Buddha stopped (figured by the oblong stone); this is another sculpture of the Vaiśālī pillar, and illustrates the notice in the text.
3. This interview of Māra (called Piśuna, the wicked one, in the Chinese version, S. B. E. vol. xix, p. 267) is again found among the Sāñchi sculptures on the Vaiśālī pillar, pl. xxvi. fig. I, lower scene. If the four identifications on this pillar are correct, we may conclude that the people of Vaiśālī were a Northern people allied to the Yue-chi.

said, "Those who are saved are as the grains of earth on my nail; those not saved like the grains of the whole earth; but after three months I shall die." Māra hearing it, was rejoiced and departed.

Meantime Ānanda in the wood suddenly had a strange dream, and coming to Buddha he told it to him saying, "I was in the wood, when I beheld in my dream a large tree, whose branches and leaves in their luxuriance cast a grateful shade beneath, when suddenly a mighty wind arose which destroyed and scattered the tree and its branches without leaving a mark behind. Oh, forbid it that the lord is going to die! My heart is sad and worn, therefore I have come to ask you if it be so or not?"

Buddha answered Ānanda, "I asked you before, and Māra so fascinated you that you did not then ask me to remain in the world. Māra-rāja has urged me to die soon, and I have covenanted to do so, and fixed the time. This is the meaning of your dream."

Not far from this spot is a *stūpa*. This is the spot where the thousand sons beheld their father and their mother. Formerly there was a Rishi who lived a secret life amid the crags and valleys. In the second month of spring he had been bathing himself in a pure stream of water. A roedeer which came to drink there just after, conceived and brought forth a female child, very beautiful beyond human measure, but she had the feet of a deer. The Rishi having seen it, adopted and cherished it (*as his child*). As time went on, on one occasion he ordered her to go and seek some fire. In so doing she came to the hut of another Rishi; but wherever her feet trod there she left the impression of a lotus-flower on the ground. The other Rishi having seen this, was very [much surprised and bade her walk round his hut and he would give her some fire. Having done so and got the fire, she returned. At this time Fan-Yu-Wang (*Brahmadatta-rāja*) going out on a short excursion, saw the lotus-flower traces, and followed them to seek (*the cause*). Admiring her strange and wonderful appearance, he took her back in his carriage. The soothsayers casting her fortune said, "She will bear a thousand sons." Hearing this, the other women did nothing but scheme against her. Her time having been accomplished, she brought forth a lotus flower of a thousand leaves, and on each leaf was seated a boy. The other women slandered her on its account, and saying it was "an unlucky omen", threw (*the lotus*) into the Ganges, and it was carried away by the current.

The king of Ujiyan (*U-shi-yen*), down the stream, going out for an excursion observed a yellow-cloud-covered box floating on the water and

coming towards him. He took it and opened it, and there saw a thousand boys; being well nourished, when they came to perfect stature, they were of great strength. Relying on these, he extended his kingdom in every direction, and encouraged by the victories of his troops, he was on the point of extending his conquest to this country (i. e. Vaiśālī). Brahmadatta-rāja hearing of it, was much alarmed; fearing his army was not able to contend successfully with the invaders, he was at a loss what to do. At this time deer-footed girl, knowing in her heart that these were her sons, addressed the king thus: "Now that these youthful warriors are approaching the frontier, from the highest to the lowest there is an absence of courage (*heart*). Your feeble wife by her thought is able to conquer those redoubtable champions." The king not yet believing her, remained overwhelmed with fear. Then the deer-girl, mounting the city wall, waited the arrival of the warriors. The thousand youths having surrounded the city with their soldiers, the deer-girl said to them, "Do not be rebellious! I am your mother; you are my sons." The thousand youths replied, "What extravagant words are these!" The deer-girl then pressing both her breasts, a thousand jets of milk flowed out therefrom, and by divine direction fell into their mouths. Then they laid aside their armour, broke their ranks, and returned to their tribe and family. The two countries mutually rejoiced, and the people rested in peace.

Not far from this spot is a *stūpa*. This is where Tathāgata walked for exercise, and left the traces thereof. In teaching (*or*, pointing to the traces) he addressed the congregation thus: "In ancient days, in this place, I returned to my family on seeing my mother. If you would know then, those thousand youths are the same as the thousand Buddhas of this *Bhaddra-kalpa*."

To the east of the spot where Buddha explained this birth (*jātaka*) is a ruined foundation above which is built a *stūpa*. A bright light is from time to time reflected here. Those who ask (*pray*) in worship obtain their request. The ruins of the turretted preaching-hall, where Buddha uttered the *Samantamukha dhāraṇī* and other *sūtras*, are still visible.

By the side of the preaching-hall, and not far from it, is a *stūpa* which contains the relics of the half body of Ānanda.

Not far from this are several *stūpas*—the exact number has not yet been determined. Here a thousand Pratyeka Buddhas (*To-kio*) attained *Nirvāṇa*.

Both within and without the city of Vaiśālī, and all round it, the sacred vestiges are so numerous that it would be difficult to recount them

all. At every step commanding sites and old foundations are seen, which the succession of seasons and lapse of years have entirely destroyed. The forests are uprooted; the shallow lakes are dried up and stinking; nought but offensive remnants of decay can be recorded.

Going north-west of the chief city 50 or 60 li, we come to a great *stūpa*. This is where the Licchavis (*Li-ch'e-p'o*) took leave of Buddha. Tathāgata having left the city of Vaiśālī on his way to Kuśinagara, all the Licchavis, hearing that Buddha was about to die, accompanied him wailing and lamenting. The Lord of the World having observed their fond affection, and as words were useless to calm them, immediately by his spiritual power caused to appear a great river with steep sides and deep, the waves of which flowed on impetuously. Then the Licchavis were abruptly stopped on their way; moved with grief as they were. Then Tathāgata left them his *pātra* as a token of remembrance.

Two hundred li to the north-west of the city of Vaiśālī, or a little less, is an old and long-deserted city, with but few inhabitants. In it is a *stūpa*. This is the place where Buddha dwelt when, in old days, for the sake of an assembly of Bodhisattvas, men, and Devas, he recited an explanatory *jātaka* of himself when as a Bodhisattva he was a *cakravartin* monarch of this city and called Mahādeva (*Ta-tien*). He was possessed of the seven treasures, and his rule extended over the world (*the four empires*). Observing the marks of decay in himself, and concluding in his mind about the impermanency of his body, he took a high resolve (*being secretly affected by his reflections*), left his throne, gave up his country, and, becoming a hermit, assumed the dark robes and gave himself to study.

Going south-east from the city 14 or 15 li, we come to a great *stūpa*. It was here the convocation of the seven hundred sages and saints was held. One hundred and ten years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha there were in Vaiśālī some Bhikkhus who broke the laws of Buddha and perverted the rules of discipline. At this time Yaśada (*Ye-she-t'o*) Āyushmat was stopping in the country of Kosala (*Kiao-so-lo*); Sambogha (*San-pu-kia*) Āyushmat was dwelling in the country of Mathurā; Revata (*Li-po-to*) Āyushmat was stopping in the country of Han-jo (*Kānyakubja*); Sāla (*Sha-lo*) Āyushmat was stopping in the country of Vaiśālī; Pujasumira (*Fu-she-su-mi-lo* = Kujjasobhita?) Āyushmat was stopping in the country of Sha-lo-li-fo (Salaribhu?): all these were great Arhats, possessed of independent power, faithful to the three *piṭakas*, possessed of the three enlightenment (*vidyās*), of great renown, knowing all that should be known, all of them disciples of Ānanda.

At this time Yāsada sent a message to summon the sages and saints to a convocation at the city of Vaiśālī. There was only wanting one to make up the 700, when Fu-she-su-mi-lo by the use of his divine sight saw the saints and sages assembled and deliberating about religious matters. By his miraculous power he appeared in the assembly. Then Sambhoga, in the midst of the assembly, baring his right breast and prostrating himself, (arose) and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Let the congregation be silent, respectfully thoughtful! In former days the great and holy King of the Law, after an illustrious career, entered *Nirvāṇa*. Although years and months have elapsed since then, his words and teaching still survive. But now the Bhikshus of Vaiśālī have become negligent and pervert the commandments. There are ten points in which they disobey the words of the Buddha (*the ten-power* : 'daśabala'). Now then, learned sirs, you know well the points of error; you are well acquainted with the teaching of the highly virtuous (*bhadanta*) Ānanda : in deep affection to Buddha let us again declare his holy will."

Then the whole congregation were deeply affected; they summoned to the assembly the Bhikshus and, according to the Vinaya, they charged them with transgression, bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law.

Going south 80 or 90 li from this place, we come to the *saṅghārāma* called Śvetapura (*Shi-fei-to-po-lo*); its massive towers, with their rounded shapes and double storeys, rise in the air. The priests are calm and respectful, and all study the great vehicle.

By the side of this building are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

By the side of these is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja. It was here, when Buddha was alive, that, on going southwards to the Magadha country, he turned northwards to look at Vaiśālī, and left there, on the road where he stopped to breathe, traces of his visit.

Going south-east from the Svetapura *Saṅghārāma* 30 li or so, on either (south or north) side of the Ganges river there is a *stūpa*; this is the spot where the venerable Ānanda divided his body between the two kingdoms. Ānanda was on his father's side cousin of Tathāgata. He was a disciple (*śaiksha*) well acquainted with the doctrine (*collectanea*), thoroughly instructed in ordinary matters (*men and things*), and of masculine understanding. After Buddha's departure from the world he succeeded the great Kāśyapa in the guardianship of the true law, and became the guide and teacher of men devoted to religion (*men not yet Arhats*). He was dwelling in the Magadha country in a wood; as he was walking to and

from he saw a Śrāmaṇera (*novice*) repeating in a bungling way a *sūtra* of Buddha, perverting and mistaking the sentences and words. Ānanda having heard him, his feelings were moved towards him, and, full of pity, he approached the place where he was; he desired to point out his mistakes and direct him in the right way. The Śrāmaṇera, smiling, said, "Your reverence is of great age; your interpretation of the words is a mistaken one. My teacher is a man of much enlightenment; his years (*springs and autumns*) are in their full maturity. I have received from him personally the true method of interpreting (*the work in question*); there can be no mistake." Ānanda remained silent, and then went away, and with a sigh he said, "Although my years are many, yet for men's sake I was wishful to remain longer in the world, to hand down and defend the true law. But now men (*all creatures*) are stained with sin, and it is exceedingly difficult to instruct them. To stay longer would be useless: I will die soon". On this, going from Magadha, he went towards the city of Vaiśālī, and was now in the middle of the Ganges in a boat, crossing the river. At this time the king of Magadha, hearing of Ānanda's departure, his feelings were deeply affected towards him, and so, preparing his chariot, he hastened after him with his followers (*soldiers*) to ask him to return. And now his host of warriors, myriads in number, were on the southern bank of the river, when the king of Vaiśālī, hearing of Ānanda's approach, was moved by a sorrowful affection, and, equipping his host, he also went with all speed to meet him. His myriads of soldiers were assembled on the opposite bank of the river (the north side), and the two armies faced each other, with their banners and accoutrements shining in the sun. Ānanda, fearing lest there should be a conflict and a mutual slaughter, raised himself from the boat into mid-air, and there displayed his spiritual capabilities, and forthwith attained *Nirvāṇa*. He seemed as though encompassed by fire, and his bones fell in two parts, one on the south side, the other on the north side of the river. Thus the two kings each took a part, and, whilst the soldiers raised their piteous cry, they all returned home and built *stūpas* over the relics and paid them religious worship.

Going north-east from this 500 li orso, we arrive at the country of Fo-li-shi (Vṛjji).

FO-LI-SHI (VṚJJI)¹

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit. From east to west it is broad, and narrow from north to south. The soil is rich and fertile; fruits and flowers are abundant. The climate is rather cold.

1. The country of the Vṛjjis or Samvṛjjis, *i.e.* united Vṛjjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vṛjjis or Vajjis, one of which, *viz.*, that of the Licchavis, dwelt at Vaiśālī. They were republicans.

The men are quick and hasty in disposition.

Most of the people are heretics; a few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten *saṅghārāmas*; the disciples (*priests*) are less than 1000. They study assiduously both the Great and Little Vehicles. There are several tens of Deva temples, with a great number of unbelievers.

The capital of the country is called Chen-shu-na. It is mostly in ruins. In the old royal precinct (*citadel or inner city*) there are yet some 3000 houses; it may be called either a village or a town.

To the north-east of the great river is a *saṅghārāma*. The priests are few, but they are studious and of a pure and dignified character.

From this going west along the side of the river, we find a *stūpa* about 30 feet high. To the south of it is a stretch of deep water. The great merciful Lord of the World converted here some fishermen. In days long past, when Buddha was living, there were 500 fishermen who joined in partnership to fish for and catch the finny tribes, whereupon they entangled in the river stream a great fish with eighteen heads; each head had two eyes. The fishermen desired to kill it, but Tathāgata being then in the country of Vaiśālī, with his divine sight saw what was going on, and raising within him a compassionate heart, he used this opportunity as a means for converting and directing (men). Accordingly, in order to open their minds, he said to the great congregation, "In the Vṛjji country there is a great fish; I wish to guide it (*into the right way*), in order to enlighten the fishermen; you therefore should embrace this opportunity".

On this the great congregation surrounding him, by their spiritual power passed through the air and came to the river-side. He sat down as usual, and forthwith addressed the fishermen; "Kill not that fish. By my spiritual power I will open the way for the expedients, and cause this great fish to know its former kind of life; and in order to do this I will cause it to speak in human language and truly to exhibit human affections (*feelings*)." Then Tathāgata, knowing it beforehand, asked (*the fish*), "In your former existence, what crime did you commit that in the circle of migration you have been born in this evil way and with this hideous body?" The fish said, "Formerly, by the merit I had gained, I was born in a noble family as the Brāhmaṇ Kāpitha (*Kie-pi-tha*). Relying on this family origin, I insulted other persons; relying on my extensive knowledge, I despised all books and rules, and with a supercilious heart I reviled the Buddhas with opprobrious words, and ridiculed the priests by comparing them to every kind of brute beast, as the ass, or the mule, or the horse, and

every unsightly form. In return for all this I received this monstrous body of mine. Thanks, however, to some virtuous remnants during former lives, I am born during the time of a Buddha's appearance in the world, and permitted to see his sacred form, and myself to receive his sacred instruction and to confess and repent of my former misdeeds".

On this Tathāgata, according to the circumstances, instructed and converted him by wisely opening his understanding. The fish having received the law, expired, and by the power of this merit was born in heaven. On this he considered his body, and reflected by what circumstances he was thus born. So, knowing his former life and recollecting the circumstances of his conversion, he was moved with gratitude to Buddha, and, with all the Devas, with bended form he bowed before him and worshipped, and then having circumambulated him, he withdrew, and standing apart, offered precious flowers and unguents in religious service. The Lord of the World having directed the fishermen to consider this, and on their account preached the law, they were all forthwith enlightened and offered him profound respect. Repenting of their faults, they destroyed their nets, burnt their boats, and having taken refuge in the law, they assumed the religious habit, and by means of the excellent doctrine they heard came out of the reach of worldly influences and obtained the holy fruit (*of Arhats*).

Going north-east from this spot about 100 li, we come to an old city, on the west of which is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja, in height about 100 feet. Here Buddha, when living in the world, preached the law for six months and converted the Devas.

Going north 140 or 150 paces is a little *stūpa*; here Buddha, for the sake of the Bhikshus, established some rules of discipline.

West of this not far is a *stūpa* containing hair and nail relics. Tathāgata formerly residing in this place, men from all the neighbouring towns and villages flocked together and burnt incense, and scattered flowers, and lighted lamps and torches in his honour.

Going north-west from this 1400 or 1500 li, crossing some mountains and entering a valley, we come to the country of Ni-po-lo (Nepāla).

NI-PO-LO (NEPĀLA)

This country is about 4000 li in circuit, and is situated among the Snowy Mountains.

The capital city is about 20 li round.....
The king is a Kshātriya, and belongs to the family of the Licchavis.....
He has a sincere faith in the law of Buddha.....

To the south-east of the capital is a little stream and a lake.....

From this going back¹ to Vaiśālī, and crossing the Ganges to the south we arrive at the country of Mo-kie-t'o (Magadha).



1. The pilgrim does not appear himself to have gone into Nepāla. He went to the capital of the Vṛjjis, and there speaks from report.



ALMS-BOWL OF BUDDHA FROM VAIŚĀLĪ

S. V. SOHONI

While dealing with some problems of Vaiśālī's history, I had come across Cunningham's account of available information concerning the famous alms-bowl of the Buddha, which, according to Buddhist tradition, had been carried by Kaṇiṣka I from Vaiśālī to Peshawar in the 2nd century A. D. According to Cunningham, later on, "The bowl was probably carried off by the people of Gandhāra, who emigrated westwards to the banks of Arghandāb in the ancient Arachosia, where they founded a city named after their original country Gandhāra, which still exists as old Kandahāra at the short distance from the modern town of that name. They took with them, the famous alms-bowl of the Buddha and set it up in the new city of Gandhāra or Kandhāra, where it now stands, "in an obscure little Mohammedan shrine". The full extract from Cunningham's Report of Tours in North and South Bihar in 1810-81, is given in Appendix I.

Cunningham further noted that Dr. Bellew had described this alms-bowl, as "a huge bowl, carved out of a solid block of dark green serpentine". This description of the appearance of the bowl, particularly its colour, closely corresponds to that of the Buddha's bowl in an Ajantā fresco painting of Vākāṭaka period, which fact may indicate that the belief concerning this bowl, including the impression about its size and colour etc. had established itself in many parts of India at a comparatively early stage.

Cunningham has added, "The straight part above is carved with six lines of Arabic inscriptions, of which a copy was kindly sent to me several years ago by Sir Frederick Pollock. I forwarded the copy to my lamented friend Blochman, but unfortunately it was lost or stolen on the way, and neither he nor I could ever learn anything about it. The

inscriptions were of early date, as I remember reading the name of Subuktugin, and I think also that of Mahmud". The reproduction of Cunningham's sketch of the bowl, prepared from a photograph, accompanies this article (Plate I).

I pursued this matter of getting hold of the text of the inscriptions on the bowl. Through the assistance of Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon (then Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India) and Shri S. N. Haksar (then Indian Ambassador to Government of Afghanistan), I could get a copy of the inscriptions recorded on the bowl.

The text of the inscription, thus procured, is reproduced in Appendix II.

A translation, made in Kabul, is given below—

"The best of blessings and benedictions be on him..... The opportunity for the glorification of the kingdom was obtained during these auspicious days.....most virtuous.....the great and esteemed report.....chiyalrous.....

PART I

.....The creator Khwaja Ayyub Ansari, may God bless him, after the said honourable bequeather.....from the revered, in whose hands the authority rests constructed it and bequeathed it for the descendents so that they may be the custodian (administrator).....and supervisor..... He bequeathed it for the Mausoleum and for the school founded by the father of the bequeather and is situated near the said school.....the act of bequeathing deemed necessary ...situation in the Province of Kandahar known as Sang-e-Hessar at a place which was his property and had purchased it through a legal deed from the descendents of the late reverend Amir Nizamuddin () Sultan servant of Maghfoor Saieed Shah Rukh Mirza for 1500.....Mithqal¹ of pure coined silver. The entire village situated in the said province and known as Deh Roh Abad the said bequeather.....lawful sale.....mithqal of coined silver from lawful money.....some of them ...and the whole of (Khajgak).

PART II

.....from this canal, the said bequeather took water to that place and reopened it. And the entire of (Malkahah) was lawfully purchased by the said bequeather which was the property of Amir Jalaluddin Feroz Shah, the servant of the Threshold of the said Hazrat Sultan-e-Maghfoor

1. 1 Mithqal = 5 grams.

and the entire village (Jak) irrigated by the canal and situated between Mamaind and Koshank Khod and the 40 yard long canal situated near Koshkan Khad and all the four rent free orchards in this village viz. (.....) and Deh Zangi Abad and Deh Manjoosh and (.....) all the buildings which the said bequeather had constructed and (besides) the 86 shops in Bazar (Oshori) within the municipal limits of Kandahar near the said school towards its north and 51 on the eastern side of the said bazar and 27 on the western side of the said bazar.....24 doors and 19 pillars. All the buildings of the Hamams situated on all the four directions of the said bazar and the inns within the city are included in the bequeathed property. And all that may be considered as part of the trust includes that is attached to the Hamams and all of its belongings. The trust created for the bequeathed property is a flawless, sincere and well determined trust.....like the carat and its grain....

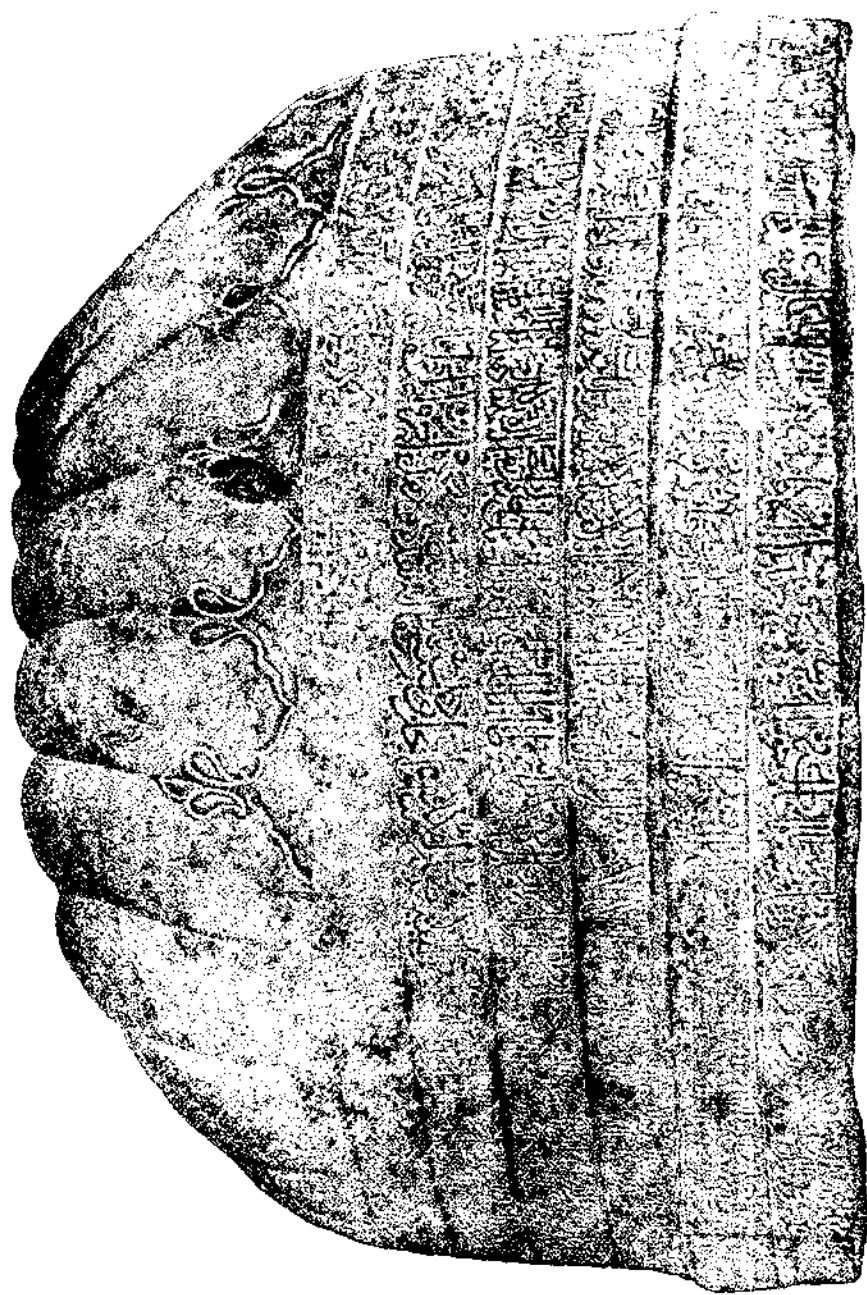
PART III

Should not be given to any one nor could it become any one's property in any way. The bequeather has reserved some portion of the trust revenues for the poor Muslims and the bequeather provided that so long as he was alive he shall be the custodian of the mausoleum and the property and shall make changes whatsoever desired. It was also provided that the most learned and the most pious amongst the male offsprings shall be his successor and if two persons be equally good in learning and piety the elder of the two shall be the administrator. If none amongst the male issues survives the administrator shall be appointed in this way. If no offspring of the bequeather exists the teacher of the school would be the administrator and if the administrator has heirs (words.....seems to convey no sense at all). And the bequeather provided that the afflicted (?) should be benefitted from the bequeathed property with permission. The income of the property should, first of all be spent on necessary works and repairs of the trust property. The rest to be spent on mattings, floorings and light etc. The balance may be spent by the administrator that every 5 dinars should weigh one mithqal of the silver coin.

PART IV

Wheat at 1 kharwar² should be the salary of the pious priest and the teacher who would devote the first five days of the week to teach and to have discourses on religious law. Every teacher would get a salary of

2. 1 Kharwar = 40 maunds according to the Kandahar weights.



Inscription on the Alms-bowl of Buddha

2,000 dinars and 40 kharwars of wheat and 20 kharwars of barley per annum (the words convey no meaning) 480 dinars cash and 15 kharwars of wheat. Four out of the 13 high class students will get 360 dinars cash and 10 kharwars of wheat and the average class at 240 dinars cash and 7 kharwars of wheat and 4 lower class at 180 dinars cash and 5 kharwars of wheat. A learned Imam (be engaged) in the school for leading the prayers 5 times (a day) and be paid at 360 dinars cash, 10 kharwars of wheat per annum and a caller (Moazeen) at 180 dinars and 5 kharwars of wheat and a servant be engaged for the school and paid 180 dinars and 5 kharwars of wheat. This endowment to the school was in addition to that made by the father of the bequeather..... One teacher and students a servant to be present on the gate of the school* and paid accordingly..... Those in charge of the mausoleum should perform their duty. Those who have learnt Koran by heart and those who lead the prayers (be paid) 720 dinars cash and 8 kharwars of wheat Each of the five be paid 480 dinars cash and 4 kharwars of wheat. The caller to get 120 dinars cash and 3 kharwars of wheat.

PART V

The bequeather provided that one of the students of the school should necessarily be appointed a librarian of the school and he would get his scholarship like other students. If any of the students stays (out) at night and if others do not the teacher of the school would accordingly deduct from scholarship of those who did not stay at night. The salary of the water carrier who would supply water to the school would be paid as other servants of the school. The salaries of the Ghaloor Khana are as follows : The salary of an honest and pious Sheikh who is aware of GHALLOOR and *conveys to the deserving ones (?)* is 360 dinars cash and 10 kharwars of grain per annum. The salary of the cook is 240 dinars. The salary of a Mir and a servant be 300 dinars. The Ghaloori to be held during the six months of autumn.....every day one Kharwar of wheat and 4 maunds of meat and 2 maunds of salt and 2 maunds of onion and 2 maunds of peas and 2 maunds of... .. and 10 maunds of turnip.....and during the six months of summer and..... every day one kharwar of bread be distributed to the deserving ones and all.....that is needed be purchased and in every quarter of the year 5 maunds of grape syrup and one maund of sweets prepared from ghee and flour and 10 maunds of flour be baked and distributed to the deserving ones.

3. This is the approximate meaning of the sentence.

PART VI⁴

"On every Id festivals to the poor ones of the school.....the donations for the said congregational mosque.....

Inside the bowl, in a corner is inscribed a couplet composed by the scribe which denotes its date. The couplet is as follows :

His Highness the Prince, may be
Live the life Elias,
Filled this stream with sugar syrup.
So nicely composed the Verse of date.
The humble scribe "*the bowl of syrup*".

Inscribed by Jalaluddin Mohammed.

It is more than likely that the bowl in ¹Kabul was taken away from a large sized statue of the Buddha which was quite famous in its own period.

APPENDIX I

Extract from "Report of Tours in North and South Bihar in 1880-81 by Major-General A. Cunningham, C. S. I., C. I. E." pp. 8-11 :—(*Vide* The Romantic History of Budha's Alms Bowl *Supra*).

4. The text on most of this part has been obliterated and cannot be read at all and the meaning of many of the sentences given here are only guess work.

APPENDIX II

دائرة سطح لب دیگ ————— علیه الطلوات و انقل من الالهات ————— درین
ایام خجسته نرجام توفیق عالی یافت جمال سلطنت و ملک —————
انقل ————— و والدی هامر جمع الکهر والاالی ————— شجاع ————— منطقه
اول ————— حضرت باری خواجه ایوب انصاری علیه الرحمه بعد از آنکه
حضرت واقف مذکور ————— از حضرت مناء الولاية ————— این را
ساخته و هم برای اولاد وقف نمود تا مقولی ————— و ناظر باشند
———— آنحضرت ————— وقف کرده حضرت واقف مذکور بربقاع
مذکوره و بر مدرسه که والد واقف مذکوره بنا نموده و متعاری مدرسه
مذکور ————— وقف لازم کرد ————— واقع در ولایت قلندهار موسوم
به ملک حصار در جای که حق و ملک وی بود به بهج صحیح
شرعی خریده بود از اولاد جناب امیر مرحوم امیر نظام الدین علیه
سلطان ملازم مغفور سعید شا هرخ موزا بمبلغ هزار و پلصد
———— مثقال نقره سرة مغروبه همگی و تمامی قریه واقع در
ولایت مذکور موسوم ده روح آباد ————— جناب واقف مذکور —————
بهج صحیح ————— مثقال نقره از وجه حلال ضرب کرده —————
بعضی آن ————— همگی و تمامی (خجک) منطقه دوم که از
همین نهر مذکور جناب واقف مذکور آب بد اینجا برده احیا نموده
و همگی و تمامی (منطقه) که جناب واقف مذکور از ورثه امیر
جلال الدین فرور شاه که ملازم آستان حضرت سلطان مغفور مذکور
بود به بهج صحیح شرعی خریده و همگی و تمامی این ده قناتی
موسوم به (چنک) واقع درمیان سهند و کوشکلیخود همگی و تمامی
قنات چهل گزی که قریب بکوشکلیخود واقع است و همگی تمامی
اعتاقات چهار قطعه باغ در کل این قریه قطعه () و قطعه
(ده زنگی آباد) و قطعه ده ملجوش و قطعه () و همگی
و تمامی اعتاقات که واقف مذکور بنا کرده هشتاد و شش در دوکان

واقع در بازار (اوشوری) بدرون بلدیہ قلندھار بقرب مدرسه مذکور
 جانب شمالی مدرسه مذکور پنججہا و یک در جانب شرقی بازار
 مذکور و بیست و هفت در جانب غربی بازار مذکور بر ع ۲ در ۱۹ ستون
 ہنگی و تمامی اعتقادات حسامی واقع در چہار سوق بازار مذکور و ہنگی
 و تمامی کاروان سرائی واقع در اندرون بلدیہ مذکور حدود جملہ
 موقوفات و موقوف علیہا در وقفہ ملظہر است و جمع آنچه کہ
 از موقوفات باید شود ر از حدود و مرانق و حقوق و ادوات مرکبہ
 حسام مذکور و کل از قبیل موقوف علیہا وقفی صحیح و صادق و جائز
 بصحتیست کہ قیراط و جہ او ————— ملطقہ سوم بخشیدہ نشود و بہیچ
 وجہی و از وجہ ملک کسی نہ شود و جناب واقف مذکور مذخراین
 وقف را از برای فقراء مسلمانان کردہ اند و شروط کردند واقف مذکور کہ
 متولی بقاع موقوف علیہا و این موقوفات مذکورہ خود باشد علی
 سہل الاستقلال تا مادام الحیوۃ ہر نوع تصرفی خواہد کند و شرط کرد
 جناب واقف مذکور کہ بعد از وفات وی از اولاد ذکور بی بطناً بعد
 از بطن ہر کدام اعلم و اصلع باشد متولی این موقوفات وی باشد و اگر در
 نفر در علم و صلاح مساوی باشند اسبق متولی باشد و اگر از اولاد
 ذکور ہیچ بطن نہاند بہمین قانون متولی باشد و اگر از اولاد جناب
 واقف مذکور کسی نہاند ہرکس مدرس مدرسه باشد متولی باشد و چون
 متولی را ولد باشد حق المولود عہدہ کرد و از غہرا ولد بقدر
 اجرت ملظہر و شرط کرد جناب واقف مذکور کہ موقوفات را باجاست
 بہ مسعئد بدهند و آنچه ازین موقوفات حاصل شود اولداً بعمل
 ضرور یہ و مرمت این موقوفات و موقوف علیہا صرف نماید بعد ازان
 آنچه بماند از این موقوف علیہا باشد از حصہر و فروش و روشائی
 وغیر ذالک و آنچه ازین بوجہ فاضل آید از اینچہ متولی صرف
 نماید اذن برای آن کہ ہر پنج دینار ہون یکمشتال سکہ نقرہ باشد —
 ملطقہ ع و کدتم سفید آب تہرمائی بہ گشت جمعیدہ ملک بازار
 قلندھار ہر خروار چہل من ہر اید با وظایف اخلاص دیندار
 و مدرس عالم کہ در ہفتہ پنجروز اول بدرس و مذاکرہ علوم شریعہ

و مقدمات آن اشتغال نماید هر مدرسه هر ساله نقد دو هزار دینار
 حنطه چهل خروار شعور ۲۰ خروار و در معبدی هر معبدی نقد ۸۰ ع
 دینار و حنطه ۱۵ خروار اجوره درس ۱۳ نفر اعلیٰ آن ع نفر هر
 نفری نقده ۳۶۰ دینار حنطه ۱۰ خروار و اوسط هر نفری نقدا ۲۰ ع
 دینار و حنطه ۷ خروار و ادنی ع نفر هر نفری نقد ۱۸۰ دینار و
 حنطه پنجخروار و یک امام عاقل صالح که در مدرسه به اقامت
 صلوات خمس قیام نماید هر ساله نقدا ۳۶۰ دینار گندم ده خروار
 و یکموفن عالم اوقات صلوات نقده ۱۸۰ دینار و حنطه ۵ خروار و
 یکخادم که بخدمت مدرسه قیام نماید نقده ۱۸۰ دینار گندم ۵ خروار
 ایلووظایف مدرسه بر والد حضرت واقف مذکور اول یک مدرسه
 و طلبه معهد و یک خادم پدر مدرسه حاضر باشد و بهمان دستور
 وظیفه کنند وظایف ارباب وظایف مقبره و وظایف ایقان معبر شود
 حفاظ و امام ۷۲۰ دینار و حنطه ۸ خروار ————— پنج نفر هر نفری
 نقدا ۸۰ ع دینار حنطه ع خروار موفن نقدا ۱۲۰ دینار حنطه سه
 خروار - منطقه ۵ و شروط کرد حضرت واقف مذکور که یک نفر از طلبه
 مدرسه خاصاً کتابدار مدرسه مذکوره باشد و وظیفه بدستور دیگر
 طلبه بگیرند و هرکس از طلبه باید بهتوته کند و هرکس بهتوته
 نکند مدرسه بدستور ————— آنچه بهتوته نکرده از وظیفه وی سر
 کند وظیفه خادمی که در سقاوه مدرسه مذکور باب کشی قیام نماید
 بدستور خادم مدرسه مذکوره باشد وظایف روایت غلور خانه بدیلموجب
 ست وظیفه یک نفر شوخ صانع و متدین که غلور خیردار بوده به مستحقان
 برساند هر ساله نقده ۳۶۰ دینار غله ۱۰ خروار وظیفه طباخ
 ۲۰ ع دینار وظیفه یک نفر مهر و خادم ۳۰۰ دینار روایت غلوری که
 در شش ماه زمستان خواهد بود بهار هر روزه گندم یک خروار گوشت
 — ع من نمک دو من بصل دو من حص ۲ من جذرو شلجم ۱ من —
 و در شش ماه تابستان و هر روزه یک خروار نان به
 مستحقان برساند و همه ————— آنچه باید بکنند و در هر ماه
 ۵ من دو شاب و یکمن روغن آرد حلوه پزند و ۱۰ من آرد نان پخته

همستحقان رساند. ملاحظه ۶ این ملاحظه خیلی معهود شده که مطلق خوانده نمیشود و بعضی اوقات که استدلال مفهوم شده است در خلال آن نداشتن میشود..... و در هر عهد بنظر آید مهربان..... وظایف مسجد جامع مذکور..... در اندرون دیک مذکوره در یکجانب آن این رباعی که کاتب آن ساخته و مفسر بتاریخ آن است نوشته میباشد—رباعی این است—

کرد ایندیشمه پر شربت قلد

حضرت شهیدار خضر ماب

ساخت تاریخ این بدین تفریب

کاتب العبد جلی شربت آب

سنة ۹۱۹ هـ

کتبه جلال الدین محمد ج ا ی شربت آب

ع ۱ ۹۰۲ ۳



DR. VINCENT A. SMITH ON VAIŚĀLĪ

I

As early as 1902 Dr. Vincent A. Smith, the eminent English historian, wrote a long article on Vaiśālī in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (pp. 267-283). The important portions of the article are reproduced below so that our readers may know that the great scholar had profound love for Vaiśālī and that he had devoted much time over its proper identification. He says:—

"I have no doubt whatever that Basār and the adjoining villages occupy the site of the city of Vaiśālī, and am further convinced that, while the limits of the city can even now be determined with a near approach to accuracy, a very moderate amount of local exploration, conducted under competent guidance, should result in the determination of the exact sites of many renowned monuments."

With regard to the present situation of Vaiśālī, he says :—

"The village of Basār (बसार्) stands in about N. lat. 25° 58' 20" and E. long. 85° 11' 30", twenty-six or twenty-seven miles in a direct line a little to the west of north from Patna, the ancient Pāṭaliputra, and about twenty miles from Hajipur on the northern bank of the Ganges opposite Patna. It is due north of the Dīghā Ghāt railway station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway."

Dr. Vincent A. Smith now proceeds to prove the identity of Vaiśālī with Basār. His first reason is :—

"The great mound or 'fort' at the village is known as the Fort of Rājā Bisāl (विशाल). The close correspondence of the name of this eponymous local chieftain with the city name of Vaiśālī or Vesālī is obvious, and, although not by itself conclusive evidence of identity, is of great weight as corroboration of other evidence."

The second reason then follows :—

“Well-known Buddhist legends, which it seems unnecessary to repeat in detail, clearly imply that Vaiśālī lay beyond the Ganges at a moderate distance in a northerly direction from Pāṭaliputra, and on the road from that city to Kuśinārā (Kuśinagara).

“The traditional account of Gautama Buddha’s last journey relates that he travelled leisurely from Pāṭaliputra to Vaiśālī in three stages, halting twice on the way, first at Koṭigrāma and next at Nadiyāgrāma. Travellers in India whose journey begins with the crossing of a great river are always glad to make their first halt as possible to the further bank of the river. The ancient town of Hājīpur (N. lat. 25° 40′ E. long. 85° 18′ 30″), which stands on the eastern bank of the Gandak river and the northern bank of the Ganges at a distance in a direct line of six or seven miles from Patna, is still the first halting place for the traveller proceeding north from Patna. We may be quite certain that Koṭigrāma, the first camping-ground of Buddha, was at or close to Hājīpur.

“Lālganj, situated twelve miles from Hājīpur and eight from Basār, is now the principal village intermediate between those two places, and Nadiyāgrāma should be looked for in the vicinity of Lālganj. Careful local enquiry would probably find the names Koṭigrāma and Nadiyāgrāma surviving in slightly modified forms, such as Koṭgāon and Nadiyāon, but no such name are entered in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 103.

“The positions of Basār at a distance of three easy marches north of Patna exactly agrees with the position of Vaiśālī in relation to Pāṭaliputra as described by Buddhist tradition.”

The third reason comes afterwards :—

“Hiuen Tsiang places the *stūpa* marking the locality of the orthodox Council or Convocation of Vaiśālī at a spot two and a half miles (15 or 16 *li*) south-east from the city. At a distance of 15 or 16 miles (80 or 90 *li*) to the south of this *stūpa* stood the splendid monastery of Śvetapura, which marked the place where the *sūtra* called “Bodhisattva-piṭaka” was supposed to have been revealed. A *stūpa*, ascribed to Aśoka, stood beside the monastery, and preserved the memory of the spot where Buddha, when going south to Magadha, stopped to look back upon Vaiśālī. The Śvetapura monastery, therefore, stood on the road from Vaiśālī to Pāṭaliputra, at a distance of about 20 miles from the former city, and close to the river. Five or six miles (30 *li*) to the south-east of Śvetapura a *stūpa* on the northern bank of the Ganges marked the position of the ferry

where, according to the legend, Ānanda divided his body, and gave half to the king of Magadha on the southern and half to the king of Vaiśālī on the northern side of the river. A corresponding *stūpa* stood on the southern bank. The ferry connected by legend with Ānanda was therefore, 23 or 24 miles ($2\frac{1}{2} + 15$ or $16 + 5$ or 6) distant from Vaiśālī in a direction slightly east of south, and, in as much as the Ganges then flowed a good deal farther to the north than it does now, the *stūpa* marking the northern end of the ferry should be looked for near Dāūdagar, about six miles south-east from Hājipur. The *stūpa* at the southern end of the ferry must have been carried away by the river. The Śvetapura monastery must have been near Hājipur. Its "massive towers", of which Hiuen Tsiang speaks, were probably wooden, but it is quite possible that careful search would succeed in tracing the substantial brick foundations on which those towers rested.

"The position of Vaiśālī in relation to Śvetapura on the bank of the Ganges agrees accurately with the position of Basār in relation to the river."

The next geographical argument follows :—

"Hiuen Tsiang expressly states that Vaiśālī lay on the road from Pāṭaliputra to Nepāl. Basār lies on the ancient royal road from the capital to Nepāl, marked by three of Asoka's pillars which passed Kesariyā, Lauriyā Ararāj, Betiyā, Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh, Chankigaṛh, and Rāmpurwā, entering the hills by the Bhiknā Thorī pass. The jealousy of the existing Nepalese government compels the modern traveller to take a more easterly route and pass through Sigauli (Segowlee) in lat. $26^{\circ} 44'$, long. $84^{\circ} 47'$.

The learned Doctor proceeds :—

"The geographical tests of the identity of Basār and Vaiśālī having been proved satisfactory, I now proceed to apply a third test of the same kind."

"The *stūpa* near Kesariyā, known by the name of Rājā Ben Chakravartī is the spot erroneously described by Fa-hien as the scene of the Licchavi leave-taking, and correctly described by Hiuen Tsiang at the memorial of a Chakravartin Rājā. Both pilgrims substantially agree in their estimate of the distance of this locality from Vaiśālī, Fa-hien giving the round figure "5 *yojanas*", equivalent to 38 miles, while the more accurate Hiuen Tsiang states the distance as being "a little less than 200 *li*". Five *yojanas* being the exact equivalent of 200 *li*, the term "a little less than 200 *li*" may be fairly interpreted as equivalent to $4\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas*, or

33 miles, which is the approximate marching distance between Basār and Kesariyā. Measured on the map (Sheets 102 and 103 of the Indian Atlas), the direct distance between Busadh Puttee (Basār) and the "hillock with temple" south-west of Kesariyā village is about 30 miles. Consequently, in relation to Kesariyā the correspondence in position between Basār and Vaiśālī is again proved to be perfect."

A fourth geographical test follows :—

"Fa-hien states that "the confluence of the five rivers," that is to say, of the Ganges, Son, Ghāgrā, Gaṇḍak, and some smaller stream not identified, was distant four *yojanas*, or about 30 miles, eastward from the *stūpa* to the north of Vaiśālī, which, according to his guides, marked the scene of the Buddhist Council or Convocation of Vaiśālī. The river Ganges below the present junction with the Gaṇḍak opposite Patna has made a considerable move in a southerly direction, having in ancient times flowed much farther to the north. In those days the Son followed the present course of the Punpun and Murhār rivers, and joined the Ganges to the north of Phatuhā (Fatuhā), about 10 miles east from Patna and about 25 miles east from the present point of junction. As long as the vast mass of water from the Son was thrown into the Ganges below Patna, the latter river was necessarily forced towards the north. When the mouth of the Son moved to the west and the pressure from its waters was withdrawn, the Ganges naturally took a more southerly course. In Fa-hien's time Pāṭaliputra stood in the tongue of land between the Ganges and the Son, but nearer to the latter river, and might be accurately described as situated on the bank of the Son. The old *ghāṭs*, or river-side stairs of the city, can still be traced along the bank of the ancient bed of the Son. The critic who merely glances at the modern map would suppose Fa-hien to be mistaken in describing Aśoka's city of Pāṭaliputra as being distant a *yojana*, or some seven miles from the Ganges where he crossed at the confluence. But a knowledge of the changes in the courses of the rivers as explained above fully justifies the pilgrim's description, and explains his meaning without violence to his text. The confluence of the five rivers must have been situated near the villages named Bāzār and Gopālpur (I. A., Sheet 103), which stand north of Fatuhā, and about nine miles south-east from Hājipur. The distance from those villages to the ruins of Aśoka's city on the old course of the Son is about eight miles. Fa-hien when defining direction commonly uses the four cardinal points only. He therefore describes the confluence of the five rivers as being "to the east" from Vaiśālī, and Pāṭaliputra as being "south" from the confluence. The true bearings are approximately south-east and south-west respectively.

"The direct distance measured on the map from Baniyā (Buneean), situated north-west of Basār, which approximately marks the position of Fa-hien's "convocation *stūpa*," to Bāzār is $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or four *yojanas* as required. The distance from Bāzār to Aśoka's city of Pāṭaliputra being about eight miles, the city would have been in the dry season about a *yojana* from the southern bank of the river, as stated by the pilgrim. Thus, a fourth geographical test vigorously applied establishes the identity of Vaiśālī with Basār."

Dr. V. A. Smith now proceeds to summarise his arguments given above :—

"If my readers have had the patience to follow me so far, I trust that they will be satisfied that the remains at Basār and the neighbouring villages beyond doubt occupy the site of the famous city Vaiśālī. The identity of the site is established by the continuance of the name of Vaiśālī in the forms Basār (or Basārph) and Bisāl, as well as by the exact agreement in the positions of Basār and Vaiśālī on the old royal road from Pāṭaliputra (Patna) to Nepāl with reference to Pāṭaliputra itself, to the course of the Ganges, to the Kesariyā *stūpa*, and to 'the confluence of the five rivers.' "

The learned Doctor now adopts another line of arguments and says :—

"The discussion of the topography of Vaiśālī, on which I now propose to enter, will be found to strongly corroborate the geographical arguments set forth above.

"The exact date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Vaiśālī is not known, but the year 635 A. D. may be assumed as approximately the correct date. His description of the city is unusually detailed and precise, and enables the modern reader not only to form an accurate conception of the state of the ruins in the seventh century A. D., but also to mark on the map with a close approach to exactness the position of each monument described.

"At the time of the pilgrim's visit the city was to a great extent in ruins. The buildings were in a state of advanced decay, the forests had been uprooted, and the numerous lakes and ponds had shrunk into offensive swamps. The ruins covered a space about twelve miles (60 or 70 *li*) in circuit, and included the remains of hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, out of which only three or four were occupied by a few monks. The Jains (Nirgranthas) were numerous, as might naturally be expected, Vaiśālī-

having been the birthplace of their religion; and Brahmanical Hindus of various sects worshipped at more than a score ('several tens') of temples. The citadel, or palace precinct, was less than a mile (4 or 5 *li*) in circuit, and was inhabited by a small population. This citadel is obviously represented by the mound now known as Rājā Bisāl's Fort (Bisālgaṛh), which retains the ancient name almost unaltered and in dimensions exactly agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's description.

"A monastery tenanted by a few friars of the Saṃmatīya school of the Hīnayāna stood about a mile (5 or 6 *li*) north-west of the citadel, and apparently within the city walls. Hiuen Tsiang specifies the position of most of the monuments mentioned by him with reference to this monastery, which was evidently his residence during his sojourn.

"Close to the monastery three *stūpas* attracted the pilgrim's special attention. One of these commemorated the delivery of the Vimalakīrti Sūtra and the presentation of precious parasols to Buddha. The second marked the spot where Śāriputra and others attained the rank of saint (arhat). The third, which stood at a short distance to the south-east, was the most interesting monument at Vaiśālī, being the *stūpa* which enshrined the share of the relics obtained by the unnamed king of Vaiśālī at the time of the cremation of the body of Gautama Buddha. This *stūpa*, dating from about B. C. 500, will probably, when identified, prove to be similar to the monument at Pipravā, which enshrined the share of the relics obtained by the Śākyas of Kapilavastu.

"The Saṃmatīya monastery, the *stūpa* containing the cremation relics, as well as the *stūpas* of Śāriputra and the Vimalakīrti Sūtra, must all lie in a compact group between the Kharonā tank and the village of Pharāwal, where a large mound exists. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, when visiting Vaiśālī discerned that the cremation-relics *stūpa* must be near Pharāwal. It is astonishing that Sir Alexander Cunningham made no attempt to ascertain the position of this most interesting monument of the earliest period of Buddhism, which probably still contains the relics of Gautama. According to a legend told by Hiuen Tsiang, Aśoka removed nine-tenths of the original deposit, leaving one-tenth behind. I have no doubt that careful survey, supplemented by intelligent excavation, will bring to light this *stūpa*, which is almost certain to contain a valuable inscription.

"Having visited and described the more conspicuous and interesting monuments close to the monastery where he lodged, which must all have been situated within the walls, Hiuen Tsiang turned towards the north-

west, where he found a distinct group of holy place. He observed a *stūpa* built by Aśoka, beside which stood a stone pillar 50 or 60 feet high surmounted by the figure of a lion. To the south of the pillar was a tank, which, according to the legend, was dug by monkeys for the use of Buddha, and two *stūpas* to the south of the tank marked the spots where the monkeys gathered honey and offered it. The pilgrim notes that a figure of a monkey still stood at the north-western corner of the tank.

"His description of these monuments is strictly applicable to the remains situated on a low mound one mile south-east of Bakhirā village and about two miles north-north-west of Bisālgahṛb, the fort of Basāṛ. Aśoka's pillar with its lion-capital complete is still standing. Its height from the water-level is known to be 44 feet 2 inches and several feet are submerged. The total height, therefore, closely agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's estimate. A ruined *stūpa* of solid brick due north of the pillar is evidently that erected by Aśoka. The tank to the south of the pillar, measuring about 200 feet in length from east to west and 150 feet in width from north to south, agrees exactly in position with that connected by Hiuen Tsiang with the legend of the pious monkeys who offered honey to Buddha. Small mounds to the south of the tank seem to represent the *stūpas* which commemorated the monkeys' piety. A life-size statue of Buddha, with an inscription, considered by Cunningham to date from the tenth century, was found in the ruins of a temple about 720 feet north of the *stūpa*, and Lieut.-Colonel Waddell observed on the pedestal of a similar statue, or perhaps the same one, a representation of the monkey legend. No hesitation, I think, need be felt in accepting Cunningham's identification of the remains south-east of Bakhirā with the group of ruins described by Hiuen Tsiang as lying to the north-west of the Saṃmatīya monastery.

"I may observe in passing that the legend of the presentation of a pot of honey to Buddha by a monkey, or company of monkeys, is often represented in sculpture, and was localized at Mathurā as well as at Vaiśālī.

"I am unable to agree with Cunningham (i, 56) that the city of Vaiśālī, strictly so called, included the Monkey Tank group of ruins and Bakhirā village. Attentive consideration of the testimony of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang permits no doubt that both Bakhirā and the Monkey Tank group of ruins fall outside the line of the ancient walls. The Kūṭāgāra, or 'upper-storied' hall, where Buddha dwelt during the fifth year of his ministry, was situated in the precincts of the Mahāvana Vihāra, or monastery of the great forest, and on the bank of or close to, the Monkey Tank. Fa-hien informs us that the great forest, or Mahāvana, lay to the north of

the city, and that the 'double-galleried *vihāra*' where Buddha dwelt (i. e., the Kūṭāgāra) was in that forest. But inasmuch as the 'double galleried *vihāra*' adjoined the monkey Tank, that tank also must have been within the forest and without the city. The '*stūpa* of the last book,' which will be mentioned presently, stood outside the western gate, and it is impossible to locate this *stūpa* if Bakhirā be considered part of the city. The village of Kolluā, or Kolhuā, which is unfortunately not marked on the maps accessible to me, is close to the Monkey Tank, and probably represents ancient suburb Kollāga. The Monkey Tank group of remains may properly be forming part of that suburb. The site of Bakhirā village lay, I should think, quite clear of the city. It is, however, quite possible that when Hiuen Tsiang estimated the circuit of the 'old foundations' of the ruined city as measuring some twelve miles (60 or 70 *li*), he meant to include the Monkey Tank group of monuments. Excluding that group, the periphery of the walled city, as will presently be explained, seems to have amounted to about ten miles only.

"The third group of monuments described in detail by Hiuen Tsiang, consisted of four buildings distant more than half a mile (3 or 4 *li*) in a north-easterly direction from his temporary residence at the Saṃmatīya monastery. A *stūpa* marked the reputed site of the house where the convert Vimalakīrti had lived, and close by a so-called 'spirit-dwelling in shape like a pile of bricks' preserved the memory of the spot where he had preached. A second *stūpa* commemorated the residence of Ratnākara (Ratnakūṭa?), and a third monument of the same kind occupied the site of the residence of the celebrated courtesan Āmrāpālī, whose hospitality Buddha had not disdained to accept. The aunt of Buddha and other nuns were believed to have attained Nirvāṇa at this spot. The monuments included in this group must have been situated at or close to the site of the hamlet, now called Chak Aborā. It seems to be possible that this name may preserve that of Āmba-or Āmrāpālī. Āmbapura might easily pass into Abaura or Abora. This group of monuments was evidently inside the city walls.

"The fourth group of buildings selected by Hiuen Tsiang for special notice is described by him with reference to a *stūpa* situated to the north of the monastery where he lodged at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile (3 or 4 *li*). This *stūpa*, which evidently was inside the walls, marked the spot where Buddha, attended by a crowd of men and angels, was believed to have halted for a moment before he passed out by the gate on his long journey to Kusinārā and to death. At a short distance to the north-west of this *stūpa*, a similar monument, outside the walls,

recalled the memory of the long, last look which the Master took at the city where he had dwelt so long.

"A little way to the south of this *stūpa* of the last look, Hiuen Tsiang was shown a *vihāra* and a *stūpa* said to make the site of the garden presented to Buddha by Āmrapālī. The two last-named monuments may possibly have been inside the walls, because Fa-hien explicitly records that 'inside the city the woman Āmrapālī built a *vihāra* in honour of Buddha, which is now standing as it was at first'. As to the position of the garden, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have been misinformed. Fa-hien correctly places it to be south of the city on the west side of the road from Pāṭaliputra.

"Another *stūpa*, near the site shown as that of the garden to Hiuen Tsiang, commemorated, according to his guides, the spot where Buddha announced his approaching dissolution to his attendant Ananda.

"Yet another *stūpa*, not far off, marked the spot where, according to a wild legend, 'the thousand sons beheld their father and their mother'. Fe-hien relates a variant of this fantastic legend, which belongs to the Jātaka cycle, and gives the *stūpa* the quaint name of 'bows and weapons laid down'. He fixes its position as being three *li*, say a thousand yards, to the north-west of the city. Close by a *stūpa* had been erected on the spot where Buddha had expounded the meaning of the Jātaka legend of the thousand sons.

"Further to the east were the ruins of the 'turretted preaching hall, where Buddha uttered the *Samantamukhadhārani* and other *sūtras*'. This hall is the 'double-galleried *vihāra* where Buddha dwelt' in the great forest north of the city as described by Fa-hien, near which stood the *stūpa* built by the Licchavis over the half of the body of Ananda. This *stūpa*, according to Hiuen Tsiang, was 'by the side of the preaching hall, and not far from it'. The same hall is described in other books as the Kūṭāgāra on the bank of the Monkey Tank, and we are thus able to check and combine the topographical indications given by the two pilgrims, and to fix the approximate position of each building described.

"Fa-hien supplies another and important datum by the statement that the *stūpa* which commemorated the site of the Council of Vaiśālī stood three or four *li*, say 1,000 to 1,200 yards, eastward from the *stūpa* of 'bows and weapons laid down.' He also tells us that the *stūpa* standing on the spot where Buddha foretold his approaching dissolution was 'by the side' of the 'bows and weapons laid down' monument. In this detail he differs from Hiuen Tsiang.

"Bābū P. C. Mukherjī is very probably right in locating the site of the Kūṭāgāra to the north-east of the Aśoka pillar, 'where the field is comparatively high, and where some years ago the local zamindār excavated hundreds of cartloads of bricks which he carried to Bakhirā to build his house'. The scene of the Council of Vaiśālī according to Fa-hien's guides, must have been close to the Kūṭāgāra, and the *stūpa* over the half body of Ānanda should be looked for in the same group of ruins.

"The *stūpa* of the 'thousand sons', or 'bows and weapons laid down,' and the adjoining *stūpa* making the spot where Buddha, according to Fa-hien, foretold his death, which were about 1,000 yards west of the Kūṭāgāra, must be represented by the 'two high conical mounds half a mile to the west of the pillar' known locally either as 'Bhīm Sen's baskets' (*pallā*), or as "Rājā Bisāl's battery" (*morca*). These two *stūpas*, according to the testimony both of Cunningham and Bābū P. C. Mukherjī are constructed of earth without bricks, and are used as a quarry by the Luniyas, or saltpetre-makers. They are, no doubt, of very early date.

"It is interesting to observe that in two cases the distinct statements of the two Chinese pilgrims differ so irreconcilably that they can be explained only by the assumption that their guides showed them different sites under the same names. Fa-hien places the garden of Āmrāpālī where we should expect to find it, a little to the south of the city, and he adds that it was situated to the west of the road from Pāṭaliputra. He does not mention any *stūpa* or monument as marking the site. Hiuen Tsiang was shown a *stūpa* on the alleged site of the garden, which he places a short distance to the south of the '*stūpa* of the last look', and consequently to the west of the city.

"A more important discrepancy concerns the locality of the famous Council of Vaiśālī, which Hiuen Tsiang places about 2½ miles to the south-east of the city. He says that the site was marked by a 'great *stūpa*,' of which careful exploration will probably disclose remains, although Cunningham's hasty researches failed to find them. I have not the slightest doubt that Hiuen Tsiang saw the 'great *stūpa*,' and that his guides told him that it marked the locality where the Council was held.

"Fa-hien, with much greater probability, locates the Council *stūpa* close to the Kūṭāgāra, or 'double-galleried *vihāra* where Buddha dwelt,' and 3 or 4 *li* east from the *stūpa* of "bows and weapons laid down", or the "*stūpa* of the 1,000 sons," as it is called by Hiuen Tsiang. The site of the Council hall was, therefore, according to the information given to the earlier pilgrim, close to the Aśoka pillar, which was probably erected

there for that reason. A council or synod of some sort was doubtless really held at Vaiśālī, although the accounts which profess to give its date and the details of the proceedings are hopelessly contradictory and incredible.

"The fact that the two pilgrims were shown totally irreconcilable sites for the garden of Āmrāpālī and the Council of Vaiśālī is of importance, and should be borne in mind during discussions of the authenticity of the sites described by them. Pious visitors to the Holy Land of Buddhism, like Christian pilgrims in Palestine, were, of course, completely at the mercy of their guides, and were obliged to accept what they were told, and they were not always told the same thing. I have proved, or believe myself to have proved, that similar discrepancy exists between the statements of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang concerning the site of Kapilavastu. The Kapilavastu of Fa-hien is represented by the ruins at Piprāvā, 9 miles from the Lumbini Garden, whereas the Kapilavastu shown to Hiuen Tsiang is represented by the walled enclosure of Tilaurā Kot and the surrounding ruins, distant about 15 miles from the Lumbini Garden.

"In all the three observed cases of clear discrepancy I believe that the earlier pilgrim Fa-hien, is right; that is to say, that the genuine sites were shown to him, whereas when Hiuen Tsiang made his pilgrimage some 230 years later, the legends had been shifted to fictitious sites. I cannot add to the length of this already long essay by discussing the possible or probable cause of the shifting, and content myself with noting that Dr. Stein has recently pointed out that sacred sites can be, and often are, completely forgotten.¹ Sites, the true position of which has been forgotten, can be easily changed. Dr. Burgess also has shown how freely the Burmese priests, in their anxiety to localize sacred legends, have invented a system of fictitious geography."²

Thus the identity of Vaiśālī with Basāḍha is conclusively proved :

- (i) by the survival of the ancient name with only slight modifications;
- (ii) by geographical bearings taking from Patna and other places; and
- (iii) by topographical details as compared with the descriptions recorded by the Chinese pilgrims.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX (1901), p. 95.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Dr. V. A. Smith now proceeds to explain the principles on which he endeavoured to determine the approximate limits of the ancient city. He says :—

“According to Jain tradition, Vaiśālī consisted of three distinct portions, Vaiśālī proper, Kuṇḍagāma, and Vāṇiyagāma, besides the Kollāga suburb. Vaiśālī proper has been sufficiently identified as being represented by Bisālgadh and an indeterminate portion of the other extensive ruins. The village of Baniyā (with the adjacent Chak Rāmadās) is almost certainly the representative of Vāṇiyagāma. The lands of the village contain ‘extensive mounds’, and some ten years ago two statues of Jain Tirthaṅkaras, one seated, the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface, and 500 yards west of the village. Vāṇiyagāma was the residence of Mahāvira, the great prophet of the Jains, and this discovery of Jain images strongly confirms the identification suggested by the name. The hamlet of Bodhā also possesses a mound of ruins. The western boundary must run to the west of Baniyā. Bābū P. C. Mukherji was told by a resident Brahman that the principal angles of the ancient walls were marked by images of the four-faced (*chaumukhī*) Mahādeo, and was shown one of these images buried under the embankment of a large tank, about half a mile south-east of Basārh. This image probably marks the eastern extremity of the line of the southern wall. The Bābū says that he found distinct traces of a rampart both to the west and north of it. Another similar image exists some four feet below the surface, near Benipur. A third Mahādeo of the same kind is enshrined in a modern temple north-east of Baniyā, and is probably near its original position. A fourth Mahādeo is said to have formerly stood at Dharārā at the south-west corner of the fort, but that one of course, cannot have been on the city wall in that position. The northern portion of the city must have included the mounds of Pharāwal village, Chak Abora, where the house of Āmrappālī is located, and Chak Bisanpur. The suburb of Kollāga is probably by the Kolluā and the group of Aśoka ruins, which must have been without the walls. The boundary at the north-western corner of the city is uncertain.

“The result is a city ten miles in circuit, which agrees with the popular local estimate of five *kos*, but is somewhat smaller than Hiuen Tsiang’s estimate of twelve miles, which may have included the Kollāga suburb.”

In the end the learned Doctor pleads for a systematic survey and exploration of the Vaiśālī site.

II

In the *Indian Antiquary* of 1903 (pp.233-36) Dr. V. A. Smith wrote a short paper entitled "Tibetan Affinities of the Licchavis." He found similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Licchavis in the practice of the exposure of the dead and also in judicial procedure. And hence he came to the conclusion that the Licchavis, the ruling tribe or clan in the Vriji country of which Vaiśālī was the capital, was really a Tibetan tribe which settled in the plains during the prehistoric times.

This paper aroused considerable interest among the learned men and many scholars later on wrote on the origin of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Cf. "The Persian Affinities of the Licchavis" in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1908 by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana also cf. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's views on this in his *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 172-189.

III

In *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. XII, pp. 567-568 (New York, 1911) the article on "Vaiśālī" has been written by Dr. V. A. Smith. Although the article is small, it very clearly indicates the significance of the place in Indian history and culture. Some important portions of the article are reproduced below for the sake of our readers :—

"The ancient city of Vaiśālī was equally sacred to the Jains and the Buddhists long ago. It is now represented unquestionably by the village named Basār or Basārḥ (not Bésarḥ or Bāsārḥ as in nearly all books), situated in the Hajipur subdivision of the Muzaffarpur District of the Bihar and Orissa Province, in 25° 55' N. and 85° 8' E.

"The site of the city occupies a space about ten miles in circuit, which includes several villages besides Basārḥ and many ruined mounds.

The identity of Vaiśālī with the group of remains associated with the village of Basārḥ is conclusively proved :

- (i) by the survival of the ancient name with only slight modifications;
- (ii) by geographical bearings taken from Patna and other places;
- (iii) by geographical bearings as compared with the description recorded by Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang), the Chinese Pilgrim in the 7th century; and
- (iv) by the finding on the spot of sealings of letters inscribed with the name Vaiśālī. The documents, which were addressed to

officials and other residents, have totally disappeared. The sealings found number about 1000, of which two or three bear the name of the town. The collection ranges in date from about 200 B. C. to A. D. 500, and is of much interest for many reasons.

Although the site of Vaiśālī has been visited and described by three professional archaeologists, Cunningham, Bloch and Spooner, their explorations, owing to limitations of opportunity, have been extremely slight and superficial, so that in reality very little is known concerning the local remains of antiquity. The area of the city seems to offer tempting possibilities for future inquiries.

No distinct local tradition of the ancient glories of the city has survived. The identity of the site has been completely forgotten by the people, and is known only to a few students of Indian antiquities. No pilgrims visit the ruins, and no considerable modern temple or shrine exists among them.

"Yet few places in India have stronger claims upon the veneration of both Jains and Buddhists. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, commonly spoken of as the founder of the Jain church, belonged to a noble family of Vaiśālī where he was born and spent all his earlier life. After he had entered upon the ascetic career, he is said to have resided in his native town or the immediate neighbourhood for twelve rainy seasons, during which travelling was unlawful for persons of his profession. The Jain scriptures often mention Vaiśālī. The archaeologists have not sought for Jain remains on the site, and nothing in their reports would lead the reader to suppose that the Basāḍh area was the birthplace of Jainism, as it is known to the moderns.

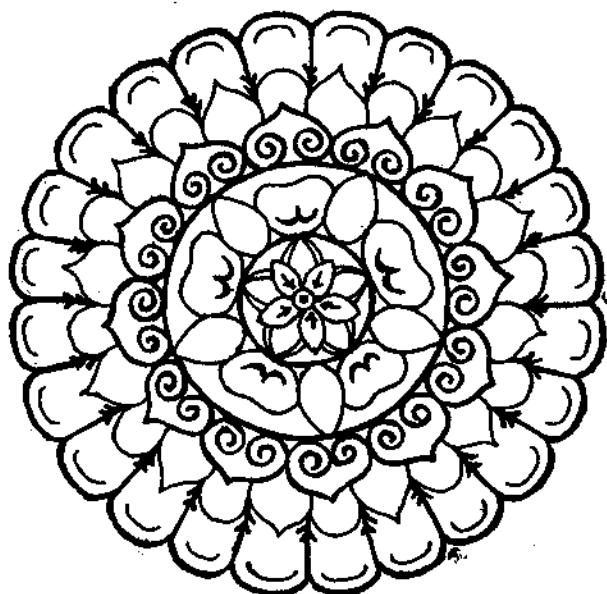
"Brāhmanical tradition ignores Vaiśālī almost completely, and no remarkable event in the history of orthodox Hinduism seems to be connected with the locality, although in the 7th century the territory of which Vaiśālī was the capital contained several scores of Hindu temples, besides hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, mostly dilapidated and deserted. The Jain establishments at that time were still numerous and remains of them must survive. Nobody has thought of even looking for them. Such attention as the site has received has been bestowed almost exclusively on efforts to trace Buddhist holy places described by Hiuen-Tsiang. The discovery of the sealings mentioned above was accidental in the first instance. The sealings establish beyond doubt the fact that during the reign of Chandragupta II (c. A. D. 375-413), at the time when Fa-Hien was travelling, Vaiśālī was an important place, governed by a

prince of the imperial Gupta family. It was in the province of Tira or Tārabhukti, the modern Tirhut.

"In the time of Buddha Vaiśālī was the capital of the Licchavis, a tribe, people, or nation, who were regarded as a section of the Vṛjji (Pali Vajji) nation. The origin and affinities of the Licchavis, who certainly were foreigners, afford much room for speculation. Spooner seems to suggest that they were domiciled Persians. The writer of this article believes that they were of a Mongolian race, akin to the Tibetans and other Himalayan peoples.

"Vaiśālī stood on the ancient royal road leading from Pāṭaliputra (Patna) to Nepāl, the line of which is marked by four Aśoka pillars and other notable ancient remains. The city thus was in direct communication with the imperial capital and with many places of high importance in the olden times. The distance from Patna is about 27 miles in a direction a little west of north.

"If the locality should ever be explored properly at any future time, as the site of Taxila is being examined by Sir John Marshall, many interesting discoveries may be anticipated, and further identifications of monuments may be possible".





HISTORICAL REMAINS AT VAIŚĀLĪ

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BASARH

Rājā Biśāl kā Garh

The site of *Rājā Biśāl kā Garh* is believed to represent the remains of the fort or palace of Vaiśālī, the ancient capital of the Licchavis and especially famous in Buddhist history as the scene of the Second Buddhist Synod, and also as the place where Buddha announced his approaching *Nirvāṇa*. It is a large, brick-covered mound of oblong shape, slightly less than a mile in circumference. The longer sides run from north to south, about 1,700 feet, and the shorter ones from east to west about 800 feet, while the average height of the ruins is some 8 feet above the surrounding fields. Originally the place was surrounded by a ditch, now largely silted up and almost entirely under cultivation. General Cunningham gives the width of the ditch as 200 feet; but at present its width is not more than 125 ft. About the middle of the south side of the *garh* there is a broad embankment across the ditch which, apparently, marks the site of a high road leading to the fort. The site was partially examined by General Cunningham in 1881 in the hope of finding some portions of the masonry ramparts of the fort, but no traces of any walls were disclosed. However, he discovered (1) a square copper coin cast in a mould and showing an elephant, tree and other symbols in relief and (2) an inkstand of burnt clay relieved with a large *trīśūla* and bearing a short inscription reading *Śrī Vidasatya* (probably the name of the owner) in Gupta characters.

In 1904, Dr. Bloch of the Archaeological Department made excavations at 8 different points on this ancient site. Some of his trenches extended over several hundred feet in each direction, and remains of masonry buildings were revealed at almost every place. Some of the walls were found only a few feet below the surface and probably belonged to

1. Being extracts from List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa (Calcutta, 1931), pages 20-30.

the Muhammadan times. Others, which were found at a depth of about five feet, reaching generally as far down as 9 or 10 feet were looked upon by Dr. Bloch as the remains of ruined buildings seen by Yuan Chwang in the 7th century, though there was evidence (of seals, etc.) to prove that they went back to at least 300 A. D. if not to still earlier times. These remains represented the foundations of old buildings. In plan they were often very irregular and the rooms and chambers were remarkably small in size. The floors, which were to be seen in a few rooms only, were of concrete with a layer of bricks; the discovery of a large number of earthen tiles indicated that the houses must have been roofed with this material and the tops of the roofs crowned with pinnacles. All the buildings were purely secular in character and no remains of temples were found—a miniature stone figure of Gaṇeśa being the only religious carving brought to light. Ashes and small fragments of burnt wood were discovered on all sides showing that the place had probably been sacked and plundered in later times. The minor antiquities unearthed by Dr. Bloch included, among other things, a number of terracotta figures of inferior technique, some stone tablets relieved with floral and geometrical designs, a copper tripod, a dish of the same metal, and a few pieces of pottery. But the most interesting find made at the excavations consisted of some 720 pieces of clay bearing impressions of more than 1,100 seals. Almost all of these seals were discovered in a single small room, which was in all probability, used for the deposit of refuse, as they were found mixed up with broken pottery, bones, burnt rice, ashes and other rubbish. They were originally attached to letters or other documents and belonged some to officials and some to private persons, generally bankers, merchants and traders, many of whom were members of mercantile guilds. Moreover, they were entirely secular with the exception of one bearing the mark of a *linga* with a *triśūla* on each side, which was taken to be the sign of temple. All these seals belonged to about the 4th or 5th century A. D. and the ancient name of Tirhut, "Tirabhukti", occurred on two of them.

But though Dr. Bloch had found a maze of walls, he had not been able to discover any traces either of the masonry ramparts of the fort or of the Royal Palace. He had not, however, gone deeper than 10 or 12 feet anywhere except in the 3 small wells which he found close to each other. It was consequently decided in 1912 that Dr. Spooner, then Superintendent of Archaeological Survey in the Eastern Circle, should carry out excavations at Basāḍh on a more extensive scale and try to solve, one way or the other, the question of the palace buildings and fort walls of Vaiṣālī, and to ascertain at the same time whether or not the site could be ascribed to pre-Gupta times with certainty. Dr. Spooner started his

work in the spring of 1912; and as almost all the walls exposed by the late Dr. Bloch had been removed by the villagers during the intervening years, he decided to explore the lower levels in these old trenches. A considerable area was thus cleared down to a depth of from 16 to 18 feet; but below this point the subsoil water prevented further deepening. Abundant evidence of human occupation, such as fragments of pottery, etc., was recovered "even when one thrust one's arm as far down as possible through the subsoil water in the small trial pits that were sunk here and there—all showing clearly that virgin soil had not yet been reached". It was in one of these trial pits that Dr. Spooner recovered a fragment of dressed sandstone showing that magnificent polished surface which is associated with the sculpture of Aśoka's time.

But generally speaking the lower levels were disappointing. No monumental remains of any remote antiquity were found underneath Dr. Bloch's diggings with the exception of a round well and a few walls of no apparent importance near it. Several large square bricks "of an antiquity manifestly greater than that of any of the walls exposed" and large numbers of seals and pieces of pottery were, however, discovered, a few of the seals being ascribable to about the 3rd century B. C. Seals and a few coins and some well-preserved terracottas were, indeed, the only important finds of the season's work.

Dr. Spooner also made a last attempt to find some traces of the enclosing walls of the fortress and also of the Royal Palace of ancient Vaiṣālī, for which both Cunningham and Bloch had haunted in vain. But he succeeded no better than his predecessors and this third attempt to recover the ramparts of Vaiṣālī was also a failure. On this point, therefore, Dr. Spooner came to the conclusion that the only protection provided for the fortress was probably an embankment or wall composed of the sand and earth thrown out in digging the surrounding moat. Nor were any traces found of the palace. However, as Dr. Spooner's examination of the northern portion of the fort, where he believed the palace buildings were probably situated, was only a partial one and excavations were not carried down to a depth of more than 8 ft. below the surface, it is quite possible that important remains of the palace may yet be found either below Dr. Spooner's diggings or in some other portion of the site.

The most important finds made by Dr. Spooner were, as has been stated above, about 250 inscribed clay seals found in all portions of the site and at all depths from just below the surface to a depth of 18 ft. With the exception of a few official seals the collection consists of private seals bearing the names of individuals or guilds of merchants, traders and

bankers. Almost every one of the seals, whether official or private, bears one or more symbols or devices besides the inscription. On official seals the design most commonly found is a figure of the goddess *Lakṣmī* standing on a full-blown lotus with two elephants pouring water over her. In some cases she is attended by two dwarfish male figures with bellies who might be taken as representations of *Kubera*, the god of riches. On the seals of the guilds of bankers *Kubera* is represented holding a curious hemispherical object in his hands or pouring gold coins out of a money bag. The seals of private individuals have a variety of devices such as a pair of human feet, a flower pot with conches, a shield, wheel, *kalāṣa*, crescent, *śaṅkha*, *śvastikā*, tree etc., or some animal or bird such as a boar (probably representing the *Varāhavatāra*), a peacock, bull, horse, lion and the like. A few of the more important of these seals are briefly described belows :—

(1) 6 seals—4 found by Dr. Bloch (Nos. 63, 89, 101, and 129) and two by Dr. Spooner (Nos. 607 and 651)—bearing representations of the Persian fire-altar. Dr. Bloch's specimens are all inscribed, but the best preserved is No. 101 on which the fire-altar is very distinct and the inscription reads "*Ravidāsa—the slave of the sun*". The inscription on No. 607 of Dr. Spooner's collection reads "*Bhagvata Ādityasya*." The fire-altar is also quite distinct on this specimen. According to Dr. Spooner these seals exhibit Irānian (Magian) influence and he thinks that seal No. 607 evidently belong to some temple sacred to the divinity "*of the Blessed Sun*" as worshipped by Indians of Magian descent (perhaps Śākadvīpī Brahmins)—for, he argues, if it had been merely a Hindu temple to that luminary, this form of altar would not have occurred. The seals belong to the Early Gupta period.

(2) Seal No. 830. The device on this seal is a *kalāṣa* with one flower, and two tiny crescents to left and right just above the shoulders of the jar. The legend, which is in 3 lines, is engraved in characters of the Mauryan period and runs as follows :—

Ve Sā lī a nu

Ṭa kā re

Saṁ yā na ka

The first and the third lines are in larger letters than is the second. Dr. Spooner therefore reads it: —"*Vesālī Anusamyanaka Takāre*" and explains it as :—

"The Vaiśālī Patrol, Takāra (outposts)".

(3) A well cut stone matrix which is also ascribed by Dr. Spooner to the Mauryan epoch. It bears a taurine and a private individual's name reading *Sūjātarshasa*.

(4) A seal (No. 191) with an animated figure of Nṛsiṃha—(*perhaps the oldest in India*)—seated on an altar with left knee bent and the right foot resting on a long stool. The inscription is damaged. Gupta.

(5) A magnificent large official seal (No. 200), belonging to the "Minister of the Crown Prince." Gupta.

(6) Seal (No. 162), bearing the figure of a *winged* lion standing to right. No legend. Only example of a winged lion.

(7) Seal No. 159. It bears an interesting representation of a hemispherical stūpa with clear indications of a railing around the base and a square box-like receptacle or railing at the top decorated with long waving streamers sweeping down to right and left. No legend.

(8) Seal No. 211, showing a human figure possibly in the act of skipping with a rope ! Legend effaced. Found 3 ft. 6 ins. below surface

(9) No. 248. A most important seal bearing as device a bull, facing, standing in the centre with the legend in a continuous circle around the edge. Professors Rapson and Venis read the legend as follows ;—

*"Rājno mahākṣatrapasya
svāmī-Rudrasimhasya
duhitu Rājno Mahākṣatrapa-
sya svāmī Rudrasenasya
bhaginyā mahādevyā
Prabhudamāyā (h)"*

i.e. "(the seal) of the great Queen Prabhudamā, sister of the king, the Mahākṣatrapa, svāmī Rudrasena, and daughter of the king, the Mahākṣatrapa, svāmī Rudrasimha."

The few important finds besides the seals were (1) an admirably modelled terracotta head, (2) some terracotta plaques, one of which bears a winged human figure indicating foreign influence, and (3) a dozen copper and silver coins—three of which are apparently of the punch-marked type.

The discovery from Basārḥ of older seals and terracottas as well as of the punch-marked coins and the fragment of stone with Mauryan polish—all of which can, with more or less precision, be ascribed to about

the 3rd century B. C.—is conclusive proof of the place having been in occupation during the Mauryan period. More substantial proofs would have been forthcoming had not the subsoil water prevented further deepening of the excavations below 18 feet.

The coins and almost all the terracottas and other minor antiquities recovered at Basāṅh by Dr. Spooner have now been transferred to the Patna Museum on loan from the Government of India, those discovered by Dr. Bloch having been previously deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A list of the coins is given below :—

Serial No.	Metal	Type	Obverse	Reverse
1	AE	Punch-marked	Sun ..	Indistinct Symbol
2	AE	Do. ..	Indistinct ..	Do. ..
3	AE	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..
4	AE	Cast coin (circular)	Elephant to l	Ujjain symbol.
5	AE	Kaniska ..	King standing at alter to l	Wind God running to l.
6	AR	'Alāud-Dīn ..	..	..
7	AR	Do. ..	..	..
8	AE	Ibrāhīm Shāh, Sultān	..	..
9-11	AE	Three coins ..	..	..
12	AR	One coin supplied by Collector of Muzaffarpur District	..	..

At the south-west angle of the *garh* stands a small shrine of modern construction known as the Veṅkaṭeśvara temple. It contains brass figures of Rāma Sitā, Lakṣmaṇa, Purāṇarāma, Sūrya and Lakṣmī and twelve small *sālagrāms*—all of modern date. There are several other temples outside fort area, some of them containing old images.

Ruined brick stūpa with Muhammadan tombs on the top

The mound is a solid mass of brickwork and stands 23 ft. 8 ins. high above the fields (Cunningham). The diameter at the base of the mound is about 140 ft. On the south side is a long flight of steps leading

to the summit of the mound. No complete bricks are visible; but some of those used in the steps measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick and nearly 9 ins. in width.

The top of the mound has been levelled up for the reception of Muhammadan tombs, the largest and the most important of which is known as *Mīrānjī kī Dargāh*, but really contains the relics of a well-known saint of this country named Shaikh Muḥammad Qāzin. The full name of the saint was Shaikh Muḥammad Faizullāh Qazin Shuṭṭārī ibn Qāzī Ulā ibn Qāzī Ālam ibn Qāzī Jamāluddīn ibn' Ali ibn Sulaimān ibn Sulāḥuddīn ibn Ismā'il ibn Imām Muḥammed Faqīh. The last named was one of the earliest Muslim missionaries in India and is generally known as Taj Faqīh among his numerous descendants. He is believed to have wrested Maner from the local Hindū chief some time about 576 A.H. = 1180 A.D. and to have left three of his sons, named Isrā'il, Ismā'il and 'Abdul 'Azīz', to propagate Islām in this country while he himself went back to Mecca, whence he had come and where his grave is still shown.

The eldest and the youngest brothers worked on this side of the Ganges while the second son Ismā'il took upon himself the task of preaching the Truth in the provinces lying on the other side of the river. Of the descendants of Isrā'il, the eldest son of Imām Muḥammad Faqīh, the best known are Makhdūm Sharfuddīn Bihārī, Qāzī Yahyā and Shāh Daulat Manerī; of the descendants of the second son, Ismā'il, the most famous was Shaikh Qāzin of Banyā Basāṭh; and of the descendants of the third son, 'Abdul 'Azīz, the most renowned was Sulaimān Langar-Zamīn of Kāko in the Gaya District. Shaikh Qāzin was born at Maner on the 7th of Zil Hijja 838 A.H. = 1434 A.D. and died on the 24th of Shawwāl 901 A.H. = 1495 A.D. He is said to have travelled all the way to Māndū in Central India to become a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdullāh Shuṭṭārī and soon became one of his best Khalīfas. He is the grand-*pīr* of Shāh Muḥammad Ghauth, one of the greatest saints of India, who is buried at Gwalior.

Shaikh Qāzin had several sons. The eldest, Makhdūm Shaikh Uwais, is said to have been killed by the Hindūs for attempting to build a mosque at Basāṭh—probably the same one the ruins of which are seen on the stūpa mound. Another son, named Abul Faṭḥ, is buried in Tangol, near Hājīpur, on the bank of the Gaṇḍaka. Diwān Shāh 'Alī, the saint of Jandahā, was a grandson of Shaikh Qāzin.

The tomb is surrounded by high brick walls on all sides and is approached by a long flight of steps on the south. An annual fair is held at the tomb on the 9th of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* when thousands

of people assemble to pay homage to the saint, and offerings of sweetmeats (*malidā*) are made at the shrine. As the occurrence of this fair is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindūs, General Cunningham concluded that the festival must have been established long before the time of the saint. This seems to be perfectly reasonable. But when the General proceeds to connect the festival with some celebration in honour of the Buddha or of one of his disciples, simply because the fair is held beside the ruined stūpa, it is difficult to agree with his views. Almost all the fairs in this part of the country are held either on the 9th of *Chaitra*, which is the birthday of Rāma, or on the 13th of *Agahan*, which was the date of his marriage with Sītā. The cult of Vaishnavism has undoubtedly been very strong in Tirhut, and it appears that the saint, who was a Muslim missionary, used to take advantage of the annual gathering for preaching the law of Islām to the people. The fact, however, that ever since his appearance in this country the fair has been held at his residence and burial-place would indicate that he must have been a very celebrated preacher.

Two ornamental stone pillars of mediaeval date were found in excavating near the foot of the mound sometime before General Cunningham's visit to the place in 1861.

To the east of the tomb are ruins of a small mosque. About 8 *bighas* of land are attached to the tomb.

KOLHUĀ

Asoka Column, locally known as Bhīm Sen kī Lāṭhī

The pillar is situated on the southern half of a large mound some 6 or 7 feet high above the surrounding fields and measuring nearly 1,000 ft. from north to south by about 600 ft. from east to west (Cunningham). The mound is entirely under cultivation now; but it is believed to have originally formed a suburb of the ancient city of Vaisālī the remains of which are described by Yuan Chwang as having occupied an area of 10 or 12 square miles. The pillar is a monolith of highly polished sandstone surmounted by a bell-shaped capital supporting a life-size figure of a lion facing the north. The shaft is 21 ft. 9 ins. high above the present ground level of the courtyard where it stands, but a considerable portion has sunk underground. General Cunningham excavated around it to a depth of 14 ft. below the level of the courtyard without reaching the base or even the rough unpolished portions towards the bottom of the pillar. He found, however, a few short records in shell-character engraved on the underground portion of the pillar, from which he concluded that at least

another 4 or 5 feet still existed in the subsoil. He also found the column to be some 4 or 5 inches out of plumb and leaning westward. The shaft of the column, 36 ft. in height, tapers uniformly from a diameter of 49.8 inches at the water level to 38.7 inches at top (Cunningham).

The cap of the pillar is of the familiar bell shape, 2 ft. 10 ins. high, surmounted by a plain abacus which serves as the pedestal of a lion, 4 ft. 6 ins. in height, seated on its hind legs with mouth half open as if snarling and with the tongue slightly protruding. Below the conventional lotus decorating the bell are a bead-and-reel design and a fine cable ornament. Above it is a heavy cable necking separating the bell from the abacus, which is quite plain and oblong in shape. The abacus is formed in two steps, the lower one being smaller than the upper, and is about a foot in height. The lion, which faces the north, is perfectly preserved, but its style is somewhat stiff and the forelegs are apparently a little too short. The edges of the shaft have chipped off at the top just below the capital. The total height of the pillar is a little more than 30 ft. above the surface of the courtyard. An octagonal masonry plinth has been recently constructed around the base of the pillar and the circumference of the shaft immediately above the plinth is exactly 12 ft.

The pillar is sometimes spoken of as the Bakrā (or Bakhrā) column, probably because it was thus described by Mr. Stephenson, who was the first to bring it to the notice of scholars in 1835. But it would be more appropriate to call it after the name of the village within whose limits it stands viz., Kolhuā, which, by the way, is suggestive of the ancient Kollago, a suburb of Vaiṣālī connected with the birth of Mahāvīra, the founder or rather the developer, of Jainism and a contemporary of the Buddha. The village (Kolhuā), however, is not frequented by the Jains.

The line of pillars in the Champāran and Muzaffarpur districts—at Rāmpurvā, Lauriyā, Arārāj, Lauriyā Nandangaṛh and Kolhuā, evidently marks the course of the ancient royal highway from Pāṭaliputra to the Nepāl valley and may have been erected for the edification of travellers along the high road. But it has also been suggested that these pillars mark the stages of the Royal journey to Nepāl which Aśoka undertook in the 21st years of his reign in order to visit some of the holy places of Buddhism.

About 50 feet to the south of the column (outside the house) is a small tank, called Rāma Kuṇḍ, which has been identified by Cunningham with the ancient *Markaṭa-hrada* or "Monkey Tank", said to have been dug by a colony of monkeys for the use of Buddha. Dr. Bloch described

the tank in 1903 as "ancient brick-faced", but the brick facing is now all covered with mud, though there is little doubt that it must have measured about 200 ft. by 125 ft.

Some 20 yards to the north of the pillar, in front of the Bairāgi Bābā's house, there is a ruined stūpa at present only 15 feet high with a diameter of about 65 ft. at the base. It is believed to have been erected by Aśoka. The bricks used in its construction measure 12 ins. by 9½ ins. by 2½ ins. Mr. Stephenson, who visited the monuments in 1835 A.D., mentions that the centre of the stūpa was excavated (about 1805 A.D.) by a doctor who was residing at Muzaffarpur, and that nothing was found inside. On the top of the stūpa is a modern brick temple, approached by a long flight of steps on the east, enshrining a well preserved mediaeval image of Buddha seated in the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* under the Bodhi tree and wearing a high crown, necklaces and ear ornaments. It is a well known type exceedingly common among the Buddhist statues of the Pāla time in Bihār and frequently met with in the Gayā District. The relief measures 4 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. including the pedestal; but the image is not life size as asserted by Cunningham. On both sides of Buddha's head are similar seated figures wearing crown and ornaments. Their hands, however, are held in the attitude of prayer. Below each of these smaller figures is an inscription of 2 lines containing the Buddhist creed formula, and on the pedestal of the principal image is the following inscription in Nāgarī characters.

L. 1. "... *deyadharmmo = yaṃ ppavara-mahāyānāyāyinaḥ karaṇika Uchhāhah (= Utsāhasya) Māṇ (i) kyu-sutasya.*

L. 2. "*Yad-atra puṇyaṃ tad = bhavaty = achary-opādhyāya-mātāpitror-ātmanas-cha purvvaṅgamaṃ (kr)*

L. 3. "*tvā sakala satva-rāśer-anuttara-jñānāvāptayati*"

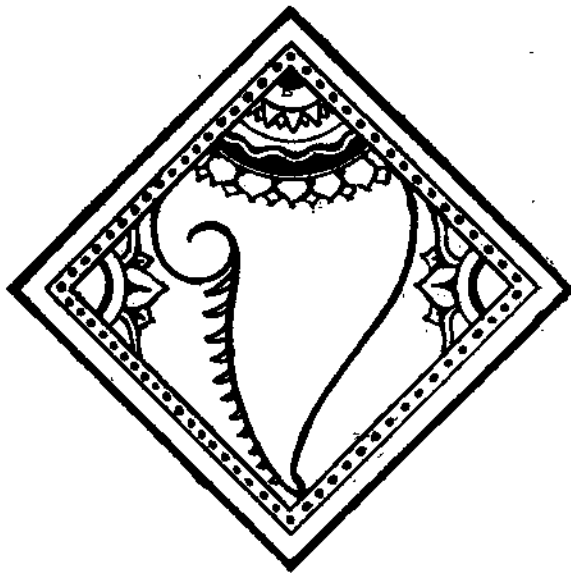
TRANSLATION

"This is the pious gift of the great follower of the Mahāyāna system called Uchāha, (or Utsāha), the writer and the son of Māṇikya. Whatever merit there may be in it let it be for the attainment of unequalled bliss for all the sentient beings beginning with the preceptor, the priest, the parents and himself."

The statue was dug out from one of the adjoining fields north of the stūpa, where extensive brick remains exist below the surface

There is no ancient inscription on the pillar, but General Cunningham, who excavated around it in 1860-61 right down to the water

level, noticed a few short records on the shaft in the so-called shell-characters. Excavations were also made by Dr. Bloch in 1903, to ascertain if any inscription existed but nothing was found. The whole surface of the pillar is however, disfigured up to a height of about 15 ft. with numerous rude scribblings by modern visitors most of which are either in English or in Nāgarī—some of the latter consisting of two or more lines but none apparently more than two or three hundred years old. The earliest of the English records read "G. H. Barlow, 1780" and "Reuben Burrow 1792". Rudely delineated human and animal figures and symbols such as scales, wheels, *nandipadas*, etc. are also engraved.





SOME ISLAMIC REMAINS IN HAJIPUR

SACHCHIDANANDA, M. A.

The sub-division of Hajipur (Muzaffarpur District), in which Vaiśālī is situated, is full of the remains of the Muslim times. As a matter of fact, this area has seen many revolutions especially in the fields of religion and politics. In the ancient time it was the centre of Jainism and Buddhism; and in the medieval times it was this area through which Islam made its headway in Tirhut. Writing in 1891 in the Calcutta Review Mr. Christian says that two-thirds of the names of the villages of Hajipur sub-division are of Islamic origin, a fact which indicates the extent of Islamic influence in the area.

In this paper we propose to give an account of the Islamic remains of the area. We shall begin from the west, i. e., from Vaiśālī (modern Basarh) and proceed towards the east, i. e., towards the town of Hajipur and its suburbs.

The only Islamic remains at Basarh, situated about 300 yards to the south-west of the famous Rājā Viśāla Kā Gaḍha, are some Muhammadan tombs on the top of a ruined brick stūpa. The stūpa belongs to the Buddhist period and the oldest tomb to the end of the 15th century. The mound is a solid mass of brick work and stands 23' 8" high above the surrounding fields. The diameter at the base of the mound is about 140'. On the southern side there is a long flight of steps leading to the top of the mound. The tomb is known as Miranji Ki Dargah but contains the relics of a well known saint of this country named Shaikh Muhammad Faizullah alias Qazin Shuttari who died in 901 A. H. = 1495 A. D. He was eighth in descent from Imam Muhammad Taj Faqih who was one of the earliest Muslim missionaries in India and is believed to have wrested Maner from the local Hindu chiefs some time about A. H. 576/1180 A. D. which is said to be indicated by a chrono-

gram, viz. Din-i-Muhammad Shud Qawi. He returned to Arabia and his three sons, Israel, Ismael and Abdul Aziz were left to propagate Islam in eastern India. He died in Mecca where his grave is still shown. Shaikh Qazin was a descendant of Ismail, the uncle of Makhdum Sharfuddin, the great saint of Bihar Sharif. Of the three sons of Shaikh Qazin Shuttari, the tomb of one Makhdum Abul Fateh Hadiatullah Sarraṣṭ lies at Tangaul, near Hajipur, on the bank of the river Gaṇḍaka, while that of the other Makhdum Abdur Rahman is situated at Sarayyaganj, Muzaffarpur. The third Shah Mansur Hallāj alias Makhdum Shahid died fighting with his father against the Cheroo chief of the locality at modern Baniya-Basarh. Shah Mansur was the father of the celebrated saint named Shaikh Ruknuddin who died on 18th Jamadi II, 1117 A. H. = 1705 A. D. and whose tomb is situated at Jandaha in Hajipur sub-division. The spiritual guide of Shaikh Qazin was Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari the grand *pir* o Shah Muhammad Ghaus one of the greatest saints of India, one of whose devoted disciples was Emperor Humayun. An annual fair is held on the tomb of Shaikh Qazin at Basarh on the ninth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra when thousands of people assemble to pay homage to the saint and offerings of sweet-meats are made at the shrine.

On our way back from Vaiṣālī we paid a visit to Lalganj and many ancient sites in Hajipur and its neighbourhood. The little town of Lalganj lies twelve miles north-west of Hajipur. It is situated on the east bank of the Gaṇḍaka and is protected by the Gaṇḍaka embankment. The gazetteer does not mention the mosque and the *maqbara* which is an old one. The three-domed mosque contains an inscription which translated runs thus :

"In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate. There is no God but God. This house is a place of worship of Allah the Great. In position and prestige it is higher than the skies. The date of the year is being respectfully supplied. Verily the mosque is illumined with the beauty of Muhammad". The last line of the Persian couplet gives the year 1119 A. H./ 1707 A. D.

The *maqbara* is a rectangular building being 9 yards square inside. There are six tombs and subterranean chambers are said to lie underneath. The roof of the *maqbara* is domed. There are plenty of cornices. Thin well baked bricks are used uniformly and the plaster at most places has left the wall. The *maqbara* had an iron door but this is now lost. Big open windows lie on the three sides of the wall. There is a compound

outside the edifice covering an area of 51½ yards square. The Masjid which lies by its side is comparatively new and recent additions have been made in it. The custodian of the mosque ascribed the tombs to Jamal and Kamal about whose identity he could give no details.

The town of Hajipur¹ situated on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍaka was once a very important place because of its strategic position and commanding situation. It was founded by Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah Haji, an independent King of Bengal in about 1345-58 A. D. From early Hindu times a town had existed on this site and Haji Ilyas simply gave a new name to the town which was formerly known as Haripur. He is said to have strengthened the town with a large fort of which there is no sign at present except the ruins of the old rampart on high ground. Lying on the bank of the Gaṇḍaka the fort was in good order in the time of Akbar when it was wrested from officers of Daud Khan, the last independent Afghan King of Bengal and Bihar.

The town of Hajipur is said to have extended upto Mahnar, sixteen miles east and to the north upto Gadai Sarai, a village four miles from Hajipur on the way to Lalganj.

Hajipur in olden days was a very flourishing town and is said to have contained in the hey-day of its glory 360 mahallas. The names of some of the mahallas can be gleaned from private papers of some of the local people or from survey reports. Andar Qila, Nakhas (market), Rambhadra, Ramchaura, Bawli, Kattrā, Noongola, Medni Mai, Pathan Tola, Syed Wara, Muftipore, Minapore, Khatajungi, Pokhar Tajkhan Bajkhan, Bibi Ka Rawza, Anwarpore, Daulatpore, Yusufpore, Lodipore,²

1. John Marshall who speaks very highly of "Sa Suja's (Shah Shuja) garden, the pleasantest place I have seen in India" situated somewhere near Sonapore or on an Island formed by the two rivers, tells us that "opposite to the garden on the other side of the river (Gandak) is Hajipur which is an ancient and ruined town, but hath been a famous place and the seat of Kings."; He was the first European to visit Vaiśālī where he arrived on 30th July, 1670, He saw the pillar of Aśoka as well.
2. Lodipore is so named after Lodi, the celebrated general of Sulaiman Kararani. He was responsible for the installation of Daud Khan but his murder at the hands of Daud was one of the chief causes of the fall of the latter, and the extinction of his dynasty.

Mirshikartoli, Chisti Mahalla¹, Madhuban, Chowdhry Bazaar, Mandai Ibrahimganj, Kathri Toli, Chauhatta, Sonar Toli, Tangaul etc., are the names of some of the Mahallas. The town is said to have housed 1200 families of sweet-meat-sellers, nine hundred families of brickmakers and seven hundred families of betel-sellers. There were two Mahallas for bangle-makers and one for jewellers.

It is said that the sweetmeat-makers of Hajipur made such *Khajulis* (a kind of sweet) that hundred of them would weigh only two pounds. Another far-famed nicety of this place was its extremely fine earthen ware². It is said that the preparation of clay for such fine *surahis* took one year. Without water such a *surahi* could not stand erect, such was its lightness. This industry disappeared in the early part of the 19th century. A third quality product of Hajipore was its elephant tusk mats³. These were very costly and the tusks had to be softened by chemicals when they were made out into tissues to weave a mat. These were regularly supplied to the various native courts. The bangle making industry of Hajipur was also famous but it is extinct now so that bangles are imported from Patna. The decline of Hajipur appears to have begun very early for Peter Mundy⁴ has taken notice of it.

Just near Hajipur market lies a big garden and a large pond which are said to have covered an area of 400 and 37 bighas respectively. These

1. So called because it was exclusively colonised by descendants and followers of Shaikh Muinuddin Chisti, the patron saint of the Moghal Emperors.
2. John Marshall visited Hajipur on Nov. 6, 1671. He calls Minapore a mahalla of Hajipur, "the home of earthen ware". "I weighed one", he says, "which weighed but 1½ oz. troy and it held 18 oz. of water without breaking".
3. The writer is indebted for this information to a very venerable old gentleman of Hajipur named M. Abdul Hakim who referred to an old manuscript and has collected the various traditions from men now dead and gone.
4. Peter Mundy wrote in his diary dated Nov. 14, 1632.....I crossed over to the river to Hajipur.....Patna 4 kos and about 3 miles, further we went on sand. This place is very ancient but now decayed and in former times much resorted to as the chief place in these parts, all the traffic now reduced to Patna which has been built and inhabited of late. Hajipur was the ancient place of traffic before Patna. At the western side close to the town issues out a great river (Gandak).

were built by Taj Khan Kararani¹, a conqueror of Bengal, and are still called Taj Khan Ka Bagh and Taj Khan Ka Pokhar. Taj Khan was one of the most trusted officials of Emperor Islam Shah Sur who nominated him at his death-bed 'guardian and Wazir of his infant son Firuz', who was murdered by his maternal uncle, the infamous Adali. Taj Khan revolted and fought against him. He was defeated by Himu and fled to Bihar. Taking advantage of the confusion at the centre, he and his brother Sulaiman established themselves in South Bihar with Hajipur and Monghyr as their headquarters. Taj Khan subsequently conquered Bengal where he died and was succeeded by his brother Sulaiman Kararani. Taj Khan is said to have repaired and rebuilt the fort of Hajipur, dug a deep ditch, built many elegant edifices in what is now known as Andar Qila and laid out the big garden and the *talāb* in the area known after him. His dead body appears to have been brought from Ekdala in Bengal and buried in his favourite place Hajipore. Near the pond, on a mound about 10' high lie the tombs of many members of his family. Close to the tombs on the mound are the ruins of a dilapidated Idgah whose foundations are laid on big blocks of stone. There is a subterranean chamber only the mouth of which is now visible. This is supposed to be the entrance of an under-ground tunnel leading to Patna. The mound covers an area of about eighteen kathas.

Minapore which was a flourishing quarter of Hajipur was said to have been formerly peopled by five hundred Musalmans of Syed lineage most of whom claimed descent from two brothers, Syed Qasim and Syed Muhammed. The mahalla is now bereft of Syeds. Most of these lie buried in an extensive graveyard north of the Karbala. Close to the road on the western side lies the tomb of Makhdum Qasim (son of the famous Pir Damaria whose tomb is situated across the river on the bank of the Ganges at Patna just opposite to that of his son at Hajipur) and his wife. There are no inscriptions on the tomb. To the east of the tomb can be seen the ruins of the gate of an Idgah and those of a large and imposing old mosque pierced by three arched entrances of which only two are extant. The southern part of the edifice which was surmounted by three big domes has completely disappeared. The three concentric arches built of brick which supported the two domes on the northern side are still standing giving us an idea of what the mosque must have been like at one time.

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1. For Tajkhan and the Kararani Afghans of Bihar and Bengal see Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Akbarnama, *Tarikh-i-Lodi* and *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Yadgar*.

Another Mahalla of Hajipur is known as Jaruha, a corruption of Jalua, so-called because the town was burnt when Hussain Shah, King of Jaunpore, soon after his accession in 856 A. H. = 1451 A. D. and truce with Bahlol Lodi, led an expedition against Tirhut and Orissa and on the way devastated and burnt down a part of Hajipur. Jaruha is rich in historical monuments, the most remarkable of which is the Mamun Bhanja Ka Maqbara. The mausoleum is built on a raised platform with several enclosing walls. There is a flight of nine high steps from the road to the floor of the mausoleum. The second door on the staircase has a stone lintel while the jam of the third door is also built of stone. The fourth or the topmost door has got brick jam. Two walls enclose the mausoleum. The inner wall contains latticed windows, three on each side. The walls are partly dilapidated. The outer wall measures 85' 4" both ways. The main mausoleum is a square building pierced by three arch openings on all sides. The walls enclosing the tomb measure 19' 9" by 17' 2". To the north of this enclosure there is a Cirāgadāna. The mausoleum contains two tombs which are ascribed to two personages, Syed Muhammad and his maternal uncle Syed Ahmad, who had died as martyrs. Tradition says that the dead bodies were discovered while a tank was being dug at the order of Raja Shiva Singh of Tirhut (early 15th century A. D.). It was at the expense of the Raja that what was once a magnificent building was erected by two Muslim sepoys who lived in disguise in his camp. The descendants of the sepoys are still alive and they are the hereditary mojawirs or custodians of the mausoleum which was badly damaged in the earthquake of 1934. They claim to have had in their possession many Firmans and Sanads¹, which, they say, were granted by Firoz Shah Tughlak, kings of Bengal, and the various Subedars of Bihar down to the days of Raja Sitab Rai. Some valuable docu-

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1. Three Sanads, the copies of which have been taken for the Patna College Historical Museum by Prof. Syed Hasan Askari, M. A., B. L., show that Shaikh Bayazid, a mojawir of Pir Mamun-bhanja mausoleum was granted a Firman conferring on him 50 bighas of land free of rent in Sadullahpore Satana of pergana Haveli Hajipur and the Sanads were renewed from time to time by Nawab Jafar Khan (Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal) and such Subedars of Bihar as Daud Khan Quraishi, Lashkar Khan, Amir Khan, Saif Khan and Safi Khan. It is very regrettable to mention that the old gentleman Sheikh Nasiruddin Saheb who had at first shown these documents snatched away the remaining ones from the hands of one of us and sternly refused, despite repeated requests, to allow us to have a glance at them.

ments are in possession of Shah Wakil Ahmad Saheb. On the four corners of the roof rise four turrets. The wall enclosing the tombs is 2' 2" thick. There is also a small dome and a Kalasha with lotus petals carved on it. Broken pieces of stones and bricks are lying in the heap in one part of the enclosure and there are also two big iron drums lying in an uncared for state. Outside the mausoleum but within the enclosure is an open mosque. Its veranda is 12 feet broad. In the walls there are nine arched recesses with niches on either side. On the two corners of the outer enclosing wall are two dome pillars showing the lotus petals on the top. Besides the Cirāgadāna mentioned above, there lies a small basalt slab containing an inscription of which the first two lines are in Arabic usually found in mosques. The other lines read as follows :

"Bana-i-Hazal Masjid al Aali Haji Chand Nawab-i-Shaista Khani. Katba-i-Muhammad Mukim-Ibn-Mir Syed Abdur Rasul, 1071 A. H." i. e., the founder of the grand mosque is Haji¹ Chand, an omrah of Nawab Shaista Khan, the scribe is Md. Mukim son of Mir Syed Abur Rasool year 1071 A. H. = 1660 A. D.

On either side of the main outer gateway which appears to have been doubly arched at some distance and probably at the corner of the whole structure, there is a massive piece of brick work, the upper portion of which seems to have been a big chamber pierced by three arched openings. But the arches no longer exist. A fair is held at the mausoleum on the occasion of Mohrram each year.

A furlong across the road lies a beautiful building known as the Karbala. It lies within a big enclosure pierced by a high double storied brick built gateway with a big wooden gate bearing an inscription in Devanagari characters indicating that the wooden door was provided by a Hindu gentleman of Sarayyagunj, Muzaffarpur. There is a small gateway on the eastern side. In the centre of the enclosure there is a Karbala built on a raised platform and it is in a remarkably good state of preservation. The Karbala has got four turrets on each corner of the building. On the western side there is a big *qanati* Masjid with five arched recesses and a very big verandah. Adjacent to the mosque is a bigger and more imposing Idgah. Its verandah leads to two big halls, each of them having two small chambers on either side. The verandah and rooms are paved with large bricks.

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1. It would be interesting to know that the mosque built by the same Haji Chand in 1056 A. H. = 1641 A. D. is still extant in a dilapidated condition in Mahalla Babuaganj, Patna City.

Close to the Gandak bridge lies what is called the tomb of Haji Ilyas, the founder of Hajipur. There are three tombs on a raised and enclosed platform. One of them is said to be the tomb of Haji Ilyas while in the other two rest the custodians of the tomb. Nearby across the road lies the tomb of Haji-ul-Harmain, his spiritual preceptor, a reputed disciple of Badiuddin Shah Madar.

At some distance from these tombs lies one of the most conspicuous buildings of the town known as Jama Masjid built by Mokhsus Khan,¹ a brother of Said Khan Chaghta who was twice the governor of Bihar in the time of Akbar. This mosque as the Hindi chronogram denotes was built in 995 A. H = 1587 A. D. (Surapati² locana tain haro Manmatha bāna Vicāra, San Masjid Makhsus Ki jadi nadi para sāja). It is said that this mosque³ had three gates⁴ but only the third now remains in a dilapidated condition, while the first two have disappeared. The second one was swallowed up by the road which formerly passed further east. As regards the third gate which gives access to the enclosed compound, it must have been in its original condition a splendid structure. It has got a very large arched opening, the upper portion of which is in a very badly damaged condition. Just above the wooden doorway as also the iron beams

1. He had been granted a jagir in Bengal and was perhaps the founder of the present city of Murshidabad of which the old name was Maksusabad. He accompanied Raja Man Singh in his expedition to Orissa and took a leading part in its conquest. (Akbarnama and Maasir-ul-Umra).
2. From 1000 (represented by a thousand eyes of King Indra) take away five (represented by the five arrows of Manmatha or Cupid) and the result will give the date of the mosque built of Makhsus on the bank of the Crescent river. This gives 1000-5 equal to 995 A. H. = 1587 A. D.
3. Cunningham (1871) who describes the stone mosque which measures 84' by 33' as 'the only building of any consequence at Hajipur' believed that it must have been built entirely of Hindu materials and apparently stands on an old Hindu site on the road leading down to Pathrighat on the Gandak opposite Sonpore. Cunningham was struck by the iron cramp holes retained in the stone and he traced the iron cramps to the old Hindu building.
4. Mr. Christian (Calcutta Review 1891) also mentions the tradition about each of the three door ways having an inscription in different languages. But his reading of Maksud for Makhsus was wrong.

supporting the gate structure is a square opening which was originally filled up by the stone containing the Persian inscription, now fixed up in the central outer arch of the main mosque. The slab bearing the Arabic inscription which has been thus replaced was broken into pieces. There is a big stone slab lying in the compound of the mosque giving faint indication of something originally written in Sanskrit. It is said to represent the stone bearing the Hindi inscription and fixed in original in the first of the three gates. The cornices of the existing gateway are similar to the various ornamented cornices found in the chambers of the prayer-hall of the mosque. There is also the same bracket and the drip stone. One of the pillars on the south-east corner of the main gateway has disappeared while that on the northern side exactly parallel is still extant though the upper portion of this one has tumbled down.

The front verandah of the mosque measures 39'6" by 26'. The wall of the prayer chamber is 7' 3" thick. The mosque is an imposing all-stone three-domed building consisting of a big prayer hall measuring 71' 10" by 20' 2". The hall is divided into three compartments supported by vaulted arches and lateral walls. The main *mehrab* where the Imam stands has got an arched recess with a panel in front decorated with flora designs. The pulpit by the side of the central internal arch contains a small arched chamber approached by three stone steps and supported by four stone pillars. The base and capital of the two pillars on the south are decorated with floral designs. There are niches on either side of the central *mehrab* as also on the sides of the two other *mehrabs*. The pendentive has brackets and double false arches in all the chambers. There are latticed arched windows on the north and on the south giving light and air. The central arch entrance and in fact the whole structure with two pillars appears to have been a renovation. The domes on the sides are octagonal while that in the middle has twelve corners. The whole building is enclosed by a brick wall.

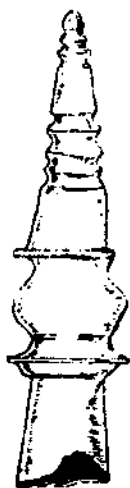
Quite close to the road from Jaruha to Hajipur lies the structure known as the Bawan Hazari Chabutra. Its name is explained in various ways. Some say that it was built by a noble whose income was Rs. 52000/-. Others say that it belonged to a Sardar who held *mansab* of 52000 horse (the rank did not exist at all). Still others assert that Rs. 52000/- were spent in building the house of which only the Chabutra is extant now. All these are legends and find no corroboration in any historical texts.

Another antiquity of considerable repute is the Kauriha Kuan. It is a very old well and has got recesses inside. An inscriptional stone

above the water level was unfortunately beyond our reach and could not be studied. One of the recesses is the door of a subterranean tunnel which leads from the well to the courtyard of the big house nearby. It was used by maid servants who observed so much *pardah* that they could not go out in the open to draw water from the well. When the building near the well was under construction one *cowrie* was deducted from the daily wages of the labourers and it was from the proceed, of that tithe that the well was constructed. While the building is a heap of the ruins the well still continues to quench the thirst of the people in its neighbourhood.

On the banks of the Gaṇḍaka lies the famous Nepālī Temple, a double storied building built by one Hira Lal about more than a century ago. Hira Lal was an official of the Nepal Raj. It is a temple of Shiva and great prominence is given to phallic worship. The friezes of the walls and the wood-work carvings show some obscene and indecent figures. Besides this, there is nothing remarkable in the edifice.

Relics of minor importance are the temple of Ramchandra, Idgah, Chisti Ki Hauz, Kale Khan Ki Masjid and the tomb of Sarmast Khan Ghazi, probably an Afghan who died fighting for Shah Shuja against Aurangzeb. In short, we may say that Hajipur abounds in antiquity. It is essentially a city of Mosques and Mausoleums and as far as the latter is concerned it is the Muslim 'Mohenjo Daro,' the city of the dead.





VAISĀLĪ AWAITS FURTHER EXCAVATION

J. C. MATHUR and Y. MISHRA

Vaiśālī (modern Basāḍh in the Hajipur subdivision of Muzaffarpur district in Bihar Province) is the birthplace of Lord Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara of Jainism (traditional dates 599-527 B. C.). It was frequently visited by Lord Buddha (577-487 B. C.), the founder of Buddhism. But it is a pre-Buddhistic site. It is said to have been founded by King Viśāla of the solar dynasty. The splendour of the city is described in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki according to which Rāma on his way to Janakapura passed one night here as the guest of the King of Vaiśālī. Later on Vaiśālī turned into a republic and became the stronghold of democratic and progressive ideas. Lord Buddha was a great admirer of the Licchavis of the Vaiśālī republic and their ideas and institutions. It had trade relations with distant countries. It became a part of the Maurya Empire (fourth-third centuries B. C.). The coins of Kadphises II, Kaniska and Huviṣka (first-second centuries A. D.) found here prove that the Kuṣāṇas had ruled over it for a considerable period. Vaiśālī rose again in the fourth century A. D. It played an important part in the foundation and consolidation of the Gupta Empire. Many coins and seals have been found here. It attracted the notice of Islam as well and contains a mausoleum of a famous Muslim saint Shah Qazin (1435-1495 A. D.), who came from Maner (Patna district) and devoted his life to the preaching of Islam in North Bihar.

The Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India was not slow to realise its importance and systematic excavation work was done here by Dr. Bloch and Dr. Spooner in 1903-4 and 1913-14 respectively. Dr. Bloch reached the level of the early Gupta period (fourth century A. D.) and Dr. Spooner claimed to have reached the level of the Maurya period (third century B. C.). No excavation work was done after that and Vaiśālī remained neglected and ignored for the next three decades.

In recent years fresh interest in Vaiśālī antiquities has been created through the efforts of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha (founded on March 31, 1945),

At every Vaiśālī Festival (celebrated every year since 1945) the organisers of the Vaiśālī Sangha have been emphasising the need for further excavation at Vaiśālī in the form of a resolution. As a result of this, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, paid a visit to Vaiśālī on 21st June, 1947. He was accompanied by Diwan Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, the Archaeological Survey Superintendent of Central Circle (Patna) and the Secretaries of the Vaiśālī Sangha (Sri Digvijaya Narayan Singh, B. A., Sri Jagannath Prasad Sah, Visharad, and Prof. Yogendra Mishra, M. A., Sahityaratna). His visit to the actual spot convinced Dr. Wheeler of the necessity of the resumption of excavation at Vaiśālī and he has written to the Vaiśālī Sangha that if the Sangha is able to collect six thousand rupees locally, the Government of India would surely resume the excavation work.

So far as excavation here is concerned, Vaiśālī has immense possibilities for the following reasons :

1. It is a very ancient site going back to pre-Buddhistic ages. It figures very prominently in ancient literature.

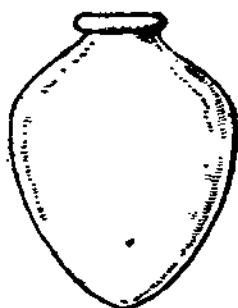
2. It has big mounds still unexcavated and awaiting excavation. These mounds are sure to give amazing results. The biggest mound is known as Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh (Fort of King Viśāla) so called after the mythical founder of the city. It must have been the palace of the Vaiśālī Kings, and later on the Parliament House (Samsthāgāra) of the Licchavi Republic also might have been here, because the Abhiṣeka-Puṣkariṇī or Coronation Tank (modern Kharaunā Pokhar) is very close by.

3. Many sculptures especially of the Pāla times (8th to 12th centuries A. D.) have been found at the surface or while ploughing the fields or digging the earth. This is a clear proof to show that this area abounds in archaeological materials. Every year in the rainy season a good number of archaeological finds, especially small finds including coins and seals of Hindu times, comes out and flows away never to come under human possession in future. Thus a great source of knowledge is being gradually destroyed and the more delay in the resumption of excavation work, the more harmful it is to the cause of knowledge, especially of Indology. Vaiśālī made a distinct contribution to art and iconography and this contribution must be preserved.

4. Excavation work was done here in 1903-4 and 1913-14 and many things were found. The area taken up for excavation was not even one-twelfth of the big mound known as Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh. If the

whole area is dug out, fresh light will be thrown at many aspects of ancient Indian history. As it had brisk trade and commerce with other countries good materials may be found out touching this aspect as well.

The Vaiśālī area, which awaits further excavation at the hands of the Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India, is an extensive one. The very name Vaiśālī (i. e., Expanded City) shows that the ancient city included great suburban areas on all its sides. Excavation here in the past have yielded fruitful results and there is ample reason to believe that further excavations will yield still better results.





VAIŚĀLĪ REMINDS US OF OUR PAST GLORY*

DR. ZAKIR HUSSAIN

VAIŚĀLĪ (Muzaffarpur), April 3. Paying glowing tribute to the memory of Vardhman Mahavir, Dr Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, while inaugurating the Mahavir Jayanti Festival at Vaisali fourteenth on April 2, 1958, recalled the ancient glories of the North Eastern Republics and the associations of this hallowed ground with Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Viśvāmitra, with Mahāvīr and Gautam, and Faizullah Shattari, layer on layer, as it were, of spiritual endeavour, leaving its marks in the composite culture of which we are heirs—a precious heritage which we can never do too much to deserve and to build upon and enrich.

Emphasising the urgent need for Indians and for the world to combine ethical and spiritual considerations with scientific insight and technical skill in order to assure the development of an ethically regulated and rationally efficient human life, Dr. Hussain said: Two things have driven man out of his original paradise: excessive numbers and a miserly nature. Through the first, man lost his freedom in space, every where a clash with his fellowmen, at every turn a rubbing of shoulders with his kind, and thus man became the slave of society. Through the second, the miserliness of nature, man lost his freedom in time. An unresponsive nature forced him to spend long hours in unpleasant toil, robbed him of his leisure, and man became a slave of nature. World history, in a sense, is a record of Man's attempt to free himself from the fetters forged by nature. (1) Different types of humanity have come into being in the attempt to discover and build the roads of return to the lost paradise of freedom and leisure. Chief among these, Dr. Hussain suggested were the way of emigration, (2) the way of exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, (3) the way of ethical regulation and self control, (4) the way of the conquest of nature. Dr. Hussain characterised them as the way backwards, the way upwards, the way inwards and the way forwards. The last two, the way inwards and the way of integrated personality and

* (As reported in *The Searchlight*, dated, April 4, 1958) Courtesy: Sri Nagendra Prasad Singh, Vaisali.

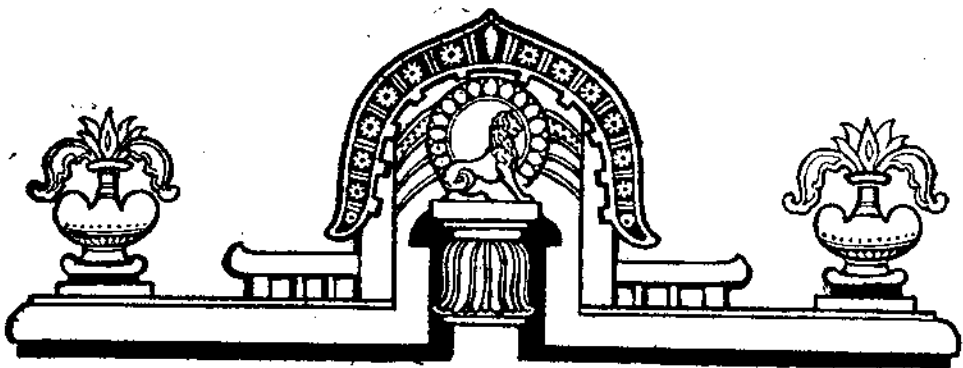
the way forwards, or the way of scientific enquiry and rational technique, are usually identified with the Eastern and the Western types of humanity. In the world in which we have to live, it is urgently indicated that the two methods be combined. For ethics and technique are, Dr. Hussain said, sisters. The one controls the forces of Nature in us, the other those around us. Ethics seeks to save man by a heroic denial, by resignation. Technique seeks to save him by a heroic affirmation, by action. Ethics seeks to conquer the microcosm, technique to conquer the macrocosm. Asia's greatness lies in her ethics, Europe's in technology. Asia stands for self-control, Europe for control of nature. Mahavir, whose birthday we are celebrating today, is a towering landmark on the Asian way for the rehabilitation of humanity. To be able to do homage to his memory in the proper way we shall have to look within. We shall have to examine our own shortcomings and ask ourselves if we are entitled to pay that homage. Are we non-violent in our word, deed and thoughts? Are we free of hatred towards fellowmen? Are we free of the prejudice of caste and race and creed? Are we truthful? Are we honest? Can we subordinate our selfish desires to the welfare of others? Let us look within and make ourselves worthy of paying this homage. For we can not live on the echoes of a past wisdom, we have to enshrine it in our own lives, Wisdom dies if it is allowed to become just traditional. And let us realize that we have to supplement this way inwards with the way forwards; we have to make the East and the West meet. For only so shall we be able to grapple with the twofold crisis with which we in our nascent free nationhood, are coming face face—the crisis of character and the crisis of efficiency.

Towards the end of his speech he made an exciting announcement about the results of excavations recently undertaken by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute under the competent and inspiring guidance of its Director, Dr. Altekar. Among other things, the recent excavations have revealed a very ancient stupa built entirely in earth rammed with kankar. This stupa was later enlarged and renovated four times, Archaeological evidence appears conclusively to prove that the first stupa was built early in the 5th century B. C. and the second one about 150 years later. In 640 A. D. when Yuan Chwang visited Vaisali, he was shown a stupa as built over the relics of the Buddha, and the stupa recently discovered occupies exactly, the same position. Yuan Chwang had heard the tradition that the stupa of the Licchavis had been once opened by Asoka who removed nine-tenths of its precious content for distribution over the whole empire and that it was again opened by a later king who, terrified by a terrific noise, desisted from the attempt. It is interesting to note

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that the earliest stupa as well as the second one show clear traces of having been opened. In the earliest stupa, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the lowest concrete layer, was discovered a beautiful soap stone casket, three-fourths empty and one-fourth filled with earth and ashes. Along with the ashes it contains a thin gold leaf, a conch, a glass bead and a copper punch-marked coin. The archaeological and circumstantial evidence thus appears overwhelmingly to prove that the earliest stupa discovered this year is contemporaneous with the Nirvana of the Buddha, and its casket most probably contains part of his relics brought here from Kusinagar.





भारत का सांस्कृतिक तीर्थ*

डॉ० सम्पूर्णानन्द

यों तो भारतीय संस्कृति का उद्गम और विकास उसके तपोवनों में हुआ है। सिन्धु और सरस्वती के अन्तर्वेद में वह वैदिक संस्कृति प्रस्फुटित हुई जिससे निकली हुई नाना तरंगों से उद्बलित सुरसरित् की अजस्र धारा आज भी इस देश की जनता को अनुप्राणित कर रही है। वशिष्ठ, गौतम, व्यास, याज्ञवल्क्य, सभी तपस्वी थे। अरण्यों में रहकर ही उन्होंने परा-देवता का साक्षात्कार किया था। अरण्यों से ही उनकी बाणी प्रसारित हुई। जिस बाङ्गमय का उन्होंने मानव कल्याण की दृष्टि से निर्माण किया उसमें आज भी उस प्राचीन आश्रमों की झलक दीख पड़ती है। परन्तु जहाँ बौद्धिक और आध्यात्मिक जीवन में वनों और नदी के एकान्त कुलों पर स्थित आश्रमों का इतना ऊँचा स्थान है वहाँ कुछ नगरों से भी हमने बहुत बड़ी देन पाई है। भारतीय संस्कृति पर कुछ नगरों की अमिट छाप है। वैदिक काल में, कम से कम उस काल में जिसका स्वरूप हमको ऋग्वेद और कृष्णयजुर्वेद में मिलता है, सम्भवतः कोई बड़ा नगर नहीं था। आर्यों की बस्ती सप्तसिन्धव के आगे स्यात् नहीं बड़ी थी, परन्तु शुक्लयजुर्वेद और उससे सम्बन्धित शतपथ ब्राह्मण के समय तक तो आर्य सम्यता निश्चित ही बिहार तक पहुँच चुकी थी। कोसल, काशी और मिथिला के राज्य स्थापित हो चुके थे। माथव विदेश वैदिक अग्नि को सदानीरा के तट तक ला चुके थे, अर्थात् मिथिला में वैदिक यज्ञ-याग होने लग गये थे। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि सम्भवतः काशी या ऐसे ही एकाध और स्थानों को छोड़कर वैशाली हमारे प्राचीनतम नगरों में है और इसकी महत्ता केवल इसलिये नहीं है कि यह एक सुव्यवस्थित और बलवान गणतंत्र की राजधानी था, वरन् इसलिये कि तत्कालीन धार्मिक विचारधाराओं का संघर्ष और

१. सोलहवें वैशाली महोत्सव (९ अप्रैल, १९६०) के अवसर पर दिया गया उद्घाटन भाषण। सौजन्य : श्री माधेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह, वैशाली।

और समन्वय जिन स्थलों में हुआ उनमें वैशाली एक था। यदि इस नगर के किसी नद्वेश का आतिथ्य रामचन्द्र जी ने स्वीकार किया था, तो निश्चय ही इसको स्थापना उनके समय से काफी पहले हुई होगी। रामचन्द्रजी का जन्म स्वयं इक्ष्वाकु वंश में हुआ था और वंशाब्द का राजा भी इक्ष्वाकुवंशीय था। यह मैं नहीं कह सकता कि पहिले अयोध्या बसायी गई या वैशाली। सम्भवतः अयोध्या वैशाली से पुराना नगर होगा। इसका एक प्रमाण यह है कि अथर्ववेद में योग की कुछ अनुभूतियों की बर्चा करते हुए शरीर को देवों का पुर, अयोध्या कहा गया है। इससे यह अनुमान होता है कि उस भंत्र के अवतरित होने के समय अयोध्या नगर बस चुका था और लोगों की जिह्वा पर उसका नाम आ चुका था। वैशाली की सम्पन्नता का भी बराबर वर्णन मिलता है। राजतंत्र से गणतंत्र में कब परिवर्तन हुआ यह मैं नहीं जानता, परन्तु ऐतिहासिक काल में हम इस नगर से गणतंत्र के रूप में ही परिचित हैं। बौद्ध धर्म ने इसकी व्यवस्था को एक प्रकार से आदर्श माना और उसको अपने संघ के संघग्रहण का आधार बनाया। चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग के समय तक वैशाली की गणना देश के प्रमुख नगरों में थी। पीछे से नियति ने धीरे-धीरे इसे बिलुप्त-गौरव बना दिया और आज वह नामशेष मात्र रह गया है।

वैशाली की ख्याति एक प्रबल राज्य का मुख्य स्थान होने के कारण नहीं है, बरन् इसलिये कि वह इस देश के धार्मिक इतिहास में अपना विशेष स्थान रखता है। जैन धर्म के प्रवर्तक जीविसर्व तीर्थंकर बह्ममान महावीर का यहीं जन्म हुआ। जन्म की रोचक कथा से हम सब परिचित हैं। देवों की मूल से पहिले वह ब्राह्मणी के गर्भ में स्थापित हो गए। कुछ दिन के बाद मूल का पता लगा। तीर्थंकर ब्राह्मणी के गर्भ में नहीं रह सकता था क्योंकि उसका जन्म तो सर्वोच्च क्षत्रियकुल में ही हो सकता था। अतः वह क्षत्रिया के गर्भ में पहुँचाये गए और जो बच्चा वहाँ था वह ब्राह्मणी के गर्भ में आया, अस्तुयों तो जैन-धर्म जिन धाराओं को अपना आधार मानता है वह पहले से चली आती थी और पार्श्वनाथ ने उनको व्यवस्थित रूप दिया जिसमें उनके द्वाई हजार वर्ष बाद वह आज भी हमारे सामने हैं। स्वभावतः वैशाली का महत्त्व बहुत बढ़ा। जैन दर्शन तथा उपासना शैली के विकास में उसका स्मर्तव्य स्थान है। बौद्ध धर्म के इतिवृत्त में भी नगर का प्रामुख्य बना रहा। गृहत्याग के पश्चात् जब कुमार सिद्धार्थ ज्ञान प्राप्ति के साधन की खोज में इतस्ततः मटक रहे थे, वह वैशाली आये थे और यहाँ के प्रसिद्ध तपस्वियों से उन्होंने दोआ भी ली थी। इसके बाद लवबोधि और तथागत होने के पश्चात् भी वह यहाँ आये। वैशाली उनके जीवनकाल में ही बौद्धधर्म का मुख्यालय पीठ बन गया। उनके परिनिर्वाण के बाद भी पर्याप्त समय तक उसका यह स्थान अक्षुण्ण रहा। कहा जाता है कि उनके परमप्रिय शिष्य आनन्द के देहावसान पर उनके शरीर का एक अंश वैशाली में गिरा। उसके स्मारक-स्वरूप नगर में एक स्तूप बनाया गया। लगभग सौ वर्ष बाद संघ की द्वितीय संगीति अर्थात् महासभा यहाँ हुई। कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों के सम्बन्ध में मतभेद हो गया था, इसीलिये इस सभा का आयोजन हुआ था। अंतिम निर्णय आठ मिथुओं की एक छोटी समिति—उपवाहिका को सौंपा गया। आठ मिथुओं की इस उपवाहिका की बैठकें

कालिकारण्य में हुई। इसका संचालन घेर (स्थविर) रेवत ने किया। उपवाहिका का प्रतिवेदन पूरी संगीति के सामने रक्खा गया और स्वीकृत हुआ।

इस परिवर्तनशील जगत ने बहुत से चढ़ाव उतार देखे हैं। राज्य, साम्राज्य आये और गये। बहुतों के ध्वंसावशेष भी धूल में मिल गये। सम्यताओं और संस्कृतियों के उदय हुए। उन्होंने करोड़ों मनुष्यों को प्रभावित किया, स्फूर्तिप्रदान किया। वह भी धरातल से उठ गये। इस भारत में ही इसके अनेक उदाहरण मिलते हैं। वैशाली जिस काल की, जिन विचारों की, प्रतीक थी वह आज नहीं है। जहाँ कल जनसंकुल वस्तियाँ थीं, दूर-दूर से आए हुए पण्य वस्तुओं का विनिमय होता था, जहाँ तपोवनों में योगाभ्यास के द्वारा शरीर और चित्त के कषायों को तृणवत्-दग्ध किया करते थे, जहाँ संस्कृत और पालि का निरन्तर अध्ययन होता था, जहाँ “बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय” धर्म का उद्घोष हुआ करता था, आज वहाँ सप्ताटा है। पुरानी पुस्तकों के कुछ पन्ने, ईंट-पत्थर के कुछ टुकड़े, ही उस काल की यादगार हैं। इसके कोई रोक नहीं सकता। नियति का चक्र चलता ही रहता है। एक को उठाता है तो दूसरे को गिराता है। पुरानी वैशाली पुनर्जीवित नहीं की जा सकती। आज हम जिस जगत् में रहते हैं उसका मूल मन्त्र, उसका बीजक, दूसरा है।

आज चारों ओर भौतिकता का बोलबाला है। प्राचीन काल में भी लोग धन का संग्रह किया करते थे; वैभव को पहचानते थे, सभी विरक्त, संन्यासी और श्रमण नहीं थे। परन्तु, अर्थ और काम के ऊपर धर्म का अंकुश था। धर्म भी अन्तिम साध्य नहीं था। परमपुरुषार्थ सर्वोपरि लक्ष्य, तो मोक्ष-निर्वाण, था। आज अर्थ और काम ही अन्तिम लक्ष्य हैं। हम जब बेलफेयर (कल्याण) की बात कहते हैं तो हमारा ध्यान अन्न, वस्त्र, मकान, शिक्षा, आदि बाजों की ओर जाता है। यह सभी बातें अच्छी हैं, परन्तु क्या उतने से ही काम चल सकता है? यह सब चीजें मनुष्य को सुख से जीवन बिताने में सहायक हो सकती हैं, परन्तु यदि सदैव नहीं तो कभी-कभी यह प्रश्न उठता ही है कि क्या इतना ही बस है? एक अंग्रेजी किताब में मैंने किसी का यह वाक्य देखा था :—“Survival is good, but what is the good of survival, if there is nothing beyond it”। संसार के आघातों से सुरक्षित रहना अच्छा है, परन्तु यदि इसके आगे और कुछ नहीं है तो सुरक्षित रहने से ही क्या होगा? भौतिक सुखों के बीच में भी एक अतृप्ति का अनुभव होता रहता है, कुछ सुना-सा लगता रहता है। कुछ खो सा गया है। हम उसे बता नहीं सकते, उसका नाम भी नहीं जानते। ऐसी अनुभूति क्यों होती है? यह वह प्रश्न है जिसपर वैशाली जैसे कुछ अन्य स्थलों में विचार हुआ करते थे। यह समस्या आज भी उतनी ही सजीव है जितना कि आज से सहस्रों और लाखों वर्ष पहले थी। जिन लोगों को अपने समय में सभी प्रकार का वैभव प्राप्त था, उन्होंने उसको तिलांजलि देकर अपना सारा समय इस प्रश्न के उत्तर की खोज में बिताया। स्यात् उनको उत्तर मिला। कम-से-कम, भौतिक वैभव के न होते हुये भी वह शान्त थे, सुष्ट थे, और उनके सम्पर्क में आने वाले भी शांत और तुष्ट होते थे। आज वैभव के होते हुए भी भूतुदिक अधान्ति है। राग और द्वेष पराकाष्ठा की ओर बढ़ते जाते हैं। मनुष्य ने इन दिनों अपने नगरों और आश्रमों के चारों ओर के जंगलों को भी साफ नहीं किया था। आज

हम पृथ्वी के बाहर अनन्त आकाश में स्थित पिंछों की बात सोच रहे हैं। पहुँच भी जायेंगे, इसमें संदेह नहीं प्रतीत होता, परन्तु जहाँ जायेंगे अपने राग और द्वेष, अपनी तृष्णा को, लेकर जायेंगे। जो बस्तियाँ वहाँ बसेंगी, उनमें वही पाठ पढ़ाया जायेगा, जो हम यहाँ पढ़ रहे हैं। वहाँ की भूमि भी हमारे रक्त से रंगी जायेगी।

वैशाली ऐसी जगहों की रक्षा करना तो ठीक ही है जहाँ पूर्वजों के संस्मरण हैं, स्मारक हैं। मन्नावशेष नष्ट न हो जायें, उनकी रक्षा करना स्तुत्य है। परन्तु मेरी समझ में हमारा सबसे बड़ा कार्य यह है कि उन बातों को अपने हृदयों में अवतरित करें जिनका संदेश आज भी यह खंडहर देते हैं। संसार को आज भी, सच पूछिये तो, आज सबसे अधिक उस संदेश की आवश्यकता है। भौतिक विज्ञान की सहायता से मानव ने प्रकृति पर जो विजय पाई है उसने उसे उन्मत्त कर दिया है। यह उन्माद उसको ले डूबेगा यदि वह उस चिरन्तन, उस शाश्वत, तथ्य को भूल गया जिसकी ओर देश, काल, पात्र के अनुसार भिन्न-भिन्न भाषाओं में महामुख्यों ने संकेत किया था। वह सत्य, वह उपदेश, सनातन है परन्तु उसको आजकल के मानव के सामने उस भाषा में रखना होगा जो उसको अम्यस्त है। उसकी उन शंकाओं का निराकरण करना होगा जो आज उसको क्षुब्ध कर रही हैं। वैशाली के उत्सव की सार्थकता इस बात में है कि इस नगर में पुनः ऐसे विचारों का प्रसार हो जो जगत को सच्ची शांति की ओर ले जायें, मनुष्य को सच्चे अर्थों में मनुष्य बनने में सहायक हों। सत्य देशकाल की परिधि के बाहर होता है। आज विज्ञान जो कुछ बतलाता है, वह मनुष्य की बहुमूल्य सम्पत्ति है। उसका समन्वय उस ज्ञान राशि से होना चाहिये, जिसका सन्धय हमारे पथिकृत योगियों और तपस्वियों ने किया था। इस समन्वय से ही व्यक्ति मानव को अपने कल्याण का मार्ग मिलेगा।





वैशाली की गरिमा

डॉ० सुरेन्द्रनाथ बोसित, एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

वैशाली का महत्त्व भारत के इतिहास में स्वर्णाक्षरों में उल्लेखनीय है। यहाँ गण-तंत्रीय शासन-प्रणाली इसवीपूर्व सातवीं सदी में फूल-फल रही थी जब विश्व के शेष भागों में सभ्यता और संस्कृति ने अँखें भी नहीं खोली थीं। उससे सदियों पूर्व विदेहराज जनक द्वारा आयोजित जनकपुर के धनुष-यज्ञ में सम्मिलित होने के क्रम में महर्षि विश्वामित्र राम और लक्ष्मण को लिये वैशाली होकर गुजरे। उस समय वैशाली के ३२वें राजा सुमति वैशाली राज्य के राजा थे। उन्होंने महर्षि विश्वामित्र और दाशरथि राम एवं लक्ष्मण का भरपूर स्वागत-सत्कार किया। आदिकवि महर्षि वाल्मीकि की कलासम्पन्न लेखनी ने वैशाली के वैभव और शोभा-समृद्धि का जैसा प्रभावशाली वर्णन किया है उससे उस सुदूर प्रागैतिहासिक काल में भी वैशाली की असाधारण महिमा का अनुभव किया जा सकता है।

कोसल और विदेह के मध्य गंगा के उत्तरी तट पर वर्तमान वैशाली, मुजफ्फरपुर, समस्तीपुर, सीतामढ़ी, पूर्वो-पश्चिमो चम्पारण और नेपाल की तराई तक इस राज्य का प्रसार और प्रभुत्व था। आधुनिक इतिहासकारों का अनुमान है कि ७२५ ईसा-पूर्व में यहाँ राजतंत्रीय शासन-प्रणाली समाप्त हुई और गणतंत्रीय शासन-व्यवस्था का सूत्रपात हुआ। शासनसूत्र विभिन्न गणों के हाथ में आया और लोकहितकारी संघ राज्य लगभग ४८४ ईसा-पूर्व तक फूलता-फलता रहा। इस गणराज्य का नाम वृजि संघ अथवा लिच्छवि संघ था। संघ अपने लोकहितकारी सुशासन के लिए जगद् विख्यात था। संपदा तो यहाँ इतनी थी कि वैशाली सदा गंगा के दक्षिण के विशाल मगध-साम्राज्य की आँखों की किरकिरी बनी रही। वैशाली गणराज्य (वृजिसंघ) अपने गणतांत्रिक संविधान की दृष्टि

से एक विलक्षण प्रयोग लगभग ढाई सौ वर्षों तक करता रहा। बौद्ध एवं जैन साहित्य में इस गणराज्य की महिमा का उल्लेख बहुत विस्तार से किया गया है। उनके अनुसार शासन संचालन के लिए एक केन्द्रीय कार्यपालिका होती थी, जिसके सदस्य राजा, उपराज, सेनापति और भाण्डागारिक होते थे। नौ गणराजाओं की समिति विदेश-विभाग के काम की देखभाल करती थी। केन्द्रीय विधान सभा "संस्था" के नाम से संबोधित होती थी। जहाँ इसका आयोजन होता था उसे "संस्थागार" कहा जाता था। इसके सदस्यों की संख्या ७७०७ होती थी। इन सदस्यों को "अभिषेक मंगल पुष्करिणी" में स्नान कराके अभिषिक्त किया जाता था। संघ की कार्यपालिका के अतिरिक्त एक सुसंगठित न्यायपालिका भी थी। वृजि संघ की न्यायपालिका के अनेक स्तर थे जिनमें "अष्टकुलक" सर्वोच्च था, जहाँ दण्डित अपराधी की अपील की सुनवाई भी होती थी। राजा (राष्ट्रपति) न्यायपालिका का सर्वोच्च अधिकारी होता था। वृजिसंघ की गणतन्त्रात्मक व्यवस्था के आधार पर ही शास्ता गौतम बुद्ध ने अपने संघ के नियमों के निर्धारण और संगठन का सूत्रपात किया। बौद्धसंघ की सारी कार्यप्रणाली, गणतन्त्रात्मक होने के कारण, आदिम समतामूलक साम्यवादी चेतना से अनुप्राणित मालूम पड़ती है।

वृजिसंघ की राजधानी वैशाली थी। उस युग में वैशाली अपने अपार वैभव, कला-प्रेम और सौन्दर्य-प्रियता के लिए जगद्विख्यात थी। इस गणराज्य की जनता की सौन्दर्य-वृत्ति के उद्बोधन और परितुष्टि के लिए एक ऐसी गणिका का चुनाव होता था, जो रूप-रंग, नृत्य, नाट्य और संगीत कला के प्रदर्शन में अद्वितीय हो। वह किसी एक को नहीं, जन-जन की 'प्रासादिका' हो। बुद्धकाल में वैशाली में आभ्रपाली ऐसी ही एक गणिका थी, जिसकी अपूर्व रूप-सम्पदा और कला-कीर्ति पर वृजिसंघ के सौन्दर्यप्रिय युवजन तो अपना हृदय लुटाए फिरते ही थे, मगध सम्राट् बिम्बिसार और शायद उनके पुत्र अजातशत्रु ने भी उसकी "कड़ी रूप ज्वाला" सौन्दर्य का उपभोग करने के लिए सम्पूर्ण मगध-राष्ट्र को दाँव पर चढ़ा दिया था। ऐसा था वह वृजिसंघ गौरव-गरिमा से मण्डित ! और उसकी राजधानी वैशाली तो सदियों तक अमित महिमा और ऐश्वर्य का केन्द्र ही नहीं बनी रही, अपितु समस्त भारत में धर्म, संस्कृति, इतिहास और राजनीति के क्षेत्र में जो व्यापक क्रांतियाँ हुईं, उनमें उसकी भूमिका अत्यन्त महत्त्व की रही है।

वैशाली को यह सौभाग्य प्राप्त है कि यह भारत एवं विश्व के दो महान् धर्म-प्रवर्तकों—महावीर वर्द्धमान और गौतम बुद्ध—की जन्मभूमि और प्रमुख कर्मभूमि रही है। महावीर वर्द्धमान का जन्म वैशाली के नितान्त निकटवर्ती बासु कुण्ड में लगभग ५६९ ईसा-पूर्व में हुआ। वे जैन धर्म के अन्तिम एवं चौबीसवें तीर्थंकर थे। इन्होंने अपना घरबार छोड़ दिया और पास के ही महावन में कठोर तपस्या की तथा जैनधर्म को अपने गहन चिन्तन, त्याग, तपस्या और कठोर निष्ठा से पुनरुज्जीवित किया। यह धर्म बौद्ध एवं हिन्दूधर्म के साथ संघर्ष और सहयोग, उतार-चढ़ाव के साथ सदियों तक वैशाली में फूला-फला। काल-प्रवाह के क्रम से जब वैशाली प्रभावित हुई तब जैनधर्म के सन्तर्भ में वैशाली का ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व नितान्त धूमिल हो नहीं हो गया, सदियों तक विस्मृति के गर्भ में खोया

रहा। आधुनिक काल में प्राचीन भारत के इतिहास, धर्म और संस्कृति के पुनरन्वेषण के क्रम में वैशाली के भग्नावशेषों में लिच्छवियों के गौरव के ज्ञान के साथ-साथ जैन-धर्म के सन्दर्भ में वैशाली की महत्ता का पुनर्मूल्यांकन हुआ है। आज तो वैशाली संघ के अनुष्ठान और सतत निष्ठा से जैनधर्म और विद्या का भारत-प्रसिद्ध केन्द्र वैशाली में चल रहा है। प्रतिवर्ष चैत्र शुक्ल त्रयोदशी को महावीर जयन्ती का महोत्सव वैशाली गणराज्य की महिमा-गान के रूप में मनाया जाता है। वहाँ लोकजीवन की संस्कृति, कला-चेतना और सौन्दर्य वृत्ति का अपूर्व पुनरुद्बोधन प्रस्तुत किया जाता है, जिसमें अभिनेताओं और दर्शक लोगों को समान साक्षीदारी इतने बड़े पैमाने पर होती है जो सारे भारत में ग्राह्य ही कहीं होती हो। उस दिन लगता है मानो वैशाली का लुप्त गौरव जैसे पुनः लौट रहा हो। इस सांस्कृतिक पुनर्जागरण में 'वैशाली संघ' की अपनी विशिष्ट भूमिका है।

महावीर वर्द्धमान की जन्मभूमि वैशाली अवश्य थी, परन्तु गौतम बुद्ध को भी यह वैशाली परम प्यारी थी। महाभिनिक्रमण के उपरांत ज्ञान के अमृत तत्त्व की तलाश में निरञ्जना नदी के तट पर जाने से पहले वे वैशाली आए और मञ्जुलिपुत्र गोसाल एवं अन्य परिव्राजकों से ज्ञान की चर्चा की। छह वर्षों की कठोर साधना के उपरांत ज्ञान की अमृत ज्योति उनके अन्तःकरण में उद्भासित हुई तो उसे सारे भारत में चारिका करते हुए उप-देशामृत का पान कराते। उस क्रम में उन्होंने दो वर्ष वैशाली में बिताये और अपनी पैतालीस वर्षों की धर्मयात्राओं में वैशाली की कई यात्राएँ उन्होंने कीं। बौद्धधर्म की अनेक प्रभावी धटनाएँ गौतम बुद्ध के जीवन काल में यहाँ घटीं। शास्ता अपने धर्म-संघ में स्त्री को शरण देने के कट्टर विरोधी थे। कपिलवस्तु में मातृतुल्या क्षीरदायिका अपनी मौसी महाप्रजावती गौतमी के बौद्धधर्म में प्रवेश को उन्होंने अस्वीकृत कर दिया था, पर वैशाली की पावन भूमि पर गौतमी के दुह आग्रह और आनन्द के अटल अनुरोध को वे न टाल सके। महा-प्रजावती को कठिन शर्तों पर धर्म की शरण में लेकर वैशाली में ही उन्होंने भिक्षुणी संघ की स्थापना की।

महावीर वर्द्धमान और गौतम बुद्ध दोनों ही समकालीन धर्म-प्रवर्तक थे। दोनों के बीच अपने धर्म-सिद्धान्तों को लेकर प्रत्यक्ष रूप से संघर्ष हुआ हो, इसका स्पष्ट विवरण तो नहीं मिलता पर उनके शिष्यों के माध्यम से उन दोनों के वैचारिक संघर्ष और टकराव की खूब अच्छी झलक मिलती है। इस दृष्टि से "सिंह-सुत्त" की ओर हमारा ध्यान विशेष रूप से आकर्षित होता है। सिंह सेनापति वैशाली के थे, वैशाली गणराज्य के अत्यन्त प्रभावशाली गणाधिकारी, महावीर वर्द्धमान के परमप्रिय शिष्य और तत्कालीन वैशाली गणराज्य के जैनियों के प्रमुख स्तम्भ और प्रवक्ता! लिच्छवियों के संस्थानगर में गौतम बुद्ध के गुणों का बखान सुन कर सिंह सेनापति के अन्तर में उनके दर्शन की उत्कण्ठा जगी। महावीर वर्द्धमान ने जब बार-बार अनुरोध करने पर भी अनुमति प्रदान नहीं की, तो सिंह सेनापति शास्ता के पास गए। बौद्ध धर्म की "अक्रियावादिता" पर उन्होंने (सिंह सेनापति ने) गौतम बुद्ध से प्रश्न और प्रतिप्रश्न किये। पूर्ण समाधान हो जाने पर सिंह सेनापति शास्ता के

अनुगत श्रमण हो गये। इससे उस समय के जैन सम्प्रदाय को गहरा आघात लगा था। महत्त्व की बात यह है कि सिंह सेनापति ने वैशाली में ही बौद्धधर्म को स्वीकार किया जो महावीर की जन्मभूमि भी थी। जैनधर्म के कठोर संगठन के कगार के ढहने की यह पहली प्रभावकारी घटना थी जो वैशाली में घटी।

वैशाली में ही शास्ता ने गौतमक चैत्य में “त्रिचीवर” का विधान किया, जिसके अन्तर्गत बौद्ध श्रमण तीन वस्त्रों का ही उपयोग कर सकते थे। तृतीय और चतुर्थ पाराजिका का भी उपदेश शास्ता ने वैशाली में ही दिया। वैशाली के पाँच सौ वज्जिपुत्तकों को बहकाकर देवदत्त ने संघभेद का विफल प्रयास किया था। यथासमय सारिपुत्त के गया पहुँच जाने पर संघभेद कुछ वर्षों के लिए टल सका। धर्म का संदेश देते-देते तथागत की आयु ढलान की ओर जा रही थी। उन्होंने अनुभव किया कि अब काया का नाश होनेवाला है। परिनिर्वाण निकट है तो वे राजगृह से वैशाली आए और आम्रपाली के आम्रवन में अपने संघ के साथ ठहरे। उन्होंने यहीं लिच्छवि गणराज्य की अद्वितीय सुन्दरी महाजनपद-कल्याणी अम्बपाली को धर्म की दीक्षा दी। इसी यात्रा में अम्बपाली ने भिक्षुसंघ को परोसकर खुद खिलाया और आम्रवन को संघ के लिए दान दिया। यहीं वैशाली के निकट तथागत को वेसुव ग्राम में भरणोत्तक पीड़ा हुई और स्वस्थ होने पर आनन्द को उन्होंने उपदेश दिया—
“आत्म दीप-आत्म शरण-अनन्य शरण, धर्म-दीप-धर्म शरण अनन्य शरण हो विहरो।”
आनन्द ! मैंने पहिले ही कह दिया है—“सभी प्रियों से जुदाई होती है।” तथागत ने वैशाली में ही घोषणा की—“आज से तीन मास बाद तथागत परिनिर्वाण को प्राप्त होंगे....”
तथागत ने वहाँ से महावन कूटागारशाला में भिक्षुसंघ को (उपस्थानशाला में) एकत्र कर धर्मोपदेश के पालन की याद दिलाई, जिससे ‘ब्रह्मचर्य, बहुजन हितार्थ बहुजन सुखार्थ, लोकानुकम्पार्थ, देव-मनुष्यों के हित और सुख के लिए हो।’ आर्य आष्टाङ्गिक मार्ग का स्मरण दिलाते हुए कहा—“भिक्षुओ ! संस्कार (कृतवस्तु) नाश को प्राप्त होनेवाले (व्यघ्रम्मा) हैं। प्रमादरहित हो (कर्त्तव्य) सम्पादन करो।” कुशीनारा की ओर प्रस्थान करते हुए आनन्द से कहा—“आनन्द ! तथागत का यह अन्तिम वैशाली-दर्शन होगा।” यह कह वे कुशीनारा की ओर चल पड़े। बौद्ध कथाओं में ऐसी सूचना मिलती है कि तथागत के विछोह से बिह्वल लिच्छवियों को अपना भिक्षापत्र देकर उन्होंने आग्रहपूर्वक लौटाया। इससे कुछ ही पूर्व अजातशत्रु द्वारा वैशाली पर आक्रमण के प्रतिरोध में आनन्द से लिच्छवि संघ के सन्दर्भ में सात अपरिहानीय धर्मों की जिज्ञासा करने पर तथागत को जब मातृम हुआ कि ‘लिच्छवि अपने बड़ों का, स्त्रियों का यथोचित सम्मान करते, संघ द्वारा प्रवर्तित नियमों का पालन करते और अनुशासनबद्ध हो रहते हैं’ तब उन्होंने घोषणा की—लिच्छवि संघ को तब कोई पराजित नहीं कर सकता। फिर भी अजातशत्रु के महामन्त्री वस्सकार ने तथागत-परिनिर्वाण (४८७ ईसा-पूर्व) के तीन वर्ष बाद (४८४ ईसा-पूर्व) वैशाली महाजनपद में संघ-भेद कर उसके गौरव को इस रूप में भूलुंठित कर दिया कि इतिहास के अनेक उतार-चढ़ाव का साक्षी होने पर भी लिच्छवि गणराज्य उस विगत गौरव-गरिमा को वापस न ला सका।

तथागत के महापरिनिर्वाण के उपरांत जिन सोभाग्यशाली आठ राज्यों को उनका पवित्र भस्मावशेष मिला, उनमें लिच्छविगण या वृजिसंघ भी था। इस पवित्र बुद्धावशेष को लिच्छवियों ने स्तूप बनाकर सुरक्षित किया। सदियों गुजर गईं, पर जब १९५८ ई० में स्व० डॉ० अल्लेकर के निर्देशन में वैशाली के उत्खनन का कार्य पुनः आरम्भ हुआ तब भस्मावशेष पात्र में सुरक्षित पाया गया। डॉ० अल्लेकर एवं अन्य प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास-विदों की मान्यता है कि यह अवशेष तथागत का ही है। उनका भिक्षापात्र उनकी पावन स्मृति के रूप में लगभग चार-पाँच सौ वर्षों तक अमूल्य निधि के रूप में वैशाली में सुरक्षित रहा। ऐसा अनुमान किया जाता है कि जब कुषाण सम्राट् कनिष्क ने पाटलिपुत्र पर आक्रमण किया तब पाटलिपुत्र से अवशेष को और वैशाली से तथागत के भिक्षापात्र को ले गया। यह भिक्षापात्र सम्भवतः पुष्यपुर (पेशावर, पाकिस्तान) में निर्मित महान् स्तंभ के नीचे स्थापित किया, जिसे ह्वेनसांग तक ने देखा था।

तथागत के महापरिनिर्वाण के उपरांत भी सदियों तक वैशाली बौद्धधर्म की विविध कार्यप्रवृत्तियों का उत्तर भारत में प्रमुख केन्द्र बनी रही। यही कारण है कि तथागत के परिनिर्वाण के तुरन्त बाद बौद्धों की प्रथम संगीति महाकाश्यप की अध्यक्षता में राजगृह में सम्पन्न हुई; उसके ठीक एक सौ वर्षों के बाद बौद्धों की द्वितीय (सप्त शतिका) संगीति का समायोजन आनन्द के परमप्रिय शिष्य, एक सौ बीस वर्षों के स्थविर सर्वकामी की अध्यक्षता में वैशाली में हुआ। स्थविर रैवत प्रश्नकर्ता थे, व्याख्याता थे सर्वकामी। निर्वाणोपरांत सौ वर्षों में धर्म और संघ में दस वस्तुओं (सोना-चाँदी का व्यवहार, सुरामेरय पान, अतिरिक्त असमय भोजन आदि) को लेकर वैशालिक वज्जिपुत्तक भिक्षुओं में जो घोर मतभेद उत्पन्न हुआ था उसका निराकरण किया गया। संघ ने निर्णय किया कि दस वस्तुएँ धर्म-विरुद्ध, विनय-विरुद्ध और शास्ता के शासन से बाहर की हैं।

मौर्य शासन काल में वृजिसंघ की संप्रभुता सीमित हो गई परन्तु बौद्धधर्म के शक्तिशाली केन्द्र के रूप में वैशाली का महत्त्व तब भी खंडित न हुआ। यही कारण है कि इतिहास-प्रसिद्ध मौर्य सम्राट् अशोक ने बौद्धधर्म स्वीकार करने के बाद धर्म-यात्राएँ कीं, बुद्ध और बौद्धधर्म से संबद्ध पवित्र स्थलों के दर्शन किए, स्तूपों का निर्माण किया और स्तंभों की रचना कराकर उनपर तथा चट्टानों पर बुद्ध के उपदेशों के अभिलेख अंकित कराए, जो लौरियानंदन गढ़ से गंधार तक के विशाल क्षेत्र में फैले थे। स्तंभनिर्माण की उत्तमोत्तम शैली में निर्मित एक अशोक स्तंभ वैशाली में यथावत् खड़ा है जिसके शिखर पर उत्तर-भिमुखी सिंह अवस्थित है और चारों ओर से घंटे का मनोहारी अलंकरण है। स्तंभ बाईस सौ वर्षों से आघात-प्रत्याघातों के थपेड़ों को सहता शास्ता की तरह अजेय भाव से निर्भीकता के साथ खड़ा है। इसमें कोई अभिलेख अंकित नहीं है। पास ही एक स्तूप भग्नावशेष के रूप में खड़ा है।

मौर्य युग के प्रताप के अस्त होते-होते लगता है लिच्छवि गणराज्य पर शुंगवंशी सम्राट् पुष्यमित्र और अग्निमित्र का प्रभत्व कायम हो गया। वैशाली के ध्वंसावशेषों के

उत्खनन के क्रम में अग्निमित्र की मुहर मिली है। संभव है शुंगवंशीय सम्राटों के प्रभुत्व का अवसान होने पर वैशाली के लिच्छवि साढ़े तीन सौ वर्षों बाद पुनः स्वतंत्र ही नहीं हो गए, अपितु मगध-साम्राज्य की राजधानी पाटलिपुत्र पर भी अधिकार कर लिया। कई आधुनिक इतिहासविद् इसकी उदात्त कल्पना करने में संकोच नहीं करते कि वैशाली और पाटलिपुत्र दोनों का राजा एक व्यक्ति हो गया, जो लिच्छवि था। ईसा-पूर्व १५० से ईसवी सन् १०० तक का यह समय वैशाली के चहुमुखी उत्थान की दृष्टि से अद्भुत था। वैशाली में हाल के वर्षों में की गई खुदाई के आलोक में यह कहा जा सकता है कि धार्मिक समन्वय और कलासमृद्धि की दृष्टि से यह वैशाली के गौरव का पुनरावर्तन हुआ। बौद्ध, जैन एवं हिन्दू धर्म साथ-साथ फूलते-फलते रहे। अनेक कलात्मक प्रतिमाओं, चैत्यों, स्तूपों और विहारों का निर्माण इसी युग में हुआ। कुषाण सम्राट् कनिष्क ने वैशाली पर पहली सदी में अधिकार किया। पर उसके दुर्बल उत्तराधिकारियों से लिच्छवियों ने वैशाली को मुक्त कर लिया। सन् ईसवी की आरम्भिक सदियों में वैशाली के लिच्छवियों की प्रतिष्ठा शिखर का स्पर्श कर रही थी, तभी तो चौथी सदी में घटोत्कच गुप्त (३००-३१९ ई०) के पुत्र महाराजा-धिराज चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम ने इन्हीं लिच्छवियों की कुमारदेवी नामक एक राजकुमारी से विवाह कर अपने कुल को गौरवान्वित किया। इससे चन्द्रगुप्त की राजनीतिक शक्ति और ऐश्वर्य का ऐसा विस्तार हुआ कि इस विवाह-प्रसंग को एक प्रकार के सोने के सिक्के पर उत्कीर्ण कराया जिसमें 'कुमारदेवी' और 'लिच्छवयः' उत्कीर्ण है। चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम के पुत्र सम्राट् समुद्रगुप्त (३३५-३७५ ई०) को लिच्छविदौहित्र होने का गौरव अनुभव होता था। यही कारण है कि गुप्त प्रशासियों में समुद्रगुप्त के लिए निरन्तर 'लिच्छवि दौहित्र' विशेषण का प्रयोग गौरवपूर्वक हुआ है। स्मिथ महोदय की तो यह स्पष्ट मान्यता है कि लिच्छवि-सम्बन्ध के फलस्वरूप ही चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम को पाटलिपुत्र पर अधिकार प्राप्त हो सका। उसका राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व बढ़ा और उसे 'महाराजाधिराज' का विरुद धारण करने की क्षमता हासिल हो सकी।

गुप्त साम्राज्य के उत्कर्ष काल में वैशाली महाजनपद स्वतंत्र गणराज्य नहीं रह गया था। वह महान् गुप्त साम्राज्य का अभिन्न अंग बन गया। यही कारण है कि समुद्रगुप्त की प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति में 'नेपाल' का उल्लेख है पर 'वैशाली' का नहीं। वैशाली में उत्खनन के क्रम में गुप्त शासन काल से संबद्ध बहुमूल्य ऐतिहासिक सामग्री मोहरों के रूप में प्राप्त हुई है। उनपर छोटे-छोटे अभिलेख अंकित हैं। उत्तर बिहार के लिए 'तीरभुक्ति' (तिरहुत) यह अभिज्ञा पहले-पहले गुप्तकाल में ही आरम्भ हुई। तीरभुक्ति प्रदेश की राजधानी वैशाली थी। मुहरों पर 'तीरभुक्ति' और 'वैशाली' दोनों ही नाम अंकित हैं। वैशाली जनपद-वासियों का जीवन समन्वयात्मक सामाजिक संस्कृति के विकास के लिए पूर्णतया अब भी समर्पित था। खुदाई में प्राप्त चीजें इसी धारणा का समर्थन करती हैं। कम्पन छपरा गाँव में स्थित श्रीमुखी महादेव की मूर्ति संभवतः चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय के काल की है, क्योंकि चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय विक्रमादित्य की स्वर्णमुद्रा यहाँ मिली थी। अभिलेख गुप्त लिपि में प्राञ्जल संस्कृत भाषा में अंकित था जो काल-प्रवाह में क्षतिग्रस्त हो गया है।

गुप्त साम्राज्य का सूर्य अस्त होते-होते लिच्छवि समाज भी अप्रभावित न रहा। अपने प्राचीन गौरव को अस्त होते देख पराक्रमी लिच्छवियों का एक दल नेपाल चला गया, जहाँ उसने ८७९ ईसवी तक राज्य किया। छठी सदी में वैशाली का पतन हो गया। खुदाई में प्राप्त ऐतिहासिक सामग्री से इस बात की पुष्टि होती है। छठी सदी में वैशाली की वह गणतान्त्रिक पुण्यभूमि पूरी तरह वीरान हो गयी। इस तथ्य की पुष्टि हर्षवर्द्धन के शासन-काल (६०६-६४७ ई०) में आए प्रसिद्ध चीनी बौद्ध यात्री ह्वेनसांग (६२९-६४५ ई०) के यात्रा-विवरणों से भी होती है। वह जब वैशाली आया तब वैशाली ध्वस्तप्राय थी। कई सौ संचाराम उजाड़ खड़े थे। तब निर्ग्रन्थों के अनुयायी काफी संख्या में उसे दिखाई दिए थे।

सातवीं सदी के उपरांत वैशाली कभी तिब्बती, कभी उत्तरकालीन गुप्तों, पालवंशी बौद्ध राजाओं, कर्णाट वंशीय राजाओं के शासनाधीन रही। लिच्छवियों का एक कुल पहले ही नेपाल में राजतंत्र स्थापित कर चुका था। वैशाली के कुछ साहसी उपनिवेशक अराकान (बर्मा) तक पहुँच गये और वहाँ बसाए ग्राम का नाम 'वैशाली' (वैशाली, वैशाली) रखा। यहाँ वैशाली वंश के राजाओं का प्रभुत्व ८७८ से १०४८ ई० तक रहा। बर्मा के बौद्ध राजा अनिरुद्ध (१०४४-१०६६ ई०) ने वैशाली की राजकुमारी से विवाह किया था, जिससे उसे क्यान्सित्था (१०४८-१११२ ई०) नामक पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ। उस काल में वैशाली और बर्मा में घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध था। हिन्दुत्व के पराभव और अपमान के युग में वैशाली उजाड़ हो गई। बौद्धों का वहाँ से लगभग लोप हो चुका था, जैनी पश्चिम भारत की ओर चले गए। कर्णाट वंशीय अनेक राजाओं ने तिरहुत के शासक के रूप में संस्कृत साहित्य के अध्ययन में योग दिया। इन कर्णाट वंशीय राजाओं (१०९७-१३२४ ई०) की राजधानी नेपाल की तराई में सिमराँवगढ़ थी। इन्होंने ब्राह्मण धर्म को प्रश्रय दिया। आवश्यक नहीं कि इनके शासन काल में तीरभुक्ति के विशाल क्षेत्र में वैष्णव और शैवधर्म का पुनरुत्थान हुआ। जहाँ-तहाँ भव्य-मन्दिरों की रचना हुई और काले चिकने पत्थरों की तराशी हुई अनेक कलासमृद्ध देव-प्रतिमाएँ भी इसी काल में बनीं। यह भी संभव है कि पालयुगीन बौद्ध प्रतिमा-निर्माण की परंपरा और तीरभुक्ति में प्रचलित हिन्दू देवी-देवताओं की मूर्ति-निर्माण शैली परस्पर सामंजस्य की तलाश करती रही हो। इसी बीच तुर्कों और अफगानों का आक्रमण हुआ और कर्णाट वंश के अन्तिम राजा हरिसिंहदेव दिल्ली के तुर्की सुल्तान गयासुद्दीन तुगलक (१३२०-२५ ई०) के द्वारा पराजित हो गए। तब से तीरभुक्ति के साथ वैशाली भी दिल्ली सल्तनत के अधीन हो गयी। मुस्लिम शासन काल में वैशाली क्षेत्र में हाजीपुर और मुजफ्फरपुर जैसे शासन के नए केन्द्र उभरते गए।

वैशाली सदियों की विस्मृति और उपेक्षा के कारण कुछ ढहे-ढहाए स्तूपों, टीलों का गड़ और गाँव मात्र रह गयी थी। उसका वह पुरातन गौरव, बुद्ध और महावीर की पावन धर्मसाधना, आर्य संस्कृति की उदात्त चेतना सब कुछ काल के विकराल प्रवाह में विलीन हो गया। उन्नीसवीं-बीसवीं सदी में प्राच्य और पाश्चात्य पुराविदों की दृष्टि इसपर पड़ी।

सदियों से विस्मृत-उपेक्षित आर्य सभ्यता और संस्कृति के बजस्र स्रोत इसकी पावन मिट्टी में, कण-कण में, स्तूपों, टीलों और गढ़ की दीवारों, उसकी ईंटों में भारत का गौरवशाली अतीत हमें पुकार रहा है। यहीं बुद्ध और महावीर के उपदेश लिच्छवि नर-नारियों ने सुने, यहीं वैशाली की नगरवधू आम्नपाली की सुन्दरता और कला-कुशलता पर लिच्छवि युवजन भावविभुग्ध हुए, और यहीं वही नगरवधू सब कुछ त्याग भिक्षुणी बन संघ की शरण गयी। यहीं बौद्ध, जैन और हिन्दू देव-प्रतिमाओं का निर्माण हुआ। यहाँ क्या कुछ महान् अभिनन्दनीय नहीं हुआ? रामायण काल से कर्णाट वंशीय राजाओं तक की तीरभुक्ति (उत्तर बिहार) की शाश्वत जीवन गाथा पूरे ओज और तेज से सहस्र धाराओं में कभी यहीं फूटी थी, उसकी अनुगूँज हमें वैशाली के कण-कण में आज भी सुनाई पड़ती है।

वैशाली के ध्वंसावशेष से पुरातत्त्व की जो दुर्लभ सामग्री प्राप्त हुई, उससे उसके लुप्त गौरव और महान् इतिहास का पता तो चलता ही है; पर उससे भी बड़ी बात जो हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित करती है, वह है वैशाली की सनातन जीवनदृष्टि। वैशाली एक नगरी नहीं, उदात्त मानवीय जीवन-मूल्य का प्रतीक है, एक जीवन-दर्शन है, जिस गणराज्य में शासित और शासक में कोई भेद नहीं था, सब समतामूलक जीवन आदर्श के उपासक थे, जिनके रक्त में आर्य जाति का उदात्त आदर्श सदियों पूर्व से प्रवाहित होता आ रहा था, जो सात अपरिहानीय धर्म-नियमों से बँधे थे, जहाँ बौद्ध, जैन और हिन्दू धर्म सहिष्णुता के साथ फूले-फले, जहाँ अध्यात्म-चेतना परस्पर मानवीय सम्बन्धों के विकास की समन्वयात्मक संस्कृति की साधना के लिए समर्पित थी, ऊँच-नीच का कोई भेद-भाव नहीं था। वैशाली के भग्नावशेष और उसकी खुदाई से प्राप्त दुर्लभ पुरातात्विक सामग्री उसी सत्य सनातन मानवीय दृष्टि के पुनरुद्भावन का आह्वान करती है। क्या उस आह्वान को हम सुन पाते हैं?





THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF BUDDHA'S ALMS-BOWL

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Vaiśālī was celebrated in the early ages of Buddhism for the possession of the Alms-bowl of Buddha, which he had given to the Licchavis when they took leave of him at the old city on their northern frontier, which I have identified with Kesariya, 30 miles to the north-west of Vaiśālī. This bowl, which still exists, has a very romantic history. Originally it was presented to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī by Buddha himself when he sent them back of their homes. This is attested by both Fa-Hian and Hwen Tshang. The former says that he gave them his alms-bowl as a memorial; the latter that he "*lassa son vas de religieux pour qu'il leur servit de souvenir.*"¹ Its subsequent history appears to have been unknown to the latter pilgrim, who does not mention it again.

When Fa-Hian was in Ceylon "he heard a Buddhist pilgrim from India...say Buddha's alms-bowl was originally in Pi-she-li (or Vaiśālī). It is now in the country of Chien-to-wei (Gandhāra). After a certain number of years.....it will be taken on to the western Yueh-shih country."² This is Mr. Giles's translation, from which Mr. Beal slightly differs: "The alms-bowl of Buddha originally was preserved in the city of Vaiśālī, but now it is in the borders of Gandhāra. In somewhat like a hundred years....it will again be transported to the country of the western Yu-chi"

The bowl was seen by Fa-Hian and his companions at Fo-lu-sha (or Parshāwar); but he does not say a word as to how it got there. I have, however, found a notice of its removal in Vassilief's translations from

1. Giles's Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 105.
2. Beal's Records of Buddhist Countries, p. 161.

Tārānāth. In describing the career of the celebrated Aswaghosha, he says that "the king of the Little Yuchi invaded Magadha and carried off the bowl of Buddha and Aswaghosha."¹ This raid must have taken place some time during the 2nd century A. D., as, according to Tārānāth, Aswaghosha was a disciple of Pārswa, who conducted the third Buddhist Synod under Kanishka, while Hwen Tshang makes him a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, who is famous as the long-lived contemporary of the same king. The bowl must therefore have been carried off either by Kanishka himself, or by his successor Huvishka early in the 2nd century A. D.

Fa-Hian gives the following account of the bowl which he saw in Gandhāra shortly after A. D. 400 :—

"Buddha's alms-bowl is in this country, and a king of the Yueh-shih got together a large army to attack this country, wishing to carry it off. When he had subdued the country, being an ardent supporter of Buddhism, he wanted to take the bowl away with him; and accordingly, having first made offerings to the three precious ones, he decorated a huge elephant and put the bowl on its back. The elephant then fell down and was unable to move. Then a four-wheeled cart was made, and the bowl being put in it eight elephants were harnessed to draw it. When again they were unable to move, the king knew that the time had not yet come, and was full of shame and regret. Therefore he built a pagoda on that spot, and also a monastery, leaving a garrison to guard the bowl, and making all kinds of offerings. There may be about 700 priests. When it is near midday, the priests bring out the bowl, and, together with the people, make all kinds of offerings. They then eat their midday meal; and in the evening, at the time of burning incense, they bring it out again."²

From this account it would appear that an attempt was made by the king of the Yuchi to remove the bowl from Gandhāra, most probably to Kabul or even Balkh, which was the capital of the later kings of the Great Yuchi. No date can be fixed for this attempt, but it probably took place during the 3rd century.

As no mention is made of the alms-bowl in A. D. 520 by the pilgrims Hwei Seng and Sung-Yun, it seems almost certain that it had already been removed from Gandhāra before their visit. This removal probably took place shortly after the conquest of Gandhāra by the little Yuchi under Kitolo, or about A. D. 425-450 as Sung-Yun describes their first king as a worshipper of demons and a despiser of Buddhism, who was at war with the country of Kipin. The bowl was probably carried off by

1. Vassilief's Tārānāth, translated by M. La Combe, p. 210.
2. Giles's Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, pp. 19, 20.

the people of Gandhāra, who emigrated westwards to the bank of the Arghandāb in the ancient Arachosia, where they founded a city named after their original country Gandhāra, which still exists as old Kandahār at a short distance from the modern town of that name.

Sung-Yan entered Gandhāra in A. D. 520, and as he states that two generations had passed away since Laeli, the persecutor of Buddhism, had been set up as king of Gandhāra, the emigration of the Gandhāras cannot be placed later than A. D. 450. "They had a great respect for the Law of Buddha and loved to read the sacred books." They took with them the famous Alms-bowl of Buddha and set it up in their new city of Gandhar or Kandhar, where it now stands "in an obscure little Mahammadan shrine." Dr. Bellew describes it as "a huge bowl, carved out of a solid block of dark green serpentine." The straight part above is carved with six lines of Arabic inscriptions, of which a copy was kindly sent to me several years ago by Sir Frederick Pollock. I forwarded the copy to my lamented friend Blochmann, but unfortunately it was lost or stolen on the way, and neither he nor I could ever learn anything about it. The inscriptions were of early date, as I remember reading the name of Subuktugin, and I think also that of Mahmud.

Unfortunately for the satisfactory identification of this bowl the translations of Fa-Hian's description, which is the only one that we possess, differ very considerably, as will be seen in the following quotation from Chapter XII.

According to Remusat's translation : "The pot may contain about two bushels. It is of mixed colour, in which black predominates. It is well formed on all four sides, about two lines thick bright and polished."

According to Beal : "The bowl contains about two *Tan* (a dry measure equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons). It is of a mixed colour, but mostly black. The seams, where the four parts join together, are bright. It is about 2 inches thick, and is kept well polished and bright."

The third translation is by Giles : "might hold over two gallons, and is of several colours, chiefly black. The four joinings are clearly distinguishable. It is about one-fifth of an inch thick, and is transparent and bright."

As one would expect to find the actual Alms-bowl from which Buddha ate his daily food—such a bowl would not have satisfied the belief of any Buddhist—just as the tooth of Buddha, now shown in Ceylon, is more like that of an elephant than the tooth of a man, so the Alms-bowl of Buddha preserved at Vaiśālī and afterwards carried off to Gandhāra, would have been at least five or six times the actual diameter of any real bowl. So also all the foot-marks of Buddha were always represented as of gigantic size.

The "four joinings" mentioned by Fa-Hian refer to the story of the kings of the four quarters—Indra, Yama, Varuna, and Kuvera—having each offered a bowl to Buddha, when he, wishing not to disappoint one of them, accepted all four bowls and miraculously joined them into one in which the four joinings were distinctly visible.

The whole story about Buddha's bowl having been originally enshrined at Vaiśālī had been quite lost before the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, and as Fa-Hian says nothing about its position when describing the holy places at Vaiśālī it would seem as if the site had been forgotten. Apparently Fa-Hian knew nothing about it until he heard of it accidentally in Ceylon. Even when he saw the Alms-bowl in Gandhāra, he is quite silent as to its original position in Vaiśālī. This silence is, I think, a presumptive proof that a very long time must have passed since the removal of the bowl to Gandhāra, and that the date of the first half of the 2nd century A. D., which I have deduced from Tārānāth's statement, is most probably correct. If the removal had been recent, Fa-Hian would almost certainly have heard of it in both places.

Mention is made of the bowl of Buddha at a much later date, in A. D., 665, when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chan saw it in the *Nava Vihāra* (or new monastery) when on his way from Balkh to Sintu (or India). The notice is confined to the remark that in company with a *Lokāyatika*, he "paid reverence to the water-pitcher of Buddha and other relics."





विमलकीर्ति : वैशाली की एक विस्मृत विभूति

नागेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह

आचार्य विमलकीर्ति भगवान् बुद्ध के समकालीन थे और उनके गृहस्थ शिष्य थे। उनका जन्म वैशाली के समृद्ध लिच्छवि परिवार में हुआ था। उनकी धर्मपत्नी का नाम विमला था। उन्हें सुचिन्त्यकुमार नाम का पुत्र और चन्द्रोत्तरदारिका नाम की पुत्री थी। अपने शील, समाधि और प्रज्ञा के कारण गृहस्थ होने पर भी भिक्षुसंघ में उन्हें सम्माननीय स्थान प्राप्त था। धर्मसेनापति सारिपुत्र, महामौद्गल्यायन, महाकाश्यप, आनन्द, उपालि, अदिशुद्ध, महाकात्यायन और महाबोधिसत्त्व मैत्रेय जैसे भगवान् बुद्ध के महान् शिष्य भी वैशाली के इस श्वेतवस्त्रधारी गृहस्थ से धार्मिक वातालाप करने का साहस नहीं कर पाते थे। बौद्ध साहित्य में उनको महासत्त्व, बोधिसत्त्व, सत्पुरुष, कुलपुत्र, गृहपति और उपासक कहा गया है। उनको चीन में मुकुशो, जापान में युयिमा-कोजी और तिब्बत में टोप्पा नाम से सम्बोधित किया जाता है।

सुप्रसिद्ध चीनी लेखक ली-दाओ-युआन् (५२७ ई०) ने अपने ग्रन्थ 'शुई-चिंग-चु' में वैशाली नगर और आचार्य विमलकीर्ति के घर का उल्लेख किया है। प्रख्यात चीनी यात्री शुआन्-चाङ् (६२९-६४५ ई०) जब वैशाली आया था, तब वह आचार्य विमलकीर्ति के घर को देखने गया था। उसको एक स्तूप उस स्थान पर मिला था, जहाँ भगवान् बुद्ध ने आचार्य विमलकीर्ति को सूत्र का उपदेश दिया था और लिच्छवि कुमार रत्नाकर ने पाँच सौ लिच्छवि कुमारों के साथ भगवान् बुद्ध को एक रत्नजटित बहुमूल्य छत्र भेंट किया था। इसी स्थान पर धर्मसेनापति सारिपुत्र तथा अन्य भिक्षुओं ने अर्हेत् पद प्राप्त किया था। शुआन्-चाङ् को एक स्तूप उस स्थान पर मिला था, जहाँ आचार्य विमलकीर्ति का मकान था। वहाँ उसे अनेक अद्भुत दृश्य दिखाई पड़े थे। उसको ईंटों के ढेर के रूप में एक समाधि भी मिली थी। वह समाधि ठीक उसी स्थान पर बनाई गयी थी, जहाँ रुणावस्था में आचार्य विमलकीर्ति ने धर्मोपदेश दिया था। शुआन्-चाङ् ने उपर्युक्त स्थानों का जो भी भौगोलिक विवरण दिया है, उसके अनुसार वर्तमान बनिया चतुर्मुख महादेव के समीपवर्ती क्षेत्रों में आचार्य विमलकीर्ति से सम्बन्धित सभी स्थान रहे होंगे। शीलादित्य (हर्षवर्धन)

के दरबार में आनेवाले प्रतिनिधि मण्डल के प्रधान वाङ्मय-एन-त्सी ने भी विमलकीर्ति के घर को देखा था और उसका माप भी लिया था। मापने पर उसने प्रत्येक ओर से उसको दस हाथ (कंधे के जोड़ से उँगलियों तक बांह की पूरी लम्बाई) पाया था। इसलिए उसका नाम 'फन-चङ्' रखा था, जिसका अर्थ होता है दस हस्तवर्ग। सुप्रसिद्ध चीनी यात्री ई-चिङ् (६७१-६९५ ई०) भी आचार्य विमलकीर्ति के घर को देखने गया था और 'फन-चङ्' नाम से उसका उल्लेख किया है। पीछे चलकर सभी प्रमुख भिक्षुओं का वासगृह भी इसी आकार का बनने लगा और वह 'फन-चङ्' कहलाया। यद्यपि भारतीय इतिहास में इस महापुरुष के जीवन पर प्रकाश डालनेवाली कहीं कोई सामग्री उपलब्ध नहीं है, तथापि भारतीय मूल के चीनी अनुवादों में 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र', 'महासन्निपात मूर्धाभिषिक्तराज सूत्र', 'महायान मूर्धाभिषिक्तराज सूत्र', 'विमलकीर्तिपुत्र सूत्र', 'सुचिन्त्यकुमार सूत्र' और 'चन्द्रोत्तरदारिका परिपृक्षा' से उनके जीवन पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश पड़ता है।

'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' के अनुसार एक बार भगवान् बुद्ध वैशाली में आश्रमपाली के सुप्रसिद्ध आश्रमकानन में अपने विशाल भिक्षुसंघ के साथ ठहरे हुए थे। उनके साथ आठ हजार भिक्षु और बत्तीस हजार महाबोधिसत्त्व थे। लिच्छवि कुमार रत्नाकर ने पाँच सौ लिच्छवि कुमारों के साथ आकर भगवान् बुद्ध को एक रत्नजटित बहुमूल्य छत्र भेंट किया। इस समय आचार्य विमलकीर्ति उपायकौशल्य द्वारा अपने को अस्वस्थ बनाकर रोगशय्या पर पड़े हुए थे। उनके अस्वस्थ होने का समाचार सुनकर महानगरी वैशाली के राजा, अमात्य, अधिकारी, ब्राह्मण, गृहपति, श्रेष्ठी एवं समस्त नगरनिवासी उनका कुशल समाचार पूछने के लिए आये; किन्तु भगवान् बुद्ध ने किसीको उनके पास नहीं भेजा। तब लिच्छवि विमलकीर्ति ने अपने मन में सोचा :—“मैं अस्वस्थ होकर रोगशय्या पर पड़ा हुआ हूँ, दुःखित हूँ, फिर भी भगवान् तथागत सम्यक् संबुद्ध ने मुझपर अनुकम्पा नहीं की है और न किसीको मेरे रोग के बारे में पूछने के लिए भेजा है”। भगवान् बुद्ध ने लिच्छवि विमलकीर्ति के मन में उत्पन्न इस विचार को जानकर धर्मसेनापति सारिपुत्र से कहा :—“सारिपुत्र, लिच्छवि विमलकीर्ति के रोग के बारे में पूछने के लिए जाओ”। भगवान् के ऐसा कहने पर सारिपुत्र ने कहा :—“भगवन्, मैं लिच्छवि विमलकीर्ति के रोग के बारे में पूछने के लिए जाने को उत्साहित नहीं हूँ, क्योंकि भगवन्, मुझे स्मरण है कि एक दिन मैं एक वृक्ष के मूल में बैठा हुआ ध्यानरत था, तब लिच्छवि विमलकीर्ति वहाँ पहुँचा और मुझसे कहा :—“भन्ते सारिपुत्र, जिस प्रकार आप ध्यानरत हैं, उस प्रकार ध्यानरत नहीं होना चाहिए। आपको इस प्रकार ध्यानरत होना चाहिए, जिससे सम्पूर्ण त्रिधातुक विश्व में कहीं भी शरीर और चित्त प्रकट नहीं होते। आपको इस प्रकार ध्यानरत होना चाहिए जिसमें निरोध की अवस्था में उठे बिना भी आप सब प्रकार का सामान्य व्यवहार प्रकट कर सकें। आपको इस प्रकार ध्यानरत होना चाहिए जिससे अपनी लोकोत्तर उपलब्धि के लक्षणों को छोड़ें बिना आप सामान्य व्यक्तियों के लक्षण प्रकट कर सकें। आपको इस प्रकार ध्यानरत होना चाहिए जिससे आपका चित्त न अध्यात्म में स्थिर रहे और न बाह्य वस्तुओं में विचरण

करने लगे। आपको इस प्रकार ध्यानरत होना चाहिए, जिससे संसार क्षेत्र के क्लेशों के ग्रहण किये बिना भी आप निर्वाण और मुक्ति प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। भदन्त, इस प्रकार जो ध्यानरत रहते हैं, उनको ध्यानरत कहते हैं।' भगवान्, लिच्छवि विमलकीर्ति के इसप्रकार के धर्मोपदेश को सुनकर और उसका प्रतिवाद करने में अपने को असमर्थ पाकर मैं चुप रह गया। यही कारण है कि मैं उस सत्पुरुष के पास जाने के लिए उत्साहित नहीं हूँ।" उसके बाद भगवान् बुद्ध ने महामोद्गल्यायन, महाकाश्यप, संभूति, पूर्ण मैत्रायणीपुत्र, महाकात्यायन, अनिरुद्ध, उपालि, राहुल, आनन्द, मैत्रेय, प्रभाव्यूह, जगतीधर और सुदत्त (अनाथपिण्डक) से विमलकीर्ति के पास जाने के लिए अनुरोध किया और सबने बारी-बारी से विमलकीर्ति से सम्बन्धित अपना एक-एक संस्मरण सुनाकर वैशाली के इस गृहपति के पास जाने में अपनी असमर्थता प्रकट की। तब भगवान् ने मंजुश्री कुमारसंभूत को विमलकीर्ति के पास भेजा। मंजुश्री और आचार्य विमलकीर्ति के बीच जो धर्मसंलाप हुआ, वह सूत्र के पाँचवें से नवम परिवर्त तक विस्तार से वर्णित है।

विमलकीर्ति के जीवन पर प्रकाश डालते हुए इस सूत्र में कहा गया है :—उस समय वैशाली महानगरी में विमलकीर्ति नाम का एक लिच्छवि रहता था। उसने पूर्व काल के तथागतों की सेवा करके कुशलमूलावरोपन प्राप्त किया था। वह महान् अभिज्ञाओं से क्रीड़ा करता था। उसने मार को पराजित किया था और गम्भीर धर्म के मार्ग पर चलता था। वह उपायकौशल्य में पूर्णता प्राप्त करने के कारण प्राणियों के विचारों और कार्यों का ज्ञाता था। उसकी बुद्धि सागर के समान गम्भीर थी। अनाथों और असहायों के भरणपोषण के लिए उसके पास अक्षय सम्पत्ति थी। दुराचारी और दुःशीलजनों के बीच वह पवित्र और शीलवान् जीवन बिताता था। वह क्रूर, निर्दय और विद्वेषी जनों के बीच शान्ति और दम से सम्पन्न था। आलसी और अकर्मण्य लोगों को घेरित करने के लिए वह उत्तप्त वीर्यवाला था। विक्षिप्त व्यक्तियों की सहायता के लिए वह ध्यान, स्मृति और समाधि का अभ्यास करता था। यद्यपि श्वेतवस्त्र पहनता था, तथापि वह कामलोक, रूपलोक और अल्पलोक से सर्वथा दूर रहता था। यद्यपि उसको एक पुत्र, एक पत्नी और अन्तःपुर था, तथापि वह ब्रह्मचर्य का जीवन व्यतीत करता था। यद्यपि वह रस्त-जटित आभूषणों से अलंकृत रहता था, तथापि वह सत्पुरुषों के सद्गुणों से सुशोभित था। यद्यपि वह जुआड़ियों के बीच रहता था, तथापि उसका उद्देश्य उन्हें सत्पथ पर लाने का रहता था। यद्यपि वह सभी धर्माचार्यों के साथ गवेषणापूर्ण धर्मसंलाप करता था, तथापि भगवान् बुद्ध के प्रति उसकी अटूट आस्था थी।

'विमलकीर्ति-निर्देश-सूत्र' का प्रकाशन वैशाली में आम्रपाली के सुप्रसिद्ध आम्रकानन और आचार्य विमलकीर्ति के निवासस्थान पर हुआ था। इस महत्त्वपूर्ण महायानी सूत्र में प्राणिमात्र के लिए महाकरुणा का महान् आदर्श निरूपित किया गया है। एक अर्हत् केवल अपनी मुक्ति के लिए ही प्रयत्नशील रहता है। वैयक्तिक निर्वाण ही उसके जीवन का चरम लक्ष्य होता है। किन्तु बोधिसत्त्व निर्वाण का सुख इसलिए त्याग देता है कि वह अन्य

विदग्ध, प्रताड़ित और सन्तप्त प्राणियों को छोड़कर स्वयं सुखधाम जाना नहीं चाहता है। प्राणिमात्र की मुक्ति और करुणा ही उसके जीवन का एकमात्र लक्ष्य होता है। इस सूत्र में अनासक्ति पर जोर डाला गया है और अनासक्ति के लिए आसक्ति का परित्याग करने का आदेश दिया गया है। आचार्य नागार्जुन (सूत्र-समुच्चय), आचार्य कमलशील (तृतीय भावनाक्रम), आचार्य शान्तिदेव (शिक्षा समुच्चय), आचार्य चन्द्रकीर्ति (प्रसन्नपदामध्यमक-वृत्ति), आचार्य सारमति (महायानावतार शास्त्र), आचार्य बसुबन्धु (रत्नकूट चतुर्धर्मोपदेश) और आचार्य अद्वयवज्र (कुटुम्बनिर्घातन) ने अपने ग्रन्थों में इस सूत्र से अनेक उद्धरण दिये हैं। डॉ० सर्वपल्ली राधाकृष्णन् ने इस सूत्र को बौद्धधर्म की गीता कहा है। अपने मूल (संस्कृत) रूप में यह ग्रन्थ भारत में अप्राप्य है। किन्तु विश्व की विभिन्न भाषाओं में इसके अनेक अनुवाद और टीकाएँ आज भी उपलब्ध हैं। भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वानों द्वारा 'आर्यविमलकीर्ति निर्देश', 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश', 'यमकव्यत्यस्तामिनिर्हार' एवं 'अचिन्त्य विमोक्षपरिवर्त', चीनी अनुवादों में 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' (वेइ-मो-की-सो-चोउओ), 'अचिन्त्यधर्मपर्याय' (पोउ-को-स्सेउ-यि किअई-तो-फा-मेन) एवं 'अचिन्त्यविकुर्वणविमोक्ष-धर्मपर्याय' (पोउ-को-स्सेउ-यि-स्सेउ-स्सै-चेन-पीन-किअई-तो-फा-मेन), और तिब्बती अनुवादों में 'आर्यविमलकीर्ति निर्देश नाम महायान सूत्र' (फाया-टिमा-मेयर-टगये-तम्पा शेच्यावा थेग्याछेन्योइदो=अफगस-पा द्विमा भेइ-पर ग्रस-पस् बस्तन-पा जेस-च्या-वा थेग-पा छेन-पोईम्दो) के नाम से इसका उल्लेख किया गया है।

'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश' की सबसे प्राचीन प्रति मध्य एशिया की तारिम उपत्यका में डॉ० आरेल स्टाइन को मिली थी। ब्रिटिश सरकार के अनुरोध पर १९०१ ई० में डॉ० स्टाइन ने तारिम उपत्यका में खोज का काम शुरू किया। अपने प्रथम अभियान में उन्हें ब्राह्मी लिपि में अंकित कुछ हस्तलेख मिले, जिन्हें जर्मन विद्वान् डॉ० लेन्मान और जापानी विद्वान् डॉ० बतनवे ने पढ़ने का प्रयास किया। प्राध्यापक स्तेन कोनो ने उस हस्तलेख-भाषा को ईरानी समुदाय की भाषा बतलाया और शक भाषा के नाम से उसको सम्बोधित किया था। उन हस्तलेखों में 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' का एक अनुवाद भी मिला था, जो शक भाषा और ब्राह्मी लिपि में था। अभियान से वापस लौटने के बाद डॉ० स्टाइन ने ब्रिटिश रायल सोसाइटी के जर्नल (१९०१) में तारिम उपत्यका का विवरण प्रकाशित किया और १९०२ ई० में हेम्बर्ग में आयोजित प्राच्य विद्या कांग्रेस में अपना यह संस्मरण सुनाया। इससे प्रभावित होकर फ्रान्सीसी पुराविद् पेलियो ने इस क्षेत्र में खोज का काम शुरू किया और इसी क्रम में १९०६ ई० में वह तुन-हुआङ् आया।

तुन-हुआङ् नगर से लगभग ९ मील दक्षिण-पश्चिम मिग-शान की तलहटी में, ३६६ ई० में लो-चुन नामक एक तीर्थयात्री आया था और एक अलौकिक घटना से प्रेरित और प्रभावित होकर उसने एक गुफा का निर्माण किया था। उसके बाद फा-लिङ् नामक एक दूसरे तीर्थयात्री ने उसकी बगल में एक दूसरी गुफा का निर्माण कराया। तत्पश्चात् उस प्रदेश के प्रान्तपति चियेन-पिङ् और वाङ्-हुई ने एक-एक गुफा बनवाई। इस प्रकार

नवम शताब्दी तक वहाँ एक सौ गुफाओं का निर्माण किया गया। १९०० ई० में एक सावी साधु बड़-ताई को यहाँ एक बड़ी गुफा में खोदते समय एक छोटी गुफा मिली, जिसमें हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ भरे थे। १९०६ ई० में पेलियो ने जब इस गुफा का निरीक्षण किया, तब वह आत्म-विभोर हो उठा। संयोग से बड़-ताई निरक्षर था और गुफा की परम्मत के लिए उस समय उसको धन की आवश्यकता थी। इसलिए वह पेलियो को हस्तलेख देने के लिए राजी हो गया। पेलियो ने लगभग ५ महीने वहाँ रहकर १५ हजार ग्रन्थों की सूची बनाई और उनमें से ५ हजार सर्वोत्कृष्ट ग्रन्थ खरीदकर अपने साथ पेरिस ले गया। उसके बाद १९०८ ई० में डॉ० स्टाइन यहाँ आये और ५ हजार रुपये में २४ सन्दूक हस्तलेख और ४ सन्दूक चित्र, रेशमी पट एवं अन्य ऐतिहासिक वस्तुएँ खरीदकर ले गये। शेष १० हजार हस्तलेखों को चीन सरकार के आदेशानुसार पेकिंग के राष्ट्रीय पुस्तकालय में भेज दिया गया।

तुन-हुआङ् से प्राप्त हस्तलेखों की जर्भन प्राध्यापक डॉ० लेन्मान, डॉ० फानले-काक, डेन विद्वान् विल्हेम टॉमस, बेलजियन विद्वान् पूसिन, जापानी विद्वान् डॉ० बतनवे और फ्रान्सीसी विद्वान् पेलियो ने पढ़ने का प्रयास किया। प्राध्यापक सेनार् और बायर ने खरोष्ठी लिपि में अंकित प्राकृत भाषा, डॉ० लेन्मान और डॉ० बतनवे ने ब्राह्मी लिपि में अंकित शक भाषा, प्राध्यापक गांधियों ने सोगिदयन भाषा, प्राध्यापक सिल्बी लेवी ने तुखारी भाषा और पेलियो ने चीनी भाषा के हस्तलेखों के पढ़ने में सफलता प्राप्त की। प्राप्त हस्तलेखों में खरोष्ठी लिपि में अंकित प्राकृत भाषा, ब्राह्मी लिपि में अंकित शक भाषा, सोगिदयन भाषा, खोटानी भाषा, भोटीय भाषा और चीनी भाषा में 'विमलकीर्ति-निर्देश सूत्र' के अनेक अनुवाद मिले हैं, जिनमें सोगिदयन और खोटानी भाषाओं के खण्डांश प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। प्रख्यात चीनी बौद्ध विद्वान् लिनुआन-फु ने गुफा से प्राप्त हस्तलेखों में 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' की कई ऐसी टीकाओं का पता लगाया है, जिनकी व्याख्या साधारण संस्करणों से भिन्न है। इस संग्रह में 'प्रज्ञापारमिता-हृदय-सूत्र' 'विमलकीर्ति-निर्देश सूत्र' और 'सुरांगन सूत्र' की सबसे अधिक प्रतियाँ मिली हैं। तुन-हुआङ् के गुफा मन्दिरों में विमलकीर्ति के जीवनवृत्त से सम्बन्धित कई भित्ति-चित्र भी मिले हैं ('तुन-हुआङ् पेन्टिंग्स')।

'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' का सबसे पहला चीनी अनुवाद १८८ ई० में येन-फो-तियाओ ने लो-यांग नगर में किया था। यह अनुवाद अब अप्राप्य है। इस सूत्र का दूसरा चीनी अनुवाद त्वे-की-न ने किया था (२२२-२२९ ई०)। यह अनुवाद अभी सुरक्षित है (तेशी-इस्वीक्यो, क्रम सं० २७४)। इसका तीसरा चीनी अनुवाद हान वंश के ऊ सम्राट् श्वेन कुयेन के शासनकाल में प्रख्यात यूची (शक) विद्वान् चो-चियेन (२२३-२५३ ई०) ने और चौथा चीनी अनुवाद त्तिन वंश के शासनकाल में प्रख्यात यूची (शक) विद्वान् चु-फा-हु ने किया था। चु-फा-हु का मूल नाम धर्मरक्ष था और यह तुखार का रहनेवाला था। चीन में इसको तुन-हुआङ् बोधिसत्त्व के नाम से सम्बोधित किया जाता है। चु-फा-हु

ने इस सूत्र का एक संक्षिप्त अनुवाद भी किया था (२८४-३१७ ई०)। ये दोनों अनुवाद अब अप्राप्य हैं। उसके बाद ताओ-आन के शिष्य सेंग-जुई ने 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र की भूमिका' नाम से एक स्वतंत्र ग्रंथ की रचना की। तत्पश्चात् इस सूत्र का नवम चीनी अनुवाद भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वान् गीतमित्र ने किया। यह अनुवाद भी अब अप्राप्य है।

इस सूत्र का दशम चीनी अनुवाद भारतीय बौद्ध विद्वान् कुमारजीव ने ४०५ ई० में किया था। यह अनुवाद समस्त चीनी अनुवादों में सबसे अधिक लोकप्रिय है। कुमारजीव ने अपने अनुवाद में यथास्थान स्वतन्त्र टिप्पणियाँ भी दी हैं। इस काम में १२०० बौद्ध विद्वानों ने उसकी सहायता की थी (तैमो-इस्सैक्यो, क्रम संख्या ४७५, प्रमुख भिक्षुओं के संस्मरण, 'चीनी बौद्ध धर्म का इतिहास', पृष्ठ ६७-६९)। विमलकीर्ति के जीवन पर प्रकाश डालते हुए कुमारजीव ने लिखा है—“विमलकीर्ति का चरित्र बतलाता है कि कैसे हम लोगों के साथ एकाकार हो सकते हैं। किस प्रकार एक साथ हम पापियों और पुण्यात्माओं के मित्र बन सकते हैं। परिवार के साथ रहते हुए भी किस प्रकार संन्यास धर्म का पालन किया जा सकता है। गृहस्थ होकर भी विमलकीर्ति समस्त नैतिक नियमों का पालन करते थे। उनके पत्नी और पुत्र थे, फिर भी वे सांसारिक जीवन से अपने को बिल्कुल अनासक्त रखते थे। हीरकजटित आभूषणों का प्रयोग करते थे, फिर भी आध्यात्मिक विमोक्ष से वे विभूषित थे। द्यूतशालाओं में जाकर जुवाड़ियों को सत्पथ पर लाने का प्रयास करते थे। सांसारिक विद्याओं का गम्भीर ज्ञान रहने पर भी बुद्ध द्वारा निर्देशित मार्ग ही उनके लिए अत्यधिक आनन्ददायक था। सभी प्रकार की वृत्तियों और व्यवसायों से वे लाभ उठाते थे, किन्तु उनके प्रति अनासक्ति का भाव रखते थे। विद्यालयों में जाकर युवकों को सदाचार का उपदेश देते थे। मद्य-विक्रेताओं की दूकान पर जाकर उनको पवित्र पदार्थों की खोज के लिए प्रेरित करते थे। धनिकों के बीच निरभिमानता का उपदेश देते थे। महामंत्रियों को न्याय का, राजकुमारों को मातृ-पितृभक्ति का और राजदरबारियों को ईमानदारी का संदेश देते थे।”

कुमारजीव के बाद उत्तरी चीन के लिन-लु जिले के निवासी उसके शिष्य ताओ-युंग ने इस सूत्र की एक टीका लिखी। उसके बाद उसके दूसरे शिष्य ताओ-सेंग ने इस सूत्र की दूसरी टीका लिखी। यह टीका तीन खण्डों में विभक्त है और अभी सुरक्षित है। ताओ-सेंग एक अलौकिक प्रतिभा-सम्पन्न विद्वान् था और वहाँ के राजा द्वारा कुमारजीव की सहायता के लिए नियुक्त किया गया था ('चीनी बौद्ध धर्म का इतिहास', पृ० ६९, प्रमुख भिक्षुओं के संस्मरण)। चांग-आन का निवासी सेंग-चाओ 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' के एक अनुवाद को पढ़कर इतना अधिक प्रभावित हुआ कि वह गृह त्याग कर भिक्षु बन गया और २० वर्षों की अवस्था में एक महान् बौद्ध दार्शनिक के रूप में विख्यात हुआ। चांग-आन के तत्कालीन राजा याओ-ह्जिन के निमंत्रण पर ४०९ ई० में वह यहाँ आया था और सेंग-जुई के साथ उसको राजा ने कुमारजीव का सहायक नियुक्त किया था। सेंग-चाओ ने स्वयं 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र की प्रस्तावना' के नाम से एक स्वतन्त्र पुस्तक की रचना

की है। चीनी बौद्ध विद्वान् फा-ह्वेन ने भी 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' की एक टीका लिखी है और वह आजीवन इस सूत्र का प्रचार करता रहा। सम्राट् वू-ती ने उससे प्रभावित होकर एक बार उसको अपने राजमहल में बुलाकर सम्मानित भी किया था (प्रमुख भिक्षुओं के संस्मरण)। सुप्रसिद्ध चीनी तीर्थयात्री शुआन्-चाङ् ने तच्चेग-डन नगर में ६५० ई० में इस सूत्र का विज्ञापक गुणानुवाद किया। यह अनुवाद ६ खण्डों में विभक्त है और काफी लोक-प्रिय है ('चीनी बौद्धधर्म का इतिहास', पृ० १४९, तेशो-इस्सेक्यों, क्रम सं० ९-४७६, प्रमुख भिक्षुओं के संस्मरण)।

इस सूत्र का सबसे पहला भोटीय अनुवाद नवम शताब्दी में आचार्य धर्मताशील (छोस-जिद-शुलरिबम्स-छोपमिद छुटिल्टस) ने किया था। यह अनुवाद कन्जुर संग्रह में सुरक्षित है और सभी भोटीय संस्करणों (ल्हासा, नार्थग और देगें) में उपलब्ध है। इस सूत्र के चार भोटीय अनुवाद तुन-हुआङ् में मिले थे, जो अब पेरिस के राष्ट्रीय पुस्तकालय में सुरक्षित हैं। प्रख्यात जापानी बौद्ध विद्वान् जिस्सु ओशिका ने सभी भोटीय संस्करणों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करके रोमन लिपि में एक प्रामाणिक भोटीय संस्करण निकाला है। यह देगें की प्रति पर आधारित है। प्रसिद्ध जर्मन बौद्ध विद्वान् भिक्षु पासादिक ने सभी भोटीय अनुवादों का अध्ययन कर रोमन लिपि में एक भोटीय संस्करण प्रकाशित किया है, जो ल्हासा की प्रति पर आधारित है। पासादिक ने अपने भोटीय संस्करण का संस्कृत रूपान्तर भी किया है। अमेरिकी बौद्ध विद्वान् राबर्ट थर्मेन ने भोटीय अनुवाद का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद किया है।

'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' के जापानी अनुवादों में सबसे प्रख्यात और लोकप्रिय अनुवाद जापान के उपराजा शोतोकु का है। ५९२ ई० में शोतोकु ने १९ वर्षों की अवस्था में उपराजा (शोतोकु की चाची सुई राजा के पद पर थी) का कार्यभार सम्भाला और 'विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र' को पढ़कर इतना प्रभावित हुआ कि बौद्धधर्म को ही उसने जापान का राष्ट्रधर्म घोषित किया और विमलकीर्ति के आदर्शों को अपना जीवनादर्श बनाया। शोतोकु की टीका ने जापान के कुलीन परिवारों में बौद्धधर्म का प्रसार करने में असाधारण सफलता प्राप्त की। विमलकीर्ति के जीवन पर प्रकाश डालते हुए वह लिखता है—“विमलकीर्ति एक पहुँचा हुआ सन्त था। उसका आध्यात्मिक जीवन राग, द्वेष की सीमा को पार कर चुका था। वैशाली महानगरी का वह समृद्ध सम्पन्न गृहस्थ था, किन्तु उसकी धन के प्रति कोई आसक्ति या ममता नहीं थी। उसके भीतर अपार कष्टना थी, जिससे अनुप्राणित होकर वह गार्हस्थ्य जीवन में रहते हुए भी लोककल्याण की मंगलसाधना में संलग्न रहता था। प्रज्ञा उसकी माता थी, सर्वगुणसंग्रह उसका पिता था, सभी प्राणी उसके बन्धु थे और अनासक्ति उसकी वासभूमि थी। सन्तुष्टि उसकी स्त्री थी, कष्टना उसकी पुत्री थी और सत्य उसका पुत्र था। इस प्रकार गृहस्थ-जीवन में रहते हुए भी वह सांसारिक बन्धनों से परे था। सांसारिक उलझनों से बचकर संन्यास लेने की अपेक्षा संसार में रहकर, उन बुराईयों को दूर करनेवाले साधक का जीवन उन्हें अधिक प्रिय था।”

जापान के प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध विद्वान् डा० देसेत्ज तदतरो सुजुकी ने विमलकीर्ति के नाम की व्याख्या करते हुए लिखा है—“विमलकीर्ति का अर्थ है पवित्र आचरण और उज्ज्वल कीर्ति वाला एक सच्चा सत्पुरुष”। जापान में उन्हें जैन विचारधारा का पिता कहा जाता है। डा० सुजुकी की रचनाओं से विदित होता है कि कुमारजीव द्वारा किये गये ‘विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र’ के चीनी अनुवाद का जापान के महायान बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बियों पर असाधारण प्रभाव पड़ा है। जापानी विद्वान् डाक्टर के० ओहरा ने १८९८ ई० में और डा० इदजुमी ने १९२४ ई० में कुमारजीव के चीनी अनुवाद का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद किया है (‘ईस्टर्न बुद्धिज्म’)। १९५१ में जापानी विद्वान् सुसुम यामागुची ने ‘विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र’ के प्रथम परिवर्त की जापानी व्याख्या की। १९५९ में यामादामुमोन रोशी ने सम्पूर्ण ‘विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र’ का तीन खण्डों में जापानी अनुवाद किया। उसके बाद १९६४ में फाकउर शोबुन ने इस सूत्र का जापानी अनुवाद किया। ये दोनों अनुवाद भी कुमारजीव वाले चीनी अनुवाद पर आधारित हैं। इसके अलावा डा० अकिरा यूयामा, डा० जिकिडो ताकासाकी और रुइसो सोइदा ने अपने लेखों में ‘विमलकीर्ति निर्देश सूत्र’ के महत्त्व पर प्रकाश डाला है। जापान के फुकुजीनारा मन्दिर और हरिकुजी मन्दिर में आचार्य विमलकीर्ति की मूर्तियाँ स्थापित हैं। कोरिया के सुप्रसिद्ध कलाकार हुबुइन ने आचार्य विमलकीर्ति का एक सुन्दर चित्र बनाया है।

प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध विद्वान् एस० पोतीनान्ता ने चीनी अनुवाद के आधार पर १९६३ में इस सूत्र का चाई अनुवाद किया है और प्राध्यापक लामात ने २०५५ पृष्ठों में इस सूत्र का फ्रान्सीसी अनुवाद किया है। यह अनुवाद चार खण्डों में विभक्त है। जे० फिसर और टी० योकोटा ने इस सूत्र का जर्मन भाषा में अनुवाद किया है। कनाडा के बौद्ध विद्वान् रिचर्ड हफ रॉबिन्सन ने इस सूत्र का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद किया है। चीनी विद्वान् चार्ल्स लुक (लु-कुयान) ने इस सूत्र के चीनी अनुवाद का एक दूसरा अंग्रेजी अनुवाद भी किया है।

भिक्षु पासादिक के संस्कृत रूपान्तर का डा० लालमणि जोशी ने हिन्दी अनुवाद किया है। डा० जोशी पहले भारतीय विद्वान् हैं, जिन्होंने इस महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ का हिन्दी अनुवाद किया है। इसके पूर्व १९५९ ई० में ‘जर्नल ऑफ बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी’ के ‘डा० अल्तेकर मेमोरियल वोल्यूम’ में हिन्दी में बंगाली की इस विस्मृत विभूति के सम्बन्ध में इन पक्तियों के लेखक का एक लेख प्रकाशित हुआ था। किसी भी भारतीय भाषा में इस विषय पर प्रकाशित होनेवाला वह पहला लेख था।





CHOS-DAR'S ACCOUNT OF DHARMAŚVĀMIN'S TRAVELS IN VAIŚĀLI*

Translated by GEORGE N. ROERICH, M. A., Ph. D.

A. Forward Journey (A. D. 1234)

[1. From Pa-ta to the border of Vaiśāli]

On the following day the Dharmasvāmin agreed to join a company of three hundred who were looking for companions. On the following day they left the place [the town of Pa-ta] and after covering several stages, they met a man who told them that a buffalo had killed the day before three men and that it was dangerous to continue the journey that day. During the journey, the Dharmasvāmin and his two faithful companions used to walk in the middle of the party of three hundred, neither to the front, nor behind. Then suddenly those who were walking in the front fled away on seeing a cloud of dust (which appeared on the road). It was the buffalo who the day before had killed three men. Of black colour, breathing heavily and raising dust with its legs, the animal was ready to charge with lowered horns. The hair on the animal's belly reaching the ground, it seemed to be square-shaped. When looking at it from a distance, it was as if rain was lashing one's face. The Dharmasvāmin said that "ma-hes" meant wild yak in Tibetan, and that there was no corresponding word in another language. Though the danger from the buffalo was great the Dharmasvāmin assured the protection of the party, and the

* Extracted from *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo-tsa-bn Chos-rje-dpal)*, a Tibetan Monk Pilgrim, written by Upāsaka Chos-dar, the disciple of Dharmasvāmin (A. D. 1197-1264), immediately after the death of his Guru, original Tibetan text deciphered in Roman characters and translated into English by Dr. George N. Roerich, with a historical and critical introduction by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna, 1959. The portions extracted above appear on (A) pp. 59-63 and (B) p. 98 of the book. Headings and sub-headings have been provided by ourselves. Ed.

animal without attacking, disappeared into the jungle. Thus they travelled for ninety stages and reached the non-Buddhist Kingdom of Tirhut.

[II. Arrival and Stay at Vaiśālī]

From there at a distance of six stages lies the uninhabited border of Vaiśālī (Yaṅs-pa-can). There lies the mountain range Rishiśirsha-parvata, also called the "Lofty Summit", or "Big Head". Except for dangerous dacoits, one is within reach of the town (of Vaiśālī). At its narrowest part the country of Vaiśālī (can be covered) in eight stages, and at its widest part twenty stages.

There exists a miraculous stone image of the Ārya Tārā with her head and body turned towards the left, foot placed flat, and the right foot turned sideways, the right hand in the *vara-mudrā* and the left hand holding the symbol of the Three Jewels in front of the heart. The image was known to be endowed with great blessing, and the mere beholding of the goddess' face relieved devotees from distress.

When they had reached the city of Vaiśālī, they were told that the inhabitants were in a state of great commotion and panic-stricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka¹ troops.

That night the Dharmasvāmin saw in his dream the country of Vajrāsana and conversed with Chag lo-tsa-ba the Elder.² Now to quote from the A-nu-pra-sa-la rje-su-bkyaṅs-pa'i rgyan, *śloka*s (verses) composed by the Dharmasvāmin himself in memory of his Guru's grace,

"Though companions were numerous,
And notwithstanding the peril from the Turushka soldiery,
And the danger from the wild buffalo,
Through the Guru's miraculous powers,
Unhindered I beheld the Vajrāsana.
This was due to the grace of Upādhyāya,
The great Dharmasvāmin."

1. Gar-log or Qarluq, name of a Central Asian Turkish tribe. This is the usual Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit Turushka. [p. 58, n. 5]
2. [Chag lo-tsa-ba the Elder or Dharmasvāmin the Elder or Chag lo-tsa-ba dGra-bcom (A. D. 1153-1216) was the uncle and Guru or Upādhyāya of this Tibetan monk pilgrim. He had studied at Vajrāsana and Nālandā under the famous Sanskrit scholars of the time E.d]

What was meant by the above *śloka*?—The story of the peril from the wild buffalo was told in the chapter on Tirhut. And what was meant by the words, "beheld the Vajrāsana through the miraculous powers"? When the Guru was preaching during the autumn term at the great monastery of Than-po-che, he showed him the *ślokas* on the upper floor of the ecclesiastic palace. "Did you write this?", inquired the Guru. "I wrote it some five years ago at lTe'u-ra", said he. The Guru then explained the meaning (of the *ślokas*).

The Dharmasvāmin said that "when they had reached the city of Vaiśālī, all the inhabitants had fled at dawn from fear of the Turushka soldiery. A fellow guest inquired: "When shall we flee?" When the three hundred fellow travellers were preparing to go, I had a dream that I had gone to Vajrāsana and that the Dharmasvāmin the Elder had also gone there and had opened with his staff the doors of the temple, saying, "Son, look well at these! Do not be afraid! Come here!" On awakening, I felt a pleasant sensation in my heart.

Then at daybreak all the inhabitants of Vaiśālī fled away, but I did not flee. A companion said, "Well, I also shall stay" and stayed behind. Because we three stayed behind, one of the guests also stayed behind. At sunrise, when I came out into the street in front of the door, a female lay-supporter was seen staying in the street; the guests (of the inn) inquired, "Do you have some pleasant news to tell us?" The woman said, "The soldiery left for Western India." All rejoiced and some people said that "the woman must have been the goddess Tārā herself", and saying this the Dharmasvāmin himself smiled.

[III. Further journey till the crossing of the Gaṅgā on way to Magadha]

Southwards from the border of Vaiśālī, at a distance of eight stages, lies Vajrāsana. There is also the river Gaṅgā. The river flows from west to east. Having started early in the morning, one did not reach (the opposite bank of the river?) till evening. There were two ferry boats which had the appearance of boxes, and were tied together with ropes. They could carry about three hundred passengers. In the river there were sea-monsters called *nakra* (crocodile), of the size of a yak. Sometimes these crocodiles caused the boats to sink, sometimes they snatched away passengers from inside the boats, and carried them away in their mouths. Great was the danger!

Across the Gaṅgā lies the country of Magadha.

B. Return Journey (A. D. 1236)

The Dharmasvāmin continued his journey alone without a companion.

[I. Crossing the Gaṅgā on way to Tīrhuṭ]

On the ferry boat across the Gaṅgā, he was accosted by two Turushka soldiers who told him, "You are a Tibetan ! You must have some gold." The Dharmasvāmin replied that he would report them to the local Rājā, and they became very angry. The two snatched away the Dharmasvāmin's begging bowl from the boat. On the boat there were two Indian lay-supporters, father and son. The son who had faith (in Buddhism), said, "Here is a remarkable monk ! Do not take away his begging bowl. I shall give you some precious things." But the soldiers replied, "We do not want your wealth. We want this Tibetan !" Then he gave them one *pa-ṇa*.¹ According to the Dharmasvāmin one *paṇa* equalled eighty cowries.

[II. From the north bank of the Gaṅgā to Pa-ta]

After they had reached² the city of Pa-ta³ in Tīrhuṭ, the Dharmasvāmin asked a monk, "Are you a Buddhist ?" and the monk replied that he was. Then the Dharmasvāmin rented quarters from the monk, and stayed there.



1. Sanskrit : *paṇa*.
2. [This party of three persons naturally passed through Vaiṣālī, but there was nothing particular to note in this trip. Ed.]
3. Patalā. This is identical with Simraongarh, the capital of the Karmāṭa kings of Tīrhuṭ or Tirabhukti. [p. 58, n. 3]



SHAIKH MUHAMMAD QAZIN SHUTTARI
THE SUFI SAINT OF BASARH
(VAIŠĀLĪ)*

PROFESSOR SYED HASAN ASKARI
M. A., B. L., D. LITT. (*honoris causa*)

1. Introduction (Including Sources)

i. *India and the Sufi Cult of Islam*

Nowhere did Sufism which reinterpreted Semitic Islam to the Aryan world flourish so much and gain so many adherents as in India, for the Sufi with his doctrine of the mystical union of man's soul with God, regarding the world of phenomena as a mere reflection of the Supreme Being, requiring the aid of spiritual guides so as to be capable of reaching God, emphasizing faith rather than work for the salvation of men, believing in the moral elevation of man and discarding all invidious social distinctions, suspending respiration or regulating breath, and given to other spiritual exercises, established himself in India, the land of the Vedanta, Yoga and Bhakti, where the whole atmosphere was surcharged with a deep yearning and quest for God, and the need was felt by a band of Hindu seers and reformers for a great spiritual regeneration and social uplift of fellowmen.

ii. *Sufi Saints of Bihar*

The Muslim saints and Sufis of various Orders, each with a discipline and organization of its own, concerned themselves not only with the

- * Just as in ancient times Vaiśālī was important as a citadel of Jainism and Buddhism, so also in middle ages it carved out a place for itself by becoming a chief centre of the Shuttari Order of Sufism. This article has been included here for this reason. This is an adaptation from the writer's paper entitled 'A Fifteenth-Century Shuttari Sufi Saint of North Bihar' published in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (Patna), Vol. 37, Parts 1-2, 1951, pp. 66-82. Headings and sub-headings have been provided by ourselves with rearrangement of matter at certain points. Ed.

development of mystical doctrines but also with the propagation of their faith. That the Sufi saints and missionaries were largely responsible for the peaceful penetration¹ of Islam in India is now an admitted fact. But very little is known about the part played in this respect by Sufi saints of Bihar some of whom were outstanding personalities and of wide and far-reaching influence. The little that has been written² so far is mostly about the saints of south Bihar and little or no notice has been taken of those whose field of activities lay across the Ganges in north Bihar. Many of them belonged to the Shuttari Order of Sufis about which, unlike the Chishti, Qadri, Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi and other Orders, nothing is practically known, especially to the English-reading public. A few lines in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the passing notice in the articles of the *Indian Culture*, about the introduction of this Order in India are not only inadequate but in some respects misleading. It is not a fact that "allusions to the Order in Sufi literature are rare," that "its headquarters in India was at Jaunpur", that "the Indians could not accept him (pioneer of the Order) warmly for the reason of novelties introduced by him," that "we do not know the extent of his success in India", and that "he died in Malwa in 1406 A. D."³ Neither time and space nor the occasion permit a detailed consideration or even a bare outline of the theological position and theosophical principles of the Shuttari Order, but it is worthwhile to write something about life, work, and influence of one of the greatest of the Shuttari saints of India, who flourished in the fifteenth century in North Bihar, on the basis of materials locally available, particularly one of his own rare works which has come down to us in a manuscript form.

iii. Shuttari Order of Sufism

Shaikh Bayazid Taifur Bustami is said to have been the original exponent of the Shuttari principles. The first man to receive the title of Shuttar from his Pir, Shaikh Muhammad Arif Taifuri, who afterwards sent him to India, sometime in the early decades of the 8th Century A. H., was Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Sufi

1. Sir Thomas Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*; Titus Murray, *Indian Islam*.
2. See the writer's papers in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (Patna) and *Bengal Past and Present* (Calcutta).
3. This date, given in *Khazinat-ul-Asfia* and *Khazinat-ul-Ansab*, is obviously wrong, for Shaikh Qazin was initiated in the Shuttari Order by Shaikh Abdullah in 881 A. H. or 1486 A. D.

mystic, Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharwardi, and fifth in line of spiritual succession from Shaikh Nizamuddin Kubra (d. 628 A. H.), the founder of the Firdausia Order. Travelling widely in Persia and Iraq he came to India, met the three saints of Manikpur including Makhdum Husamuddin (d. 853 A. H.), saw Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi at Jaunpur (d. 840 A. H.), paid a visit to Bihar and Bengal and then went to Mandu where he finally settled down and died in 890 A. H. He wrote a book *Lataif-i-Ghaibi* as we learn from his chief disciple, the saint of Basarh, in which he deals with the doctrines of this Order, especially the principles of affirmation (*Isbat*) and negation (*Nafi*).

Seekers of truth and knowers of God, we are told by the pioneer of the Shuttari Order and the author of the *Lataif-i-Ghaibi*, are of three types, Akhyar, Abrar, and Shuttar. The title Shuttar literally means clever, fast going, abandoning taking sides, etc. The Shuttari Order, also called Ishqia, Bustamia or Taifuria Firdausia, is the way of those mystics who turning aside from everything except the vision of God's beauty attain God within the shortest possible time, profiting, directly by spiritual grace and rapture rather than, as in the case of other Orders, through austerities and self-mortifications.

iv. Sources for the Study of the Shuttari Order

Though Abdul Fazal in his *Ain-i-Akbari* does not include the Shuttari *Silsila* in his list of 14 Orders in India, he admits that his list is not exhaustive and he mentions the Order in more than one place and says that his famous father, Shaikh Mubarak, profited by the instructions of men of the Shuttari Order. Abdul Fazal's sister's son and the editor of his epistolary compositions, gives us valuable information in his rare *Tazkira, Akhbar-ul-Asfia*, still in MS, about some of the saints of the Shuttari Order including Shaikh Abdullah and his chief disciple, Shaikh Abul Faiz Muhammad Bin Ola alias Qazin Shuttari of Bania-Basarh in Vaishali district of North Bihar. Another contemporary of Akbar, the historian and traditionist, Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi, and a contemporary of Jahangir and Shahjahan, Shaikh Abdul Rahman Chishti of Amethi (Oudh), the respective authors of the standard biographical dictionaries of saints, namely *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* and *Mirat-ul-Asrar* (Kujhwa MS.), have noticed some of the important saints of the Shuttari Order including Shaikh Zahur Hazur Hamid Hazur (b. 835 A. H. = 1431 A. D.), who lies buried at Ratansarai in Gopalganj district, and his spiritual directors, the saint of Basarh and his son, Shaikh Abul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast of Tankol (Hajipur) in Vaishali district. Maulana

Muhammad Ghaus bin Hassan Shuttari, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, who was born in 962 A. H., has devoted much of his valuable book, *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, completed between 1014 A. H. and 1022 A. H., to the saints of the Shuttari Order, including those mentioned above. The spiritual inspiration of the saints of Basarh and Saran flowed through that of Jaunpur and Gwalior to Gujarat and the Deccan. Thus the Sufis of the Shuttari Order occupied an important place in the history of religion and learning, and the light of spiritual knowledge that was lit in Mandu and North Bihar illumined the distant corners not only of India but also outside regions.

Before taking up in detail the career of the Sufi saint of Basarh (sometimes also called Bania-Basarh, Bania being a nearby village), it seems necessary to say something about two rare and relevant MSS. discovered in Bihar, one of them being *Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri*¹, and the other *Manāhij-us-Shuttār*² by Shaikh Qazin of Basarh. The author of the first manuscript (which is a compendium of the principles and practices of what is called Madhhab-i-Shuttar) and also the compiler of the *Malfuzat-i-Diwan Ruknuddin Shuttari*, was a well-known saint of Rajgir, named Hazrat Abdul Hasib alias Imamuddin, whose blessings were sought, shortly before his death, by Farrukhseyar³ while that Mughal prince was on his way from Bihar to Agra to contest for the imperial throne with his uncle Jahandar Shah. This MS. deals with the technicalities of Shuttari Sufism elaborately. These are based largely on the extremely rare and valuable work, *Manahij-us-Shuttar* by Shaikh Qazin, the saint of Bania-Basarh, edited and named *Maadan-ul-Asrar* by his learned son-in-law and disciple, Makhdum Shaikh Ali Manjhan Rajgiri,⁴

1. Also named *Muqtabas-ul-Anwar*. Copy consulted is good but is old and undated; contains 244 fol. each of 15 lines; the author died in 1130 A. H. or 1717 A. D.
2. Two MSS. : one very damaged; and the other with 68 fol. each of 23 lines and divided into 61 Fasls, was written by Muhammad Nadir on 17 Ziqad 1121 A. H.
3. *Khazinat-ul-Ansab* which contains a copy of the *farman* granted by emperor Farrukhseyar.
4. A Hasani Syed who lies buried at Mariamtola in Bihar-Sharif near the Rauza of Hazrat Badr Alam Zahidi. He married Bibi Khonja Daulat, the daughter of Shaikh Qazin. He also wrote *Mazhar-ul-Asrar* which was a translation of *Fawaid-us-Shuttar*.

the son of Syed Muhammad Chakkan of Jaunpur. Besides the mystical and theological ideas which have been made to correspond with positive and real teachings of orthodox Islam, the book contains something about the life and thoughts of the saintly author which cannot but attract one's attention.

II. Life and Work

1. Parentage, Birth and the Epithet 'Qazin'

The author of *Maadan-ul-Asrar* or *Manahij-us-Shuttar* frequently refers to, and names himself as, "this mean slave (of God) Muhammad alias Qazin Bin Ola Bin Alam Tirhuti Maneri Hashmi", because his father, Alauddin, son of Alam, was the fifth in descent from Makhdum Ismail whose father, Imam Taj Faqih, a direct descendant of Abu Darda,¹ an uncle of the Prophet of Islam, was one of the first of Muslim missionaries in India. Imam Taj Faqih is said to have wrested Maner² in Patna district in 576 A. H. or 1180 A. D. from Rajah Maniyar, as is evident from the chronogram "Din Muhammad Shud Qavi".³ The Imam is said to have left his two sons, the eldest Israil (grandfather of the celebrated Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar) and the youngest Abdul Aziz⁴ (the ancestor of the Kako and Shaikhpora⁵ families of saints) to propagate Islam in South Bihar while he deputed his second son, Ismail, to preach his faith in Tirhut (North Bihar).

1. This has been taken from a very old MS. which contains the *Ijazat nama* of Hazrat Muzaffar Balkhi in favour of his nephew and successor Makhdum Husain Balkhi, dated 842 A. H. But in *Zaria-i-Daulat* Zobair bin Abdul Matallib bin Hashim is substituted for Abu Darda.
2. Elsewhere (*The Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. II, Part I, Patna, 1983, p. 404) Syed Hasan Askari says: "Maulana Muhammad, better known as Imam Taj Faqih, the traditional conqueror of Maner, [was] probably a *Mujahid* in the army of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar." [Ed.]
3. *Zaria-i-Daulat*, a late work, contains the couplet: "Yaft Chun Bar Raja-i-Manyar Zafar-Dad Imam Az Din Jahanera-Navi-Hast Manqul Az Buzurgan-i-Salaf-Sali An Din Muhammad Shud Qavi."
4. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* by Sbah Shoaib, a grandson of Abdul Aziz, is one of the earliest and the most authentic authorities on the Maner and Bihar families of saints.
5. This Shaikhpora is in the Munger district. [Ed.]

Shaikh Qazin was born at Maner (Patna district). His birth appears to have taken place in the last decade of the 8th century A. H. and not on the 7th of Zilhijja, 838 A. H.¹ = 1434 A. D., for he is said to have been authorised at an early stage of his career to preach the principles of Madaria Order of Sufism by Shaikh Hisamuddin Salamati² who died in 840 A. H. The word 'Qazin' in his name is perhaps derived from "Qazi", the office of which appears to have been held by some of his direct ancestors, such as his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. He had a brother, Shah Muhammad, who migrated to Bengal, says the author of *Miftah-ul-Fuqara*. Unfortunately we know nothing about his work and that of his descendants in Bengal.

ii. Early Life and Marriage

According to one of his direct descendants, the author of *Miftah-ul-Fuqara*, Shaikh Qazin, son of Makhdum Qazi Alauddin, passed his early life, since he was twelve years old, as a student at village Shaikhpura, in the Sarkar of Saran, and lived with Syed Zainul Abidin alias Shah Miran Zahid Shah Badhe Hussaini Chishti. The latter was the disciple and son-in-law of his maternal uncle, a famous Chishti saint, named Shah Ahmad Isa Taj of Jaunpur who lies buried at Bhainsasoor in Bihar-Sharif, and was himself a daughter's son of the celebrated Suharwardi saint, Syed Jalal Bukhari. Shaikh Qazin was brought up in an atmosphere of Chishti Sufism by Syed Zahid Shah Badhe of Saran who also gave his daughter, Bibi Makka, in marriage to him.

iii. Early Religious Career

Though saturated with the principles of Chishtia, Suharwardia, and Madaria Orders of Sufism for a long time, he did not accept anyone as his spiritual guide and says that he wandered about for twelve years in search of *Shahūd* through one who was absolutely free from worldly tinge. The writings of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar and Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar were a source of inspiration to him and he used frequently to

1. Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi in *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. 51) (Calcutta, 1931) has taken this wrong date from *Khazinat-ul-Asfia* and *Khazinat-ul-Ansab* cited earlier.

2. *Fusul-i-Masudla* and *Tazkirat-ul-Muttaqin*.

keep quarantine at the cell of Maulana Muzaffar Balkhi¹ in the shrine of the great saint of Bihar-Sharif.

iv. Initiation into the Shuttari Order

He did not at first feel attracted towards his future spiritual guide, Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari, when the latter had come to Bihar during the course of his journey to Bengal and Jaunpur before proceeding to Mandu where he finally settled down and died. The challenge of Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari to every 'seeker' to come to him to teach or be taught principles of Taubid, and his pompous tours made perhaps an unfavourable impression upon him at first. At long last, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends and fellow workers, such as Ahmad Muhammad, Abdul Hakim, and Shaikh Saadullah to accompany them from Bihar to Mandu. For three days the saint of Mandu took no notice of him and for several months in hot summer the corpulent Shaikh Qazin waited daily upon Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari performing obeisance and perspiring from head to foot due to the intense heat of the hilly region. At last one day to test his earnestness he was instructed to practise incessant fasting called Tai. In the meanwhile, another occasion arose to test his devotion to duty. His companion, Abdul Hakim Bihari, fell so seriously ill that no hope was left of his life. Through his able nursing and blessings of the saints and grace of God, he, however, recovered. Though still very weak, he requested Shaikh Qazin to take him back to Bihar so that he might see his children. The Shaikh was torn between two sentiments, the desire to complete his period of probation under the saint of Mandu so as to attain his ends in the next world and the sense of duty and fidelity to a fellow man in this world. He told the saint of Mandu that though he had left his small children and covered a distance of about 500 *koses* to learn his spiritual lessons from the addressee, he had decided to discharge his duty by his friend, and he was permitted to do so. On the fourth day of the journey, however, his friend gladly allowed him to return to Mandu to complete his austerities. He was well received and on the night of Friday, the 4th of Zilbijja, 881 A. H., he was formally initiated in the Order of the Shuttaris and received instructions in 'Khas-ul-Khas'. He was then directed to return to Bihar and continue his mission.

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1. A very learned and pious saint of royal extraction whose *Maknubat* contains, among other things, correspondence with Sultan Ghiasuddin of Bengal. He died in 788 A. H. or 1386 A. D.

The saint of Basarh has narrated the whole of this episode in the 21st and 35th of about 60 chapters of his book so as to show how a disciple has to undergo many trials and tribulations and how he has to develop a genuine feeling of devotion to his spiritual guide.

v. *Propagation of Islam in North Bihar*

During the remaining 20 years of a fairly long life Shaikh Qazin was engaged in propagating Islam and instructing people in the principles and practices of the Shuttari School of Sufism in Bihar. The present-day Vaishali district, which represents the Hajipur subdivision of the old Muzaffarpur district, was the special field of his activity. He died on the 24th of Shawwal, 901 A. H.=1495 A. D.

vi. *Tomb at Basarh*

It is at Basarh, on the historic site of ancient Vaiṣālī, and "about 300 yards south-west of the ruined fort",¹ on the top of a huge mound of a stūpa of solid brickwork, about 24 ft. high, with a diameter of 140 ft. at the base, and approached by a long flight of steps on the south, that his tomb and that of his eldest son are still an object of veneration on the part of a large number of people. "This tomb", wrote Cunningham², "is generally believed to be five hundred years old." He was wrongly informed that the saint's name and that of his son were Mir Abdul and Makhdum respectively. An annual fair is held at the ruined Basarh stūpa with the tombs on it on the 9th of the bright fortnight of Chaitra "when men of all ages dance round the holy spot with switches and fans in their hands, chanting a dirge of some kind".³ Cunningham rightly thought this fair to be a pre-Muslim festival as the occurrence of it is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindus and not by the lunar years of the Muslims. It is reasonable to suppose that "the Muslim saint used to take advantage of the annual gathering for preaching the law of Islam to the people".⁴ "The fact that ever since his appearance in this country the fair has been held at his residence and burial place would indicate that he must have been a very celebrated preacher."

1. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XVI (1883).

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

4. Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

vii. Sons, Their Work and Tombs

Shaikh Qazin had three sons and a daughter, all probably born of daughter of the Chishti saint, Syed Zahid¹ alias Shah Badhe, whose place of birth and burial was the town of Saran.

It is on record² that the eldest son of the saint, Makhdum Owais, called Mansur Hallaj Shahid, in his proselytizing zeal, and while attempting to erect a mosque³ on the ruins of another, built earlier, which can still be seen at the foot of the stūpa mound, was killed by a Cheru chief.⁴ His son Shaikh Ali was the founder of the *Khanqah* of Jandaha. Owais's fourth lineal descendant was Diwan Ruknuddin Shah Ali⁵, the saint of Jandaha (d. 1117 A. H.).

The second son, Abdur Rahman Shuttari, who lies buried on an elevated ground in Saraiyaganj Muhalla of Muzaffarpur, had as his chief disciple, Jalaluddin Hafiz Nasibi⁶, also of Saran.

The third and the most famous son and the spiritual guide, among others, of Shah Taj Manjhan of Patna, was Abul Fatah Hadiatullah

1. "His head never bent except in meditation, his eyes chose nothing better than shedding tears, he had no attachment in his bosom except the burning love of God, and he called to his mind nothing except the recollections of God."
2. *Nasab-nama-i-Maner* : "He died a martyr at Bania-Basarh in the fight against the Cherus."
3. Muhammad Hamid Kuaraishi, *op. cit.*
4. Tradition about the former occupation of a considerable part of the regions in the old districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran by Cheru Chai tribes was very strong till the time of Cunningham who found traces of the ruins of the forts and towers of Cheru Rajas in Cherand Chapra, Dighwa-Dubauli, Jauridih and elsewhere. See A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XVI.
5. See the article in *Calcutta Review*, 1891.
6. Known also as Hafiz Manjhan Jalal Nasibi. He lies buried at village Sepaha in Saran district. He was one of the spiritual guides of the celebrated Shah Diwan Daulat (d. 1017 A. H.) whose mausoleum at Maner (Patna district) is perhaps the most magnificent in the whole province of Bihar. For a description see *Maasir-ul-Umra* and *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*, Patna Session, 1930, pp. 123-141.

Sarmast who was born in 882 A. H. (A. D. 1477) and died in 946 A. H. (A. D. 1539) and lies buried at Tankol, near Hajipur, on the bank of the Gandak. He was married to the daughter of Shah Muhammad Sharif of Chandhaus, a descendant of the Sufi saint, Zainuddin Suharwardi. Emperor Humayun, on the occasion of his conquest of Gaur, is said to have met him and wanted to take him to Agra, but owing to his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah he could not do so. We are told by Mulla Nasir¹ that the emperor had bestowed a considerable property in Tirhut on the saint for the expenses of the wayfarers etc., which was confiscated from his son, Rukn Alam, by Sher Shah. Shaikh Zahur Hazur Hamid Hazur was the chief Khalifa of the saint of Tankol. It is through him and his disciples that the influence of the Shuttari Order spread far and wide in the country and elsewhere.

III. Thoughts and Teachings

i. Who is an Ideal Sufi ?

Indeed, there were many personages amongst the descendants and followers of Shaikh Qazin of Basarh who carried on his legacy and established their reputation for piety and learning. He himself set a good example and laid down noble ideals for his followers. There is nothing startlingly novel or in any way heterodox in his teachings. He says that the perfect state of a Darvesh is that in which his outward forms and practices are in accord with the positive religious commandments of Shariat and his inward part (heart) is full of eternal truths or *Haqiqat*. He follows the path of truth or *Tariqat* and possesses spiritual knowledge or *Marifat*. He likens Shariat to a boat, *Tariqat* to a river, and *Haqiqat* to the pearls. The seeker or Talib follows the code of Divine law, adheres to all that has been affirmed, and shuns all that is forbidden, and purifies himself of all sinful acts such as lies, slander etc. In the 44th chapter which is devoted to *Tariqat*, he writes, among other things, that those who follow the true path refrain not only from all that caters to the senses and passions but avoids even that enjoyment which is permitted. People generally want comfort and affluence, but the true seeker is self-sacrificing and anxious to do all that is possible to fulfil the wants of others at his own expense. If they don't get what they want, they feel pleased; for so long as a man is slave to his own desires, he cannot be the true slave of God. He is free from jealousy, hypocrisy, miserliness and cupidity, pride and self-conceit, anger and

1. *Magabit-i-Aulia*, a Husainabad MS.

revenge, and false display of piety etc. As the prayer of a man with an unclean body but pure clothes can never be acceptable, even so one whose heart entertains evil thoughts, though one's body is clean and pure, can never have a true concentration on God.

For want of space we cannot consider the chapters devoted to *Ishq*, *Mashrab-i-Shuttar* etc., but his observations regarding the ways of many of the so-called Sufis who subordinate the code of the Prophet to the prejudices, manners and customs of the age are well worth our attention. "Such men", he says, "never wish that the people should detect their faults; never will they dare go to the bazar with the long vest, turban and caps on nor will they ever disgrace themselves by going personally to a weaver or cobbler. Self-worshippers, as distinguished from God's worshippers, sit in a corner so as to display themselves as men of rectitude, venerable shaikhs and leaders living retired life. To impress people they put on a sad countenance and make a show of moving their bodies, have sighs crying 'Ah' and then begin to talk of *Sulūk* (advancement in a spiritual life); and like a Mulla who has read only a few pages and a little about the principles of divorce, manumission of slaves, purchase and sale etc. they seem to unfold this thing in such a way as to display their power to explain clearly subtle things. They speak in a subdued voice so that the people may realise that owing to austerities and self-mortifications and reduced dietary, the Shaikh's strength of speech has become diminished and his face has become pale. What a perfect austerity? They make a show of keeping the *Tai* fasting for a few days to show that the Shaikh has voluntarily cut down his meals. If they have to join a feast, they lift their morsels with only two forefingers and observe absolute silence to make people think that the Shaikh is engaged in deep contemplation and meditation. His Eminence the Shaikh is found, day and night, with rosary in hands and with the Quran on the *Rehal*, in front, and with few books on mysticism all around him; on the *Sajjādah* he is sitting on while the devotees are respectfully standing by. Having erected a sort of platform like an idol temple he is seen seated on a tiger skin or an extended prayer carpet, garbed in mystic dress such as a broad-sleeved *Pairāhan* (long robe) or *Hazārmekhī* (a Darvesh's habit closely stitched) or *Mushdandāni* (a garment made of shreds and patches), pallet or a blanket, with a big *Dastār* (turban) on his auspicious head in such a way as to look like a spiritual leader and attract people towards his great self. Men of ordinary run and even gentries kiss the hand of the Shaikh who is beside himself with joy as he considers concourse of people around him as a sign of his greatness, perfection, and nearness to God. His self-deception is like that

of the accursed Satan who was rejected on this very ground. Those who serve as the slipper-bearer of the men of God do discover the subterfuges of ego and their hidden infidelity". In the end, the saintly author says that all that he has written represents his own condition and is based on his personal experiences. He has exposed the fraud and subterfuges of his own self. He concludes with a couplet :

"Those who see through my self-conceit,
even if they be hard drunkards,
they will refrain
from keeping company with me.
Were I to lay bare my real conditions
before a dog,
even that animal
would begin to abstain from me."

ii. Ways of Procuring Lawful Food

Writing about the ways of procuring lawful food so as to sustain life and strength in order to perform special acts of devotion such as *Zikr* (recital), *Aurād* (devotional exercises) etc., the saint makes special mention of dry bread or *Bhāt khushk* (boiled rice) and *Asham Biranj* (rice gruel) with which one can break one's fast and says that one can, without any violence to one's conscience, borrow grain from non-believers, and pay off the debt as soon as one gets something from one's own arable fields or trade. He compares in this connection the state of things obtaining in his own days with that in the time of the celebrated saint of Bihar Sharif whose next-door neighbour, a Hindu grocer, used to supply grain for the expenses of the Khanqah up to the value of 1000 Tankas after which the whole debt was cleared off. "These days," he laments, "such a thing is difficult", and therefore, one has to remain content with only getting a loan of bare necessity which can easily be paid off from grain grown in the field or money acquired through trade or lawful means. At any rate, one should be quite fair and above board in one's dealings with others. It is due to the purity of character as much as to spiritual advancement that a man of God has effectiveness in his prayers.

iii. Real means of attaining God

The author here relates a story which is of cultural importance. Some-

one asked Makhdum Jahanian Syed Jalalul-Haq *Wad Din*¹ as to why when he read and wrote the same thing as the addressee, there was no response to his prayers such as to that of the saint, the latter replied in Hindi: "*Khandā hai phandā kahān ?*" ("The pit is there, but where is the noose?") meaning thereby that the real means of attaining God was wanting.

iv. *Linguistic assimilation in Qazin's book and other Sufi writings*

The Hindi words and expressions occurring in this rare book and in other *Malfuzat* of even an earlier period are extremely valuable. The verb '*Hai*', so characteristic of Khari-Boli, and absent from Prakritic dialects, is significant. It appears to have been directly borrowed from Persian, also an Aryan speech, as is evident from the use of '*Hai*' in old Persian verses. The fact is that we get very good examples of linguistic assimilation in the writings and utterances of the Sufi saints. They utter expressions containing significant Hindustani terms the use of which must have been indispensably necessary for their spiritual work.



1. The present writer has the honour to trace his direct lineal descent from this celebrated saint who died, at the age of 81, in 788 A. H., and lies buried at Uchch in Sindh.



HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF VAISALI AS GIVEN IN THE FIRST MUZAFFARPUR DISTRICT GAZETTEER*

L. S. S. O'MALLEY, I. C. S.

Part One

History of Vaisali to the Muslim Conquest (A. D. 1323)

Prehistoric Period

[12] Muzaffarpur, lying on one of the great lines of Aryan immigration, was occupied at an early period by races of Aryan descent, and according to the legend preserved in Vedic literature, it formed part of the country in which the Videhas settled on their migration from the Punjab. The legend relates that Agni, the god of fire, accompanied the Videhas in their march eastwards from the banks of the Saraswati, and when they came to the broad stream of the Gandak, informed them that their home lay to the east of the river. Thenceforward, the Videhas lived

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- * The material divided here by ourselves into two part, viz., Part I (History) and Part II (Archaeology), has been extracted from L. S. S. O'Malley's *Bengal District Gazetteers : Muzaffarpur (Gazetteer of the Muzaffarpur District)*, The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 1907, pages 12-19 (Chapter II : History) and 138-142, 144, 159-160 (Chapter XV : Gazetteer) respectively. We have not introduced any change, not even in spellings, except the following:—
 - (i) Page numbers have been indicated [within brackets] in bold type. Through this, our readers have been enabled even to refer to the original book itself with exact page number.
 - (ii) Diacritical marks, inadequately indicated, have been completely omitted here to avoid confusion.
 - (iii) Headings and sub-headings given on the margin have been transferred to the main printed space in Part I here. Headings given on the left-hand side of the printed space in the original book have been transferred to the middle of the page here in Part II; also, names of individual villages covered under Basarh have been added as sub-headings in *italics*. Ed.

to the east of the Gandak, where they cleared the marshes, cultivated the virgin soil, and founded a great and powerful kingdom. This kingdom was in course of time ruled over by king Janaka, round whose name a halo of legend clings. Under his rule, according to Hindu mythology, the kingdom of Mithila was the most civilized kingdom in India. His court was a centre of learning and attracted all the most learned men of the time; Vedic literature was enriched by the studies of the scholars who flocked there; his chief priest, Yajnavalka, inaugurated the stupendous task of revising the Yajur Vedas; and the speculations of the monarch himself, enshrined in the sacred works called the Upanishads, are still cherished with veneration by the Hindu community. The centre of this enlightened kingdom was apparently in Tirhut; the capital was Mithila, which is probably identifiable with Janakpur, a short distance to the north-east of the frontier of Muzaffarpur, the name still preserving the memory of this famous scholar-king; while Sitamarhi is sacred to Hindu votaries as the site of the miraculous birth of his daughter Sita.

Early Historic Period

The earliest event, however, which can claim historic reality is the rise of the Vrijjian oligarchical republic, which apparently replaced the old monarchical rule of Videha, while the centre of power shifted from Mithila to Vaisali, the modern Basarh in this district. The Vrijjians included eight confederate clans, of whom the Lichchhavis were the most important. The growing [13] power of the latter brought them into collision with the powerful kingdom of Magadha, the limits of which roughly corresponded at this time with the modern districts of Patna and Gaya. Bimbisara (*cir.* 519 B. C.), the founder of the Magadhan imperial power, had strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful of the neighbouring States, taking one consort from the royal family of Kosala, a kingdom to the west of Tirhut, and another from the influential Lichchhavi clan at Vaisali. His murder by his son, Ajatasatru, involved the parricide in war with the aged king of Kosala, whose sister, the queen of the murdered Bimbisara, is said to have died of grief. This war ending with the complete victory of Ajatasatru, his ambition next induced him to undertake the conquest of the country now known as Tirhut, in which the Lichchhavi clan occupied a prominent position (*cir.* 490 B. C.). The invasion was successful; the Lichchhavi capital, Vaisali, was occupied; and Ajatasatru became master of Tirhut. It is probable* that the invader

* Early History of India, by V. A. Smith.

carried his victorious arms to their natural limit, the foot of the mountains, and that from this time the whole country between the Ganges and the Himalayas became subject, more or less directly, to the suzerainty of Magadha. From this time too dates the foundation of Pataliputra (Patna), as the victor erected a fortress at the village of Patali on the Ganges to curb his Lichchhavi opponents; and the foundations of a city nestling under the shelter of the fortress were laid by his grandson Udaya (cir. 434 B. C.).

Jainism

At the very dawn then of Indian history we catch glimpses of Muzaffarpur as the home of the powerful Lichchhavi clan, the capital of which was the splendid city of Vaisali. Here the religious ferment which so deeply moved the hearts of the dwellers in the Gangetic valley during the sixth century B.C., seems to have centred and Vaisali is intimately connected with the life and teachings both of Buddha and of Mahavira, the founder of Jainism. Like Buddha. Vardhamana*, surnamed Mahavira, who erected the fabric of the Jain system upon the foundation laid by Parsvanatha, was of high aristocratic descent, as his father Siddhartha was the head of the Nata or Naya clan of Kshatriyas who were settled in the Kollaga suburb of the flourishing town of Vaisali. Mahavira is consequently occasionally called the Vesaliya or the man of Vaisali, and in the books of the rival order of the Buddhists he is designated the Nataputta, i. e., the son of the Nata clan of Kshatriyas. Vaisali consisted of three distinct [14] portions, called Vaisali, Kundagama, and Vaniyagama, which formed in the main the quarters inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya and Baniya castes respectively; at the present day it has entirely disappeared, but the sites of its three component parts are still marked by the villages of Basarh, Basukund, and Baniya. While it existed, it had a curious political constitution. It was an oligarchic republic, its government being vested in a Senate, composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, and presided over by an officer who had the title of King and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-Chief. Siddhartha was married to a daughter of Chetaka, the then governing King of the republic; and their son Mahavira was born in or about 599 B. C. He was, therefore, a very highly connected personage, which accounts for the fact that, like his rival Buddha, he addressed himself in the earlier years of his ministry chiefly to the members of the aristocracy and to his fellow-castemen, the

* Jainism and Buddhism, by Dr. Hoernle, Calcutta Review, April 1898.

Kshattriyas. He seems to have lived in the parental house, till his father died, and his elder brother succeeded to what principality they owned. Then, at the age of thirty, with the consent of the head of his house, he entered the spiritual career, which in India, just as in Europe, offered a field for the ambition of younger sons.

In Kollaga, the Naya clan kept up a *chaitya* or religious establishment, called Duipalasa, which doubtless was similar to those existing in the present day, consisting of a park or garden, enclosing a temple and rows of cells for the accommodation of monks. The Duipalasa *chaitya* was kept up for the accommodation of the monks of Parsvanath's order, to whom the Naya clan professed allegiance; and Mahavira, on adopting the monk's vocation, would naturally retire to it and join the order of Parsvanatha. But the observances of that order do not seem to have satisfied his notions of stringency, one of the cardinal points of which was absolute nudity, and after a trial of one year, he left it, and discarding his clothes, travelled about North and South Bihar. Here in a long wandering life of 42 years, he succeeded in gathering a considerable following of monks, known as the Nirgranthas, or men who discarded all social bonds, who after Mahavira's death (c. 490 B. C.) became known as the Jains.

Buddhism

About the same time, Buddha was engaged in his ministry in the same tract of country. His first visit to Vaisali was in answer to the invitation of the inhabitants, who sent a deputation to him, imploring him to deliver them from a frightful pestilence which was desolating their country. Buddha responded to the [15] call, and coming to Vaisali drove away the plague and made numerous converts. After this, he revisited the city during the fifth year of his ministry, living in the Kutagara or two-storied hall of the Mahavana, a great forest stretching away to the north of Vaisali. It was here that he established the Buddhist order of nuns, reluctantly yielding, at the intercession of his cousin, Ananda, to the request of his widowed mother that women might be admitted to the congregation. To Vaisali again he returned on his journey to Kusinara and to death. The traditional account of this journey states that Buddha travelled leisurely from Pataliputra to Vaisali, halting twice on the way—first at Kotigrama and next at Nadiyagrama; the first of which was probably* at or close to Hajipur and the second in the vicinity of Lalganj. After his

* See Vaisali, by V. A. Smith, Journal R. A. S., 1902, pp. 267-288.

arrival in the city, Buddha stayed in the mango grove of a famous courtesan named Amrapali, teaching and exhorting his disciples, and then moved to her house, refusing the subsequent invitation of some grandees of the town. At Vaisali he spent his last days, expounding the law to Ananda and exhorting his disciples, and then, having foretold his death, passed on to Kusinara.

Though the Lichchhavis had been defeated by Ajatasatru, the powerful Vrijjian confederacy does not appear to have been broken up; and Vaisali continued to be the centre of political as well as of religious life north of the Ganges. It contained a stupa erected by the Lichchhavis over some of the relics of Buddha's body, and another enshrining some of the remains of his great disciple, Ananda; it was crowded with Buddhist monasteries; and, according to the account left by Hiuen Tsiang some centuries later, both within and without the city and all round it the sacred places were so numerous that it would be difficult to recount them all. It was here that the second great Council of the Buddhist Church was held, a Council necessitated by the laxity of the Vrijjian monks, who asserted the legality of certain relaxations of the rule of discipline. The Buddhist community became split up into two contending parties—the strict and the lax, and a Council became necessary for the restoration of order. The points in dispute were discussed at this Council, which is said to have consisted of 700 monks; but the local monks failed to convince the assembled brotherhood, and all the relaxations claimed by them were finally prohibited. This second Council,* it has been [16] said, stands in a relation to Buddhism very similar to that which the Council of Nicaea bears to Christianity.

Visits of Chinese Pilgrims

For several centuries after this we have little record of the history of the district. It continued to form part of the territory of the Lichchhavis, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mauryan empire; and Vaisali, lying as it did on the royal road from Pataliputra to Nepal, was visited by Asoka, who enriched it by a stupa and lion pillar, though on the other hand he is said to have robbed it of part of the sacred relics of Buddha. We know nothing however of its history during the next few centuries, with the exception of a traditional+ raid by Kanishka, the Kushan King

* Buddhism by Monier Williams. Professor Oldenberg places the date of the Council at 380 B. C.; but the accounts which profess to give its date and the details of its proceedings are very contradictory. See *Manual of Indian Buddhism* by Kern, pp. 103-109.

+ See Reports Arch. Surv. India, Vol. XVI, pp. 8-11.

(cir. 120 A. D.) who carried off to Gandhara the famous alms-bowl of Buddha. It was visited by Fa Hian during his pilgrimage through India in the beginning of the 5th century A. D., but it is not until the visit of Hiuen Tsiang about 635 A. D. that we find any detailed account of the country. He describes the kingdom of Vaisali as about 1,000 miles (5,000 *li*) in circuit; the soil was rich and fertile, and flowers and fruit were produced in abundance, the mango and plantain being especially plentiful. The climate was agreeable and temperate, the manners of the people were pure and honest, and they loved religion and highly esteemed learning. To the north-east of Vaisali was the Vrijjian kingdom, some 800 miles (4,000 *li*) in circuit, stretching away from east to west in a long narrow strip. The capital, Chansuna (Janakpur?), was in ruins, and the inhabitants, who were of a quick and hasty temper, were mostly heretics who did not follow the law of Buddha.

Hiuen Tsiang's account of Vaisali shows that even there Buddhism was on the decline. Heretics and believers were living together, and he found the remains of hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, but only three or four were inhabited, and those sheltered but a few monks. The Jains were numerous, as might be expected in the birthplace of their religion; and Brahmanical Hindus worshipped at more than a score of shrines. The city of Vaisali itself was about 12 miles (60 or 70 *li*) in circuit, the citadel, or palace precincts, alone extending over nearly a mile, but it was to a great extent in ruins. The buildings were in an advanced state of decay, the forests had been uprooted, and the numerous lakes and ponds had shrank into offensive swamps. "At every step", he wrote, "commanding sites and old foundations are seen, which the succession of seasons and lapse of years have entirely destroyed."*

Medieval Period

[17] From the time of Hiuen Tsiang there is practically no historical information regarding North Bihar until the ascendancy of the Pala dynasty (800-1200 A. D.). At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit Muzaffarpur must have formed part of the dominions of Harsha, the powerful ruler of Northern India between 606 and 648 A. D., who exercised a certain amount of control as suzerain over the whole of Bengal as far east as Assam, and possessed full sovereign power over Western and Central Bengal. But after his death, the local Rajas no doubt asserted their

* Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 66-80.

independence, and Tirhut was probably under the rule of petty potentates. Early in the ninth century Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty, became ruler of Bengal, and towards the close of his life (*cir.* 850 A. D.) he extended his power westward over Bihar. In the 11th century Tirhut was wrested from the Palas by the ambitious kings of Chedi—a tract corresponding to the present Central Provinces; and in 1019 A. D. it acknowledged the sovereignty of Gangeyadeva,* who aimed at attaining paramount power in Northern India. The end of that century witnessed the rise of the power of the Sena kings, who not only wrested their eastern provinces from the Palas, but also appear to have carried their arms northwards to North Bihar. Mithila formed the north-western province of the kingdom of the Senas, and their rule in this part of Bihar is still commemorated by the use of the Lakshmana Sena era, the first current year (1119-20 A. D.) of which was apparently the date of either the accession or the coronation of Lakshmana Sena, the last great king of the Sena dynasty.

Muhammadian Period

In the beginning of the 13th century the tide of Muhammadian conquest swept over Bihar, but it does not appear to have reached far north of the Ganges; for it is not till the time of Ghias-ud-din Iwas, the Muhammadian Governor of Bengal between 1211 and 1226, that we learn that he carried the banner of Islam into the territories of the Raja of Tirhut, which had never before been subdued, and compelled him to pay tribute. This appears, however, to have been rather a successful invasion than an effectual conquest of the country; for a local dynasty of Hindu kings was established about this time at Simraon in the north-east corner of the Champaran district, and these kings succeeded in maintaining their rule over Tirhut for over a century, until the invasion of Tughlak Shah in 1323 finally put an end to their independence.

Simraon Dynasty

Of the earlier kings of this dynasty, we have only traditional accounts. Its founder was one Nana or Nanyupa Deva, [18] who is said to have established himself at Simraon, and to have eventually subdued the whole of Mithila and to have overcome the king of Nepal. Tradition relates that one of his sons reigned in Nepal, and the other, Ganga Deva, in Mithila. Here he is credited with having introduced the system of fiscal divisions of *parganas* for the purposes of revenue administration; while a *chaudhri* or headman was appointed in each *pargana* to collect

* Bendall's History of Nepal, J. A. S. B., Part I, 1903.

the revenue, and a *panchayat* was chosen to settle all disputes. Ganga Deva was succeeded by his son Narsingh Deva, who is said to have had a quarrel with his kinsman, the king of Nepal, the upshot of which was that Mithila and Nepal were separated, never to be united again. Ram Singh Deva, who succeeded his father on the throne, was a pious devotee and a firm patron of sacred literature. Under his auspices, several well-known commentaries on the Vedas were compiled; rules were framed for the guidance of Hindus in their religious and social observances; and an officer was appointed in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the working of these new canons of conduct. Various reforms in the system of internal administration are also attributed to this king. In every village a police officer was appointed whose duty it was to make a daily report of all occurrences worthy of note to the *chaudhri* or head revenue-collector of the *pargana*; the latter being assigned, in return for his services, a certain quantity of land, the produce of which was appropriated by him and his heirs in office. To the same period, too, is assigned the rise of the system of *patwaris* or village accountants, who were, it is said, paid at the rate of Rs. 10 a month from the village funds.

On the death of Ram Singh Deva, his son, Sakti Singh, ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king. His son Hara Singh Deva, the last of the line, is said to have prepared records of the caste subdivisions of the Brahmins and Karna Kayasths within his dominions. Fortunately with this king we are on more certain ground than that of tradition. In 1323 the Emperor Tughlak Shah led his victorious forces into Tirhut on his march back from the defeat of Bahadur Shah, the rebellious Governor of Bengal. The fort of Hara Singh was taken, and the king himself fled northwards, and in his turn conquered the valley of Nepal, though he does not seem to have maintained any effectual authority over it. As Professor Bendall* [19] says: "Until more evidence is forthcoming, it seems safer to regard Hara Singh and his ancestors, who reigned in Tirhut, Simraon and also possibly other parts of the Nepal *Tarai*, as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all."

Thakur Dynasty

With the flight of Hara Singh, Tirhut became a dependency of the empire of Delhi, and Tughlak Shah placed it under Kamesvara Thakur, the founder of the Thakur dynasty, which continued to rule over Tirhut till early in the 16th century.

* Bendall's History of Nepal, J. A. S. B., Part I, 1903.

Part Two

Archaeological Remains at Vaisali

BASARH

Basarh

[138] Village in the north-west corner of the Hajipur subdivision, situated 20 miles north-west of Hajipur in $25^{\circ} 59' N.$ [139] and $85^{\circ} 8' E.$ Population (1901) 3,527. Basarh has been identified with the ancient Vaisali, the capital of the powerful confederacy of the Lichchavis. It was thrice visited by Buddha; it was the scene of the second great Buddhist Council; and it long remained a stronghold of Buddhism. Vaisali was equally sacred to the Jains as the birthplace of Buddha's contemporary and rival, Vardhamana Mahavira, the founder of Jainism. For a more detailed account of its history, see Chapter II.

Little is now left to recall its ancient greatness, the principal remains consisting of a huge mound known locally as the fort (*garh*) of Raja Visal : the close correspondence of the name of this eponymous local chieftain with the name of the city is obvious. The following description of the remains, as they existed in 1871, is slightly condensed from General Cunningham's account :—"The remains consist of a large deserted fort, and a ruined brick stupa. The fort is a large brick-covered mound of earth, with round towers at the four corners; and the whole is surrounded by a ditch. The ruined ramparts along the edge, and four towers at the corners, are somewhat higher than the mass of the mound, which has a general elevation of from 6 to 8 feet above the country. The main entrance was in the middle of the south face, where there still exists a broad embankment across the ditch, as well as a passage through the rampart. In the northern face there was probably only a postern gate, as there is no passage through the rampart, and no trace of any embankment across the ditch, excepting the fact that the only dry part of the ditch is on this face. The only building within the fort is a small brick temple of modern date.

"Outside the south-west angle of the fort, and about 1,000 feet distant, there is a ruined mound of solid brickwork, 23 feet 8 inches in height above the fields. The whole of the top has been levelled for the reception of Musalman tombs, of which the largest, ascribed to Mir Abdal, is said to be 500 years old. On the south edge of the mound there is a magnificent widespreading banyan tree, supported on numerous trunks, which shades the whole of the tombs. On the same side also a flight of

steps leads down to the village of Basarh. This brick mound is the ruin of one of the stupas or solid towers of Vaisali, of which so many are described by Hiuen Tsiang. 'Both within and without and all round the town of Vaisali', says he, 'the sacred monuments are so many that it would be difficult to enumerate them'. It is much to be regretted that the presence of the Musalman tombs on the top of this ancient stupa effectually precludes any attempt at excavation. An annual fair is held at [140] the Basarh stupa in the month of Chait, when many thousands of people assemble at the shrine of Mir Abdal. As the occurrence of this fair is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindus and not by the lunar year of the Muhammadans, I conclude that the festival was established long before the time of the Musalman saint. I would, therefore, as the fair is held beside the ruined stupa, connect the festival with some celebration in honour of Buddha, or of one of his disciples."

Nineteen years later General Cunningham found that the walls had entirely disappeared, but the ramparts and ditches still remained. The fort now forms an elevated piece of land, of oblong shape, almost one mile in circumference. The longest sides run from north to south, about 1,700 feet long, and the shorter ones from east to west, about 800 feet in length. It is surrounded by a ditch, 125 feet broad, where water still exists in some places, but the land is almost entirely under cultivation. The height of the plateau from the bottom of the ditch is 15 feet on the average. The surface of the fort is undulating, with a well-marked deep depression a little north of the centre, and with two smaller depressions running through the centre, from north to south and from east to west. To the south, an embankment still exists, evidently the remains of the high road leading to the fort. There are many holes in the surface made by the villagers digging for bricks or seeking treasure, but there are no surface indications of any structural remains. In the south-western corner stands a modern temple containing some curious brass images, and the ground round it has been fenced off and is cultivated by the priests. A modern temple west of the village, near the tank called the Bawan Pokhar, contains some mediaeval statues said to have been dug out of the tank. In the neighbourhood are several fine sheets of water and a large number of small tanks. Local tradition states that there were once 52 tanks, and that Basarh was the residence of the Puranic Bali Raja. Vishnu appeared here in his fourth incarnation in the shape of a dwarf, and asked the Bali Raja for as much ground as he could cover with his three feet. Two feet covered the heaven and earth, and the third he placed on the head of the Bali Raja, and sent him to hell as a punishment for his overweening pride. The natives of the

place say that the "*bawan pokhar*" or 52 tanks mark the scene of this occurrence. General Cunningham however points out that the abundance of tanks is a common feature of Buddhist sites.

Excavations were carried out in the fort by Doctor Bloch, Archaeological Surveyor, Bengal Circle, in 1904, and remains of [141] masonry buildings were found in every place explored. Some of them were just below the surface and did not go further than a few feet; these buildings cannot have been very old, and afford some evidence of the place having been inhabited only a few centuries ago. Others, which were found at a depth of about 5 feet, reaching generally as far as 9 or 10 feet down, probably represent the remains of the ruined buildings seen by Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century A. D. There is evidence that they go back to at least 300 A. D., but they may have been still older. The foundations of the old buildings only have remained, and they show that as a rule the rooms and chambers were remarkably small. The floors were of concrete with a layer of bricks; the houses themselves were tiled; and the top of the roof must have been crowned by small pinnacles. All the buildings discovered were secular, and no remains of temples were found. Ashes and small fragments of burnt wood were found on all sides, and there is every probability that the place was sacked and plundered.

The most interesting discovery was a large quantity of inscribed seals, over 700 in number. Nearly all were discovered in a room which was in all probability used for the deposit of refuse, as they were found mixed up with broken pottery, bones, burnt rice, ashes and other rubbish. These seals were originally attached to letters or other literary documents, which must have decayed quickly in the damp soil. They belonged partly to officials, partly to private persons, generally bankers and merchants, many of whom belonged to mercantile guilds; and they were entirely secular with the exception of one bearing the mark of a *linga* with a *trīśul* on each side, which is clearly the seal of a temple. Probably this seal bears the oldest figure of a *linga* which has as yet been found in India. Like the rest of the seals, it dates back to the 4th or 5th century A. D. It is a matter of some local interest that the ancient name of Tirhut, Tirabhukti, occurs on two of the seals.

Kolhua

At Kolhua, 3 miles to the north-west of Basarh, there are more remains, all situated on a low mound one mile to the south-east of the village of Bakhra. These consist of a stone pillar surmounted by a lion, a ruined

stupa of solid brick, an old tank, and some small eminences marking the site of ancient buildings. These remains clearly correspond with the account of the remains to the north-west of Vaisali given by Hiuen Tsiang. "To the north-west," he says, "there was a stupa built by Asoka, and a stone pillar, 50 to 60 feet in height, crowned by a lion. To the south of the pillar there was a tank, which had been dug for the use of Buddha, when he dwelt in this place. At a [142] short distance to the west of the tank there was a second stupa, on the spot where the monkeys had offered honey to Buddha. At the north-west corner of the tank there was a statue of a monkey." At Kolhua there is still the lion pillar crowned by a lion; north of it is the brick stupa built by Asoka; and to the south is an ancient brick-faced tank, now called Ram-kund, which evidently is the monkey tank so famous in the history of Buddha. Traces of the minor stupas, which Hiuen Tsiang mentions close to it, are still to be found in a number of broken bricks covering the ground south of the tank. The only difference between his account and the existing remains is in the height of the lion pillar, which is little more than 40 feet above water level, but the difference is due to the fact that it has sunk several feet in the sand.

The pillar consists of a monolith supporting a square pedestal, on which is a lion carved in stone; the shaft, which is a single block of polished sandstone, now stands about 22 feet high, and the remainder is below ground owing to the accumulation of rubbish round it. The statue on the top represents a lion, seated facing the north, with his mouth open as if snarling and his tongue slightly protruding. It appears to be undoubtedly one of the six great monolithic pillars erected by Asoka to mark the different stages of the journey to Nepal which he undertook in the 21st year of his reign (249 B.C.), in order to visit some of the holy sites of Buddhism. It bears no inscription, but has been scribbled over by modern visitors; this vandalism is no new feature, as one such rudely chiselled scrawl was left in 1792 by Reuben Burrow, a distinguished mathematician and astronomer, and one of the earliest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

On the low mound close by, which marks the remains of the Asoka stupa, some Buddhist statues of the Pala period are enshrined within a modern brick temple, the best of which is a large image of Buddha seated, wearing a crown and necklace; this image was dug up in an adjoining field. To the west of the pillar are two earthen mounds, called Bhim Sen's baskets, while the pillar itself is known locally as Bhim Sen's *lathi* or club. There are other mounds in the neighbourhood, and extensive remains representing the ruins of Vaisali are scattered all over the country for

several miles round. For further information, see Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I, pp. 54-64, and Vol. XVI, pp. 6-16 and 89-93; and Reports of the Archaeological Surveyor, Bengal Circle, for 1901-02 and 1903-04. Also Vaisali by Vincent A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902.

BAKHRA

[138] A village in the south-east corner of the headquarters subdivision, situated 22 miles south-west of Muzaffarpur. Population (1901) 2,993. It contains a police outpost, saltpetre store, two schools and some temples, and is the residence of a family of influential land-holders said to be the descendants of the *Sadar* Kanungos of Bihar. The large indigo factory of Saraiya is situated a short distance to the east on the banks of the Baya river, across which the Chapra road is carried on a fine bridge of 3 arches. In the adjoining village of Kolhua is an interesting group of remains, consisting of a pillar crowned by a lion, a stupa and ancient tank. The pillar now goes by the name of the Bakhra pillar, probably because it was described as such in 1835 by Mr. Stephenson, who appears to have been one of the first to bring it to notice. For a description of these remains, see the article on Basarh.

HAJIPUR SUBDIVISION

[144] Southern subdivision of the district, lying between 25° 29' and 26° 1' N., and 85° 4' and 85° 39' E., and extending over 798 square miles. The subdivision was formed in 1865, and is divided into three thanas Hajipur, Lalganj and Mahuwa. It contains 1,412 villages and two towns, Hajipur, its head-quarters, situated at the confluence of the Gandak with the Ganges, and Lalganj on the Gandak. The population rose from 714,079 in 1891 to 718,181 in 1901; of these 654,185 are Hindus, 63,931 Muhammadans, and 65 are Christians. The density of the population is 900 to the square mile; the average number of villages and houses per square mile is 1.77 and 176 respectively, and the average population of each village is 485.

The subdivision was long the centre of Muhammadan supremacy, and its Musalman rulers have left many traces of their rule. "It is studded with villages and towns bearing Muhammadan names, showing how completely they had identified themselves with the places of their conquest. They not only lived in them, but re-parcelled the lands, giving them their own national names; they not only built new cities, towns and villages, but re-named those in existence. About 65 per cent of the villages in the Hajipur subdivision bear names of Muhammadan origin."*

* "On some names of places in Behar", Calcutta Review, January 1891

TIRHUT

[159] The ancient name for the tract of country bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the river Gandak and on the east by the river Kosi. It comprised the British districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, as well as the strip of Nepal *tarai* which runs between these districts and the lower ranges of the Himalayas. The name is a corruption of Tirabhukti, or the river-side land; and General Cunningham* considers that the term referred to the land lying in the valleys of the Little Gandak and Bagmati rivers. He points out that all the chief places in the country are found upon the banks of the former river, which, he says, must have been the channel of the Great Gandak until the 7th century A. D. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri informs me, however, that, in his opinion, the term means the province bordering on the Ganges, and that the word *bhukti* is often used in the Sena inscriptions in the sense of province during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. He considers that the term is not very ancient, and conjectures that it was first used when the Sena Kings of Bengal conquered the country and settled a number of Bengali Brahmans in it. According to tradition, it means the land in which the three great mythical *homas* (sacrificial fires) were performed—one at the birth of Sita in or near Sitamarhi, [160] the second at Dhanukha at the foot of the Himalayas, when the great celestial bow of Hara was broken by Rama, and the third at Janakpur, the capital of Mithila (now in Nepal) at the marriage of Sita.

APPENDIX

Editor's Explanatory Note

The huge district of Tirhut "was divided into two in 1875, the eastern and larger portion being formed into the district of Darbhanga, and the western portion being constituted the district of Muzaffarpur".¹ "The present volume is, therefore, the first Gazetteer in which Muzaffarpur has been treated as a separate district", says L. S. S. O'Malley in the one-page preface to his *Bengal District Gazetteers: Muzaffarpur (Gazetteer of the Muzaffarpur District)*, published in 1907 by the Government of Bengal. It has 160 pages of text and 8 pages of Index. Being an old authoritative publication and of great historical value, it has become a rare book; hence we have reproduced above relevant materials regarding the history and archaeology of Vaisali included therein.

* Reports Arch. Surv. Ind., Vol. XVI.

1. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Muzaffarpur*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 160.

In 1958 the Government of Bihar published what we may justifiably regard as the second Gazetteer of the Muzaffarpur district (because of its territory having remained intact from 1875 to 1972)¹, under the title *Bihar District Gazetteers : Muzaffarpur (Gazetteer of the Muzaffarpur District)* with P. C. Roy Chaudhury as its author/editor. It has 301 pages of text and 7 pages of Index. We are not reproducing anything from this (e. g., Chapter XII : History, pp. 142-146 and Chapter XVI : Directory, pp. 221, 229-30, 237-241), as it would entail only repetition, and also because better and more analytical material is already available to our readers through the present publication. However, the concluding portion of the entry 'Vaisali (Modern Basarh)' covering pages 240-241 is reproduced here which we believe would be read with interest. Ed.

Vaisali (Modern Basarh)

[240] In 1945 Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., Subdivisional Officer, Hajipur took the initiative and with the help of others founded the Vaisali Sangh with a view to bringing into prominence the ruins of Vaisali and to redeem it from the neglect. Every year on the birth-day of Mahabir (i. e., *Chait Sudi* 13) the Vaisali festival is held under the auspices of the Vaisali Sangh. The Sangh also intended to establish the Vaisali Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Prakrit and Jainology, to provide facilities for higher studies and original researches in Prakrit and Jain learning in all their branches and to prepare and publish critical editions and translations of the hitherto unpublished Prakrit and Jain literature.² The Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Bihar Circle, had made excavations in 1950 which led to important finds. Sri S. A. Shere, Curator of Patna Museum, writes as follows :—"The vessels found at Vaisali are mostly red wares with red slip. Fragments having leaf design showing admixture of mica flakes and decorated with "rain drop" pattern are interesting specimens of this collection. The use of mica in earthenwares to impart lustrous surface may be [241] common in those days as articles found in Pataliputra and Patna also show the same characteristic. Some of the fragments have been found to be ornamented and decorated in high relief. There are specimens which are decorated with incised lines and geometrical design. There are also some yellow, green, brown, grey and

1. The district of Muzaffarpur was trifurcated into Muzaffarpur, Vaisali and Sitamarhi in 1972-73. Ed.
2. The state has since sponsored an Institute for these objects at Vaisali. [P. C. Roy Chaudhury]

black polished potsherds such as the beautiful fragment of glazed dish the upper surface of which shows pattern of radiating rays with border. Its colour is yellow ground with green and brown lines having plain light yellow colour for the outer surface. There are fragments which have blue, black glaze. Some of the grave wares have black slip and are highly polished. There are dishes which have a painted base and rim" (*Homage to Vaisali*, p. 82). While repairing the road at Kharauna Pokhar an ancient concrete road has been exposed to view and it was probably the royal road connecting Vanijgram and the Garh. Vaisali Museum has been built by the Vaisali Sangh at Chak Ramdas. There is a valuable collection of the local finds made through community efforts.





THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSONALITY OF VAIṢĀLĪ

Dr. SITA RAM ROY, M. A., Ph. D.

Even today if one moves around the vicinity of Vaiṣālī (25° 58' 20" North Latitude and 85° 11' 30" East Longitude), North Bihar, one is amazed to find a number of existing remains of the hoary antiquity at the site. The ancient site of Vaiṣālī, at present, falling under the jurisdiction of two districts of north Bihar, viz., Vaishali and Muzaffarpur, covers a vast area represented by modern villages of Basukund, Kamman Chhapra, Basarh, Baudhatola, Lalpura, Konsa, Dharahara, Chakramdas, Bania, Ufraul, Kolhua, Bakhra etc.

Antiquarian Remains

The important antiquarian remains at the site include the following :—

- (a) The birthplace of Mahāvīra, the twentyfourth Jaina Tirthaṅkara, located in village Basukund.
- (b) A four-headed Śivaliṅga on black basalt with an inscription in the Gupta Brāhmī script at Kamman Chhapra.
- (c) Remains of the defence wall of the ancient city of Vaiṣālī still traceable from the village of Konsa to Dharahara, about two kilometres south of Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh.
- (d) Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh :—A fairly high land covering a large area located at Basarh is called Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh. This site has already yielded numerous antiquities as a result of archaeological operations by different scholars.
- (e) A black-basalt statue of Kārttikeya, belonging to the Pāla period, enshrined in a temple called Harikatora at Basarh.
- (f) A dargah on the remains of a stupa, located to the south-west of Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh, locally known as Miran Ki Dargah but it is, in fact, the Dargah of Sheikh Qazin.
- (g) An old temple on the north bank of a pond, locally called Bauna Pokhar, enshrining several black-basalt images of Gupta and Pāla periods.
- (h) An ancient statue of a Jaina Tirthaṅkara, previously in the old temple of Bauna Pokhar, now enshrined in a newly-built temple nearby to the west of the old one.

(i) Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī, where Lichchhavi Rājās took bath at the time of their coronation, now known as 'Kharauna Pokhar' located at the boundary of Basarh and Chakramdas.

(j) Horse-race tank (Ghordaur Pokhar) located at the boundary of Basarh and Chakramdas, where, it is said, horse-races used to take place in ancient Vaiṣālī.

(k) Old ponds :—Vaiṣālī is full of old ponds. From the Bauna Pokhar one may infer that there were at least fiftytwo ponds, and that is why one pond is known as Bauna Pokhar, that is, the *Bāvanvān* or the fiftysecond Pokhar. Even today sixteen tanks are traceable; these are known as (i) Ghordaur, (ii) Bauna Pokhar, (iii) Kharauna Pokhar, (iv) Gangasagar, (v) Gaya Pokhar, (vi) Hari Pokhar, (vii) Kunsā Pokhar, (viii) Chaur, (ix) Khanka, (x) Ram-khiki, (xi) Chandraiya Pokhar, (xii) Choghanda Pokhar, (xiii) Chatra Pokhar, (xiv) Kankata Pokhar, (xv) Purenā, and (xvi) Dakhini.

(l) The Buddha Stūpa, built on corporeal relics of Lord Buddha himself, located to the north of Kharauna Pokhar.

(m) Excavated sites at Chakramdas where ceramic examples of black-and-red ware belonging to the 10th Century B. C. were picked up in course of archaeological excavations.

(n) A four-headed Śivaliṅga, belonging to the Pāla period, enshrined in a modern temple at Bania. This Śivaliṅga possesses no inscription.

(o) A stūpa near Aśoka pillar at Kolhua.

(p) A lion-headed Aśoka pillar without any inscription at Kolhua, about 22' high from the ground level.

(q) Markaṭahrada (Monkey pond), just to the south of the Aśoka pillar, said to have been dug in the memory of the incident in which Lord Buddha was offered honey by monkeys.

(r) Neuri Nala :—The dry bed of an ancient river traceable to the west of the village of Kolhua.

(s) Bhimsen-kā-Pallā, represented by two earthen stūpas, located to the north-west of the Aśoka pillar.

(t) Marpasāuna, a memorial stūpa, located to the north-west of Virpur Chaur.

(u) Besides, many remains, seen by Fabien and Hiuen Tsang, not traceable at present.

It was J. Stephenson, who, for the first time, cast his glance at Vaiṣālī in 1834 and wrote an article based on explorations which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1835. However, the site had to wait for a few decades for excavations.

I. A. Cunningham's Excavations

Major-General Alexander Cunningham,¹ the first Director-General of Archaeology in India, in connection with his explorations, camped twice at Vaiṣālī, once in 1861-64 and next in 1881. Cunningham's work was concentrated at and near the Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh and the Aśoka Pillar. He examined and identified the site with the ancient Vaiṣālī. Rājā Viśāla kā Garh was measured and examined in detail by that great archaeologist. At his time the Garh was 1580' long and 750' wide and had towers at all the four corners; none of those towers is now in existence. The tower on the north-western corner was about 12' high from the surrounding ground level. The Garh, which was surrounded by a waterful moat (although the northern part of the moat was dry), had an entrance from the south and also a *bund* over the moat on the south itself. Still there is an entrance from the south, but the moat is already filled up, the signs of which can be traced with great difficulty.

Cunningham saw the Dargah of Sheikh Qazin, which was known as Miran ki Dargah even in those days, and he mistook it to be the stūpa which was built over the corporeal relics of the Buddha. Besides, this great explorer met with a stūpa and a viḥāra to the south of the city, which were donated to the Buddha by the famous Āmrapālī. Cunningham also came across the ruins of that stūpa where the Tathāgata had foretold his mahāparinirvāṇa. This great archaeologist succeeded in locating several remains which included the stūpa built in the memory of that spot where the mother was recognised by her thousands of sons, the stūpa representing the practice-spot of the Buddha, the stūpa constructed on the site where the Buddha used to explain the religious scriptures, the stūpa made on the half corporeal remains of Ānanda and a few others.

Cunningham had seen a *melā* (religious assemblage of people) which used to be held near Miran ki Dargah in the month of Chaita even long before the time of Sheikh Qazin, the concerned Muslim saint of the said Dargah. The *melā*, in question, may have had association with the Buddha or with some important disciple of the Great Teacher or with Vaishnavism, because the date of the *melā* is based on the solar calculation. Cunningham, aiming at the modern Bauna Pokhar, mentions that there is a lake to the

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vols. I and XVI, Calcutta.

west of Rājā Viśāla kā Garh, and there is an island in the eastern part of the lake. The island has a Śiva temple possessing numerous ancient idols.

At last Cunningham mentions that the Aśoka pillar, about 18' high from the ground level, was in the courtyard of the house of a mendicant. The land around the pillar was excavated to a depth of 14', but even then great archaeologist could not be able to reach its end. Since the sub-soil water appeared, the excavator could not dig further deep. Cunningham could be able to see an inscription in shell-character on the pillar below 14' deep from the ground level. The radius of the pillar measured 38.7" at the top and 44.2" near the water level. It was reported to Cunningham by the local people that a certain European gentleman had also dug around the Aśoka pillar, but he too did not reach its end. Further, he was reported that a medical doctor of Muzaffarpur had done some operations near the ruined stūpa just to the north of the Aśoka pillar, and he too could not find any object worth mentioning. Many visitors to the site have inscribed their names on this pillar. Of such names, the earliest are "G. H. Barlow, 1780" and "Reuben Burrow, 1792".

II. T. Bloch's Excavations in 1903-04

The next archaeologist, who carried on archaeological activities at Vaiṣālī in 1903-4, was T. Bloch,¹ Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, then posted at the Patna Circle. He surveyed an area of 24 square miles of Vaiṣālī and selected Rājā Viśāla kā Garh for archaeological excavations with a view to ascertaining the antiquity of the site.

Bloch laid out as many as eight trenches and found the brick remains at a depth of five to ten feet from the ground level. He considered those brick remains to be Gupta, because numerous terracotta seals and sealings bearing inscriptions in the Gupta Brāhmī script were unearthed from that level. From the sealing strata of the brick remains were exposed the building remains belonging to the later period. This level yielded also a coin belonging to Hussain Shah of Jaunpur.

The excavations of Bloch revealed that the brick buildings had rooms of different dimensions, viz., 23' × 15', 14' × 8', 10' × 8' etc. He came across a 4' wide brick platform made of one course of bricks, and all around it a row of vertical bricks was fixed up. The bricks used in the buildings measured 16½" × 10" × 2". The excavator met with a clear sign of a 3' wide door. Of the ring-wells, traced out by Bloch, each had a

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1903-04* (Calcutta, 1906).

radius of two feet. These wells served either drinking purposes or they were soak-pits or they were used as storages for grains. The depth of two such wells could be traced to a depth of more than twentyfour feet, because the excavator could not dig deeper due to the appearance of sub-soil water. Near the ringwells there were remains of a residential building; one of its rooms measured $24' \times 14'$. The floor of the room was made of one course of bricks paved with *kankars*. Bloch did detect the remains of drains in the residential buildings. He could not come across any religious building. However, he picked an image of Gaṇeśa. From the discovery of carved bricks, tiles, and finials, one could infer that the superstructure of the buildings was a tiled one. According to Bloch, such buildings belonged to the common people, and a small part of them seemed to have been the outskirts of the royal palace. Tiles, discovered by Bloch, were of two dimensions; one measured $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$ and the other $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. As no remains of wood were met with, naturally one can conclude that the roof of the then structure did not combine wooden material in it. Bloch has mentioned that the floor of the buildings contained cement, but it is not a fact. Really it was made of only brick and *kankars*. The excavations of 1950 and 1958-60 at the site also did not reveal any such evidence.

The most important discovery of Bloch was that of seven hundred and twenty seals impressed on one thousand one hundred earthen surface. Of these seals, those bearing the names of Dhruvasvāmini, Ghaṭotkacha, Śreṣṭhi-nigama and other officials were noteworthy; and those bearing the impressions of Pādukā, kalāśa, chakra and śaṅkha were also not less important. Besides, religious and individual seals and sealings were also amongst them.

Other antiquities, discovered by Bloch, included terracotta figurines, toys, balls, whorls, ivory lamp, copper bowl, fragment of an iron knife, beads of precious stones, bangles of conch and shell pin. Besides, mention may be made of the discovery of four wheels (chakras), which were dated to pre-Gupta times by Bloch. The designs on one of the wheels resembled those on the gold plate found in association with the Buddha's relics at Piprahwa.

III. D. B. Spooner's Excavations in 1913-14

Encouraged by the discovery of Bloch, another enthusiastic archaeologist, named D. B. Spooner¹, also concentrated his work on Rājā Viśālākā Garh with a view to locating the royal palace, identifying Basarh and its neighbourhood as ancient Vaiṣālī, and unearthing as many antiquities along with seals as possible.

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1913-14* (Calcutta, 1917).

Spooner neither found out the royal palace nor did he come across such antiquities as would prove Basarh as Vaiśālī, but he got numerous antiquities along with seals and sealings. Where Bloch did not consider any antiquarian remains earlier than fourth century A. D., there Spooner came across the antiquities even belonging to the third century B. C.

Spooner laid out three trenches at an untouched space in between the trenches dug out by Bloch and eleven trenches on the north-eastern portion of the Garh. The objective of digging the first set of three trenches was to find out much more ancient objects by digging deeper than what his predecessor (Bloch) had done, and the purpose of digging the second set of eleven trenches was to trace out the existence of any rampart around the Garh. This archaeologist succeeded in finding out antiquities much more ancient than Bloch's collection, but he could not be able to trace out the remains of any rampart.

Amongst the antiquities, discovered by Spooner, mention may be made of the 283 impressions of seals on 235 terracotta surfaces. Besides, terracotta toys and figurines, punch-marked coins of both silver and copper, one copper coin of Kadphises II, bangles of conch and copper, antimony rods of copper, beads of precious stones, terracotta pendants, a gold plate, a stone image of the Buddha, a stone seat with two human feet, bone and terracotta dice etc. were his worthwhile discoveries. Terracotta seals and sealings of Śreṣṭhi, nīgamas, private individuals, and queen Prabhudāmā deserve special mention.

Structural remains, exposed by Spooner included fragmentary foundations of brick walls, and the Śūṅga wall of twelve courses of bricks. Some bricks measured $12'' \times 9'' \times 2''$ and others $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. Tiles and finials were also discovered which confirmed the tiled character of the concerned superstructure.

IV. Excavations in 1950

After about three and a half decades, Shri Krishna Deva,¹ Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna, under the auspices of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha, undertook excavations at Vaiśālī in February 1950, selecting Rāja Viśāla Kā Garh and Chakramdas for his work.

His excavations revealed two periods of the defence-wall of the Garh; the first period had the mud rampart, whereas the second one of bricks was

1. *Vaiśālī Excavations : 1950*, published by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha in 1961.

made on the earlier base of the mud remains. The mud rampart was more than 65' wide and 9' high, and both were ascribed to a period between 300 B. C. and 150 B. C.

As a result of the excavations of the above mentioned two sites, four cultural periods were revealed.

Period I, dated from 500 B. C. to 150 B. C., was divided into two sub-periods. The first sub-period, represented by the N. B. P. and black-and-red wares along with red ware specimens, was met with only at Chakramdas. A few bone pins and other iron objects were also picked up from this sub-period. The second sub-period, dated from 300 B. C. to 150 B. C. and characterised by the absence of black-and-red ware, was considered the first period at Rājā Viśāla kā Garh. Ceramic specimens of this sub-period included N. B. P. W., grey and thick red wares; and of antiquities, mention may be made of bone points, beads of precious stones, terracotta Nāga figurines and other toys and a few iron implements.

Period II, dated from 150 B. C. to A. D. 100, was distinguished by the appearance of punch-marked and cast coins, a stone wheel with the figure of a winged goddess, bangles of conch and terracotta, beads of terracotta and precious stones, terracotta earlobes, copper antimony rods and ceramic specimens represented by N. B. P. and red wares. This period showed the survival of a neolithic celt and the remains of a strong walled house made of a single course of big sized bricks measuring 18" × 10" × 2.5".

In period III, which was dated from A. D. 100 to A. D. 300, the foundation remains of a brick house showed the evidence of *kankar*-ramming. Besides, examples of red ware and beads of stone and terracotta were also unearthed.

Period IV, dated from A. D. 300 to A. D. 500, yielded terracotta figurines and inscribed seals and sealings belonging to the Gupta period and showed the evidence of buildings made of broken bricks.

V. Excavations in 1958-62

The next expedition carried on just eight years later under the leadership of Dr. A. S. Altekar in 1958 and after his sudden demise (November 1959) continued by the present writer till 1962, under the auspices of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute¹ of the Government of Bihar,

1. *Vaiśālī Excavations 1958-1962*, published by the Government of Bihar, Patna, in 1969.

covered the largest area for archaeological activities at Vaiśālī. This time, not only Rājā Viśāla kā Garh and Chakramdas, but Kharauna, Bania, Lalpura, Virpur, Bhimsen-kā-pallā and Marpasauna were also undertaken for archaeological excavations. The objectives of the operations were

- (i) to trace out the boundary wall of the Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī (Kharauna Pokhar),
- (ii) to locate the Buddha relics stūpa,
- (iii) to find out the existence of the defences,
- (iv) to ascertain the cultural sequence of the Rājā Viśāla kā Garh,
- (v) to search out the location of Buddhist vihāras and other monuments, especially Sammatīya Vihāra, where Hiuen Tsang had stayed,
- (vi) to locate the birthplace of Tirthaṅkara Mahāvira, and
- (vii) to know the art of building the mud stūpa.

The above-mentioned excavations revealed that there was a 3' 4" wide brick wall on all the four sides of the slope of the Kharauna Tank which is one of the characteristics of the Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī. About two feet below the wall on the southern side, there was a *kankar*-rammed platform; and copper cast coins and Śuṅga terracotta figurines were unearthed from the pre-platform level.

The excavation of the small mound to the north-east of the Kharauna Tank revealed that under it was a stūpa, built on the corporeal relics of the Buddha himself. The original stūpa was of mud, which was in course of time, enlarged thrice with bricks. From the mid-point of the mud stūpa a soapstone casket containing the Buddha's corporeal relics, one copper punch-marked coin, a small conch, two glass beads and one small piece of gold plate, was found and is now kept safe in the Patna Museum. The location of the stūpa tallies with the description given in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang.

The excavation of the Rājā Viśāla kā Garh revealed three cultural periods of the rampart around the Garh, dating from the Śuṅga to the Gupta times. The mud rampart in period II measured 68' wide at the bottom and 21' broad at the top and was found preserved in 13' height. Inside the Garh, brick structures belonging to the Śuṅga, Kushāṇa and Gupta periods were exposed. The structures of the Śuṅga and Kushāṇa periods were solid and strong whereas those of the Gupta times were of broken bricks. Śuṅga bricks measured 19" × 10" × 3". Military barracks were traced along with the rampart, where Kushāṇa coins, arrow-heads,

spears and other implements of iron were picked up. From the Kushāṇa level worthwhile antiquities included gold and silver ornaments, beads of precious stones and other terracotta objects. Besides, stone weights, beads of semi-precious stones and terracotta seals, sealings and tokens were found from different levels. The discovery of the Painted Grey Ware, although along with the N. B. P. Ware, from this Garh itself was noteworthy.

Both the earthen mounds, locally known as Bhimsen kā Pallā, as the result of excavations, were revealed to have been mud stūpas built on the corporeal relics of some Buddhist saints certainly before the Christian era began. The relics found were preserved in copper pots.

The excavations at Chakramdas revealed two cultural periods. Period I was characterised by the black-and-red ware while Period II was distinguished by the appearance of the N. B. P. Ware along with other associated antiquities.

The excavation at Bania brought to light three cultural periods dating from the early phase of the N. B. P. Ware to the Gupta times. From the Gupta level were exposed the remains of a temple complex. Near the Chaturmukha Mahādeva temple at Bania a few specimens of the black-and-red ware along with the N. B. P. Ware and other associated objects were picked up.

At Lalpura a single cultural deposit, represented by the N. B. P. Ware throughout, was brought to light.

The Virpur excavations revealed three cultural periods distinguished by the (I) black-and-red ware, (II) N. B. P. Ware, and (III) sprinkler ware respectively and falling between 1000 B. C. and A. D. 200.

The operation of the Marpasauna mound revealed that it was probably a memorial stūpa, built sometime between 600 B. C. and 200 B. C. The unearthed antiquities included beads of terracotta, stone weights and earlobes in association with the N. B. P. Ware.

VI. Excavations in 1976 and 1978¹

In 1976 and 1978 the Archaeological Survey of India (New Delhi) carried on excavations at the Kolhua Pillar site and succeeded in getting new evidence from the Kolhua Pillar.

1. This account of the latest excavations in the Vaiśālī area has been prepared on the basis of a note entitled 'New Evidence From Kolhua Pillar' by Kalyan Priya Gupta published under

The main objectives of this excavation were

- (i) to determine the base of the pillar,
- (ii) to find out the relationship between the pillar and the brick stūpa lying north of it, and
- (iii) to get a cultural sequence of the site.

Limited excavation near the lion pillar yielded the base of the pillar resting on a sandstone slab at the depth of 5.50 m from the present ground level. The underpinning stone was placed over a greenish grey sandy deposit. The entire shaft, a length of 1.68 m from the base, was polished. Now the exact height of the pillar including its capping members is 14.6 m.

Further excavations in between the pillar and the stūpa revealed that the original stūpa was built by square-size bricks ($30 \times 30 \times 8$ cm). It was plastered with *kankar* lime and subsequently reconstructed or repaired at least three times. The site seemed to have gained importance during the second phase (size of bricks $35 \times 24 \times 6$ cm). Several brick built stūpas bearing traces of lime plaster were contemporary to it. Corresponding with different reconstructional phases of the stūpa, relaying of the *Pradakṣhiṇā-pathas* was also traced. Excavation towards south of the pillar yielded successive floors made of brickbats and *surkhi*.

Simultaneous clearance of debris from the centre of the stūpa resulted in the discovery of the remains of a double-walled square relic chamber (brick size : $30 \times 30 \times 8$ cm). Important antiquities found during clearance included a fragment of *Chhatraśālī* and pieces of broken relic casket (both bearing typical Mauryan polish), gold leaves and semi-precious stones (some of them embedded in bricks). Besides, a headless seated figure of the Buddha and a crowned head of the Buddha were also found.

On the basis of stratigraphical evidence both the stūpa and the pillar were contemporary. The earliest occupation of the site is characterised by Northern Black Polished Ware comparable with the late phase of this ware found at Rājā Viśāla kā Garh of Basarh (period Ib). The square-size bricks of the stūpa are similar to the square-size bricks ($30 \times 30 \times 8$ cm) from period Ib at Rājā Viśāla kā Garh. The discovery of a polished

the broad heading of 'Notes and News' in *Purātattva* (Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society), Number 11, 1979-80, pages 145-147 (with a full-page schematic section on p. 146 and Plates XIII-XV). Ed.

fragment of a *chhatrāvalī* along with pieces of relic casket definitely put the Kolhua stūpa including the pillar to the Mauryan period.

No datable object of the site belonging to the Śuṅga-Kushāṇa period has been found. A terracotta archaic human head found from the mid-level may be assigned to the Kushāṇa period. It might have lost its importance during the early centuries of the Christian era.

The site regained its importance during the post-Gupta period. The stūpa was enlarged and the facade of the drum portion was embellished with carved bricks. A number of votive stūpas around the *pradakṣiṇā-patha* are found to have been constructed in this period. A niche of one of the votive stūpas yielded a beautiful stucco head of the Buddha assignable to the sixth-seventh century. A few broken inscribed terracotta plaques, impressed from the same mould, are important discoveries from the same level. These plaques depict the figure of the Buddha in standing posture in mandant's garb with a parasol held over his hallowed head by a small standing figure to his right, down below. His left hand seems to indicate *varada-mudrā* bestowing *karuṇā* to the kneeling human figure, probably representing Āmrāpālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī.¹

The site seems to have been deserted due to heavy floods in the river Gaṇḍaka as evident from the deposit of a fine silt (average thickness 1.20 m) which acted as a sealing layer to all the votive stūpas described above.

However, due to its religious sanctity the site was revived during the Pāla period as a number of late structures including a few Pāla sculptures were found in and around the site.²

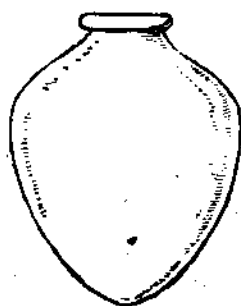
Conclusion

From the account of the different excavations given above it may be concluded that Vaiśālī was the seat of early Buddhist stūpa architecture, early terracotta art and early ceramic industry. It also yielded early Indian coins and early specimens of terracotta seals and sealings.

The antiquities of Vaiśālī are preserved at the museums situated at Calcutta (Indian Museum), Patna and Vaiśālī. The last is a site museum. Besides its own acquisitions, this Museum got all the antiquities possessed by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha Museum, its predecessor institution. The Vaiśālī

1. Though defaced it recalls similar representation in stone from Cave 19 at Ajanta. K. P. Gupta (p. 147).
2. The account of the latest excavations (1976-1978) ends here, Ed.

Saṅgha had arranged to get the catalogue of its antiquities¹ printed in 1964 (with a brief history of Vaiśālī) which is a mine of information on the subject and may be treated as a supplement to the various excavation reports.²



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1. *A Guide to Vaiśālī and the Vaiśālī Museum* by Yogendra Mishra (Part I : History) and Sita Ram Roy (Part II : Catalogue of antiquities).
 2. Mentioned earlier in footnotes.



वैशाली के लिच्छवि-गणराज्य का पुनरुत्थान

डॉ० योगेन्द्र मिश्र, एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, साहित्यरत्न
इतिहासरत्न (मानद), विद्यावाचस्पति (मानद)

वैशाली गणतंत्र की जननी है। यहाँ गणतंत्र की स्थापना उस समय हो चुकी थी, जिस समय यूनान में इसका स्थापित होना बाकी था। अतएव हमें यह मानने में किसी तरह का संकोच या हीलाहवाला नहीं होना चाहिए कि वैशाली गणतंत्र की माता है।

वैशाली गणतंत्र के दो महायुग हैं—(१) करीब ७२५ ई० पू० से लेकर ४८४ ई० पू० तक (वृजिसंघ) और (२) करीब १२५ ई० पू० से (बीच में आये कुषाण-युग को छोड़कर) ३१९ ईसवी तक (लिच्छविसंघ)। इनमें प्रथम महायुग तो यथेष्ट रूप से प्रख्यात है, जिसे वृजिसंघ या लिच्छविगण कहते थे और जिसकी प्रशंसा भगवान् बुद्ध (५६७-४८७ ई० पू०) ने भी की थी। इसकी कथा कहनेवाली सामग्री भी पर्याप्त है। गौतम बुद्ध ने अपने धर्मसंघ का संघटन वैशाली के वृजिसंघ, कपिलवास्तु के शाक्यसंघ, कुशीनगर एवं पावा के मल्लसंघों आदि के आधार पर किया था। वृजिसंघ का अन्त मगध के राजा अजातशत्रु (४९५-४६३ ई० पू०) ने किया और वैशाली पर मगध के बढ़ते साम्राज्य का अधिकार हो गया। यह अधिकार साढ़े तीन सौ वर्षों से भी अधिक समय तक बना रहा।

वैशाली के गणतंत्र का द्वितीय महायुग अपेक्षाकृत अल्पज्ञात है। इसके अस्तित्व का आभास तो लोगों को डाक्टर काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल (१८८१-१९३७), डाक्टर अनन्त सदाशिव अल्तेकर (१८९८-१९५९) प्रभृति विद्वानों से मिला था, जिनकी स्थापना थी कि विदेशी कुषाणों के भारत से खदेड़ने में लिच्छवि, यौधेय आदि गणतंत्रात्मक जातियों की अपूर्व भूमिका रही। फिर भी, संभवतः समय एवं सामग्री के अभाव में लिच्छवि इतिहास के इस द्वितीय समुज्ज्वल युग पर अबतक ध्यान नहीं दिया जा सका है। इसलिए विचारणीय है कि स्वतंत्र वैशाली के इस युग की प्रशासन-प्रणाली क्या थी और उसे गणतंत्रात्मक मानने के क्या तर्क हैं।

इस पहलू पर मेरी दृष्टि पहली बार दिसम्बर १९७८-अगस्त १९७९ में गयी, जब मैं अपनी पुस्तक 'हिस्ट्री ऑफ विदेह' (जानकी प्रकाशन, पटना, १९८१) के अन्त के कतिपय अध्यायों के लिए पाण्डुलिपि तैयार कर रहा था। मगर, उस समय भी मैं चूँकि विदेह में डूबा हुआ था, इसलिए वैशाली पर पूरा ध्यान न दे सका। इधर (विशेषकर अक्तूबर १९८० से) मुझे वैशाली-सम्बन्धी विस्तृत सामग्री देखने एवं उसपर मनन करने का अवसर मिला है।

राजा मगध अजातशत्रु वैदेहीपुत्र हर्यंककुल का था। इस वंश के बाद सिशुनागवंश, नन्दवंश और मौर्यवंश आये। मौर्यों के बाद शुंगवंश आया, जिसने ११२ अथवा १२० वर्षों तक राज किया। प्रथम चार राजा (पुष्यमित्र, अग्निमित्र, वसुज्येष्ठ/सुज्येष्ठ, वसुमित्र) बलशाली और भानुवत् प्रतापी थे, जिन्होंने ६१ वर्षों तक (१८८-१२७ ई० पू०) राज किया। वसुमित्र पुष्यमित्र का पौत्र और अग्निमित्र का पुत्र था। उसने अपने पितामह के राजत्वकाल में विदेशी यवनों (बैक्ट्रियन ग्रीकों) की सिन्धु नदी के तट पर पराजित किया था। वीरता की यह कहानी कालिदास के संस्कृत नाटक 'मालविकाग्निमित्र' में वर्णित है।

यह सोचना सहज होना कि वसुमित्र की मृत्यु (१२७ ई० पू०) के बाद मगध का शुंग साम्राज्य क्षत-विक्षत होने लगा और इसकी कमजोरी का लाभ उठाकर पड़ोस के लिच्छवि स्वतंत्र हो गये। अतएव, हमने अनुमान से लिच्छवियों की स्वाधीनता का समय मोटे तौर पर १२५ ई० पू० रखा है। चौथी सदी ईसवी के प्रारम्भ में गुप्तवंश (३१९-५५० ई०) वैशाली और विदेह को मिलाकर तीरभुक्ति नामक प्रदेश (भुक्ति) का निर्माण करता है। अतएव, यह मानना सुनिश्चित होगा कि नवशक्तिप्राप्त लिच्छवियों ने मगध से स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त कर लेने के तुरत बाद ही (करीब १२० ई० पू० में) विदेह को भी मगध से छीन लिया। फलतः, विदेह अधिक-से-अधिक समय तक वैशाली के अधीन रहा। मगध के साथ यह बात नहीं हुई। वह करीब एक सदी तक ही वैशाली के अधीन रहा। जब मगध का काण्ववंश समाप्त हो जाता है, तब बिहार (या उत्तर भारत) का इतिहास अंधकार-युग में प्रवेश कर गया समझा जाता है। वस्तुतः, ऐसी बात नहीं है। सचाई यह है कि मगध पर वैशाली का अधिकार हो जाता है (करीब २० ई० पू० से ८० ईसवी तक)। कुषाण-सम्राट् कनिष्क ने जब पाटलिपुत्र पर चढ़ाई की, तब उसने वहाँ के 'राजा' (नृप) को हरा दिया और वहाँ की राजसभा से प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध कवि और नाटककार अश्वघोष को एवं वैशाली से वहाँ रहे बुद्ध के भिक्षापात्र को अपनी राजधानी पुरुषपुर (आधुनिक पेशावर, पाकिस्तान) ले गया। मगध और वैशाली पर कुषाण-वंश के अधिकार की अवधि साठ वर्ष (करीब ८० ई०-१४० ई०) मानी जा सकती है। विदेह पर कुषाण-अधिकार का कोई प्रमाण न मिलने के कारण यह मानना उचित होगा कि मगध और वैशाली पर कुषाण-अधिकार के समय विदेह कुषाणों के अधिकार से मुक्त था और पूर्ववत् वैशाली के लिच्छवियों के अधिकार में था, जो (लिच्छवि) केवल इस अवधि

के लिए वैशाली छोड़ विदेह में ही आ गये थे। कुषाणों के पश्चिम बिहार (मगध-वैशाली क्षेत्र) से चले जाने पर ये लिच्छवि फिर वैशाली लौट आये तथा वैशाली-विदेह क्षेत्र पर ३१९ ई० तक शासन करते रहे, यद्यपि अबकी परिवर्तित परिस्थिति में वे मगध पर पुनः अधिकार न कर सके (देखें मेरी 'हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ विदेह', पृ० २६४-२८१)।

प्रश्न यह उठता है कि जब वैशाली के लिच्छवि मगध के शुंगों से स्वतंत्र हुए और करीब साठ वर्षों का कुषाण-आधिपत्य छोड़ शेष समय में (अर्थात् करीब १२५ ई० पू० से क० ८० ईसवी तक और करीब १४० ई० से ३१९ ई० तक) वैशाली पर शासन करते रहे, तब उनके प्रशासन का क्या स्वरूप था? वे गणतंत्रवादी रहे अथवा राजतंत्रवादी हो गये?

मेरे विचार से स्वतंत्रता के इस दूसरे युग में भी वैशाली के लिच्छवि गणतंत्रवादी ही रहे, राजतंत्रवादी नहीं हुए। मैं अपने विचार के समर्थन में निम्नांकित तर्क प्रस्तुत करना उचित समझता हूँ :—

१. शलातुर (आधुनिक लाहुर, मर्दान जिला, सरहदी सूबा, पाकिस्तान) में उत्पन्न, पाटलिपुत्र की शास्त्रकार-परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण एवं नंदवंश के समकालीन प्रसिद्ध वैयाकरण पाणिनि ने अपनी 'अष्टाध्यायी' (४.२.१३१) में पंजाब के मद्रों और उत्तर बिहार के वृजियों को एक साथ—एक ही सूत्र में—गणतंत्रवादी जातियों में रखा है। इससे मालूम पड़ता है कि यद्यपि वैशाली पर मगध का राजनीतिक अधिकार हो गया था, तथापि मगध ने वहाँ की प्रशासन-प्रणाली में कोई छेड़छाड़ नहीं की और पहले से आती हुई गणतंत्रात्मक पद्धति को आगे भी चलने दिया। पाणिनि ने लिच्छवियों का अलग से कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया है।

२. मौर्यवंश के संस्थापक चन्द्रगुप्त (३२५-३०१ ई० पू०) के प्रधान मंत्री कौटिल्य ने अपने 'अर्थशास्त्र' (११.१) में लिच्छविकों और वृजिकों का कई अन्य गणतंत्रवादी जातियों (मल्लक, मद्रक, कुकुर, कुह, पंचाल आदि) के साथ उल्लेख किया है। मालूम पड़ता है कि चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के समय में भी वैशाली में संघ-शासन ही चलने दिया गया था, किन्तु इस समय उसके दो भाग हो गये थे, वहाँ अलग-अलग लिच्छविक और वृजिक शासन कर रहे थे। कौटिल्य तो संघों में फूट डलवाने का पक्षपाती था ही। लगता है, वैशाली में उसकी नीति सफल हुई। संभवतः, लिच्छवि पश्चिमी भाग में (जिसमें वैशाली नगरी अवस्थित थी) रहे और वृजि पूर्वी भाग में चले गये।

३. 'मनुस्मृति' (१०.२२) में, जिसकी रचना ईसा-पूर्व दूसरी सदी (शुंगकाल) से दूसरी सदी ईसवी (कुषाणकाल) के बीच मानी जाती है, लिच्छवियों को व्रात्य क्षत्रिय (निम्नकोटि के क्षत्रिय) कहा गया है। उस श्लोक में उनके पड़ोसी और सहयोगी मल्लों को भी उसी कोटि का माना गया है। व्रात्य का अर्थ होता है 'प्रथम तीन वर्णों में से किसी एक वर्ण का पुरुष जो मुख्य संस्कार या शोधक कृत्यों का अनुष्ठान न करने के कारण पतित हो गया है (जिसका उपनयन संस्कार नहीं हुआ); व्रात या समूह से ज्युत

(जातिबहिष्कृत)। अतएव, ब्राह्मणों को हीन दृष्टि से देखा जाता था। मनु ने 'ब्राह्मण' की परिभाषा (१०.२०) भी बता दी है और उपनयन संस्कार के लिए आयु (२.३८-३९) भी निर्धारित कर दी है। जैसा कि हमें अन्य सूत्रों से भी ज्ञात है, 'मनुस्मृति' की रचना के समय तक लिच्छवि बदले नहीं थे और अपनी पुरानी परम्परा (मुख्यतः बौद्ध एवं जैन धर्मों का पालन, गणतंत्र का निर्वाह, पड़ोसी गणतंत्रवादी मल्लों से सहयोग) पर अडिग थे, जिस कारण कट्टर ब्राह्मणवादी ग्रंथ में वे 'ब्राह्मण' करार दिये गये।

४. कुशीनगर में भगवान् बुद्ध का परिनिर्वाण होने पर उनके शरीरावशेष पानेवालों की जो सबसे पुरानी सूची 'दीघनिकाय' के एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग 'महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त' में उपलब्ध है, उसमें मिथिला के विदेहों का नाम नहीं है। पर 'द्विक्शनरी ऑफ पालि प्रौपर नेम्स' के लेखक डाक्टर जी० पी० मलालसेकर का कथन (भाग २, पृष्ठ ६३५, शब्द 'मिथिला') है कि 'खुद्दकनिकाय' के एक अंग 'बुद्धवंस' (२८.११) के लेखानुसार "बुद्ध की मृत्यु के बाद मिथिला के विदेहों ने उनके अवशेषों के एक भाग पर दावा किया और उन्हें (= अवशेषों को) प्राप्त किया"। हमें स्मरण रखना है कि प्रथमतः 'बुद्धवंस' को बौद्धों का एक वर्ग, जो दीघभागक (= 'दीघनिकाय' के उद्धोषक) के नाम से जाना जाता है, 'त्रिपिटक' का अंग मानने से इन्कार करता है; द्वितीयतः 'मधुरत्यविलासिनी' (= सं० मधुरार्थविलासिनी) नामक 'बुद्धवंस' पर लिखी गयी प्राचीन टीका का लेखक उरगपुर-निवासी शेर बुद्धदत्त, मगध के प्रसिद्ध त्रिपिटक-भाष्यकार बुद्धघोष का समकालीन होने के कारण, पाँचवीं सदी ईसवी के पूर्वार्ध का ठहरता है। इस प्रकार, 'महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त' के सामने 'बुद्धवंस' की प्रामाणिकता संदिग्ध एवं अमान्य हो जाती है^२। मेरी यह स्थापना सही हो, तो यह अनुमान करना आसान होगा कि मिथिला के विदेहों का नाम उस सूची में पीछे से जोड़ा गया है। और यदि उपर्युक्त अनुमान तर्कसंगत है, तो यह भी मानना पड़ेगा कि जिस समय विदेहों का नाम जोड़ा गया, उस समय वे गणाधीन थे, न कि एकाधीन या राजाधीन (बुद्ध के युग में विदेह राजाधीन थे : एतदर्थ देखिए पुराण, 'ललितविस्तर' और 'गिलगिट मैनस्क्रिप्ट्स',

१. मगध का राजा अजातशत्रु, वैशाली के लिच्छवि, कपिलवास्तु के शाक्य, अलकपथ के बुलि, रामग्राम के कोलिय, वेठदीप का एक ब्राह्मण, पावा के मल्ल, कुशीनगर के मल्ल, द्रोण ब्राह्मण और पिप्पलिवन के मोरिय।
२. संभवतः, इसीलिए हवाई विश्वविद्यालय के डाक्टर जे० पी० शर्मा तक ने, जो ईसा-पूर्व छठी-पाँचवीं सदियों के विदेहों को गणतान्त्रिक मानते हैं ('रिपब्लिक्स इन ऐशिएंट इंडिया सर्क १५०० बी० सी०-५०० बी० सी०', लायडेन, १९६८, पृष्ठ १३६-१५८) और इस कारण जिनको तत्संबंधी प्रमाणों की तलाश भी थी, 'बुद्धवंस' के इस प्रमाण (बुद्धशरीरसममुविभाजन के अवसर पर मिथिला के विदेहों द्वारा अपने भाग की प्राप्ति) पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है।

जिल्द ३, भाग २); क्योंकि 'महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त' की उक्त सूची में राजा अजातशत्रु, वेठदीप के ब्राह्मण और द्रोण ब्राह्मण को छोड़ शेष सभी दल निश्चित रूप से गणतांत्रिक ('संघ', 'गण') थे। मेरे विचार से लिच्छविसंघ के अंग के रूप में विदेह में गणतंत्र ई० पू० दूसरी सदी के अन्त से चौथी सदी ईसवी के प्रारंभ तक रहा और इसी समय के अन्तर्गत अथवा इसके तुरंत बाद बुद्धशरीरावशेषप्राप्तिकर्ताओं की पहले से प्रचलित उक्त सूची में मिथिला के विदेहों को गणतांत्रिक समझकर सम्मिलित कर लिया गया।

५. जब ईसा-पूर्व पहली सदी का प्रथम चरण चल रहा था, तब मगध पर शुंग वंश का राज था। उस समय सिन्धुदेश में बौद्धों की एक संगीति हुई थी। इसे चौथी संगीति माना गया है। सिन्धुली इतिहास में लिखा है कि इसमें वैशाली के बौद्ध भी सम्मिलित हुए थे। इस घटना का महत्त्व शायद अबतक ठीक से नहीं आँका गया है। स्वतंत्र उल्लेख से लगता है कि वैशाली तबतक मगध के हाथों से निकल चुकी थी। अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि सुदूर सिन्धुली की संगीति में सम्मिलित होने के लिए वैशाली के बौद्धों का दस्ता भेजनेवाला स्वतंत्र लिच्छवि-राज्य गणतन्त्रात्मक था, जिसकी पुरानी (बुद्ध-पूर्व) गणतांत्रिक पद्धति बौद्धधर्म की गणतांत्रिक पद्धति का आधार बनी थी। गणतंत्र में सदस्यों का बार-बार भाग लेना अत्यावश्यक माना गया है ('महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त')। वैशाली के गणतन्त्रीय लिच्छवि-बौद्धों को यह अच्छी तरह ज्ञात था।

६. 'ललितविस्तर' (अध्याय ३, पृष्ठ १५, दरभंगा संस्करण) नामक प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध ग्रंथ में, जिसकी रचना पहली या दूसरी सदी ईसवी में हुई थी, बुद्ध के जन्म के बारह वर्ष पहले (५७९ ई० पू०) की राजनीतिक अवस्था का वर्णन है। इसमें लिखा है कि वैशाली में गणतंत्र था और वहाँ का प्रत्येक सदस्य अपने को 'राजा' मानता था—'एकैक एवं मन्यते अहं राजा अहं राजेति'। यह मानने में कोई बाधा नहीं है कि 'ललितविस्तर' सम्भवतः अपनी रचना के समय की अवस्था का साधु-ही-साधु चित्रण कर रहा है।

७. चाहे साहित्य हो या अभिलेख या सिक्के—कहीं भी इस युग (दूसरी सदी ई० पू० से चौथी सदी ईसवी तक) के लिए, जिसे बिहार को ध्यान में रखकर शुंग-लिच्छवि-कुषाणकाल कहा जा सकता है, वैशाली के किसी राजवंश या राजा का उल्लेख नहीं आता। वैशाली में अबतक काफी खुदाई हो चुकी है (कनिंघम-काल, १९०३-०४, १९१३-१४, १९५०, १९५८-६२, १९७६-७८) और इस युग में यह समृद्ध अवस्था में थी, जैसाकि वहाँ प्राप्त पुरावशेषों से पता चलता है। परन्तु, राजा के नाम के बारे में पूरी चुप्पी है। वहाँ मिट्टी की मुहरें ('क्ले सील्स') बहुतायत से मिली हैं, पर किसी मुहर पर इस युग (करीब १२५ ई० पू० से ३९९ ईसवी तक) के राजा या राजवंश का नाम नहीं मिलता। इसका यही अर्थ हो सकता है कि वहाँ गणतंत्र प्रचलित था।

अब मैं अपने सबसे सबल तर्कों की ओर पाठकों का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूँगा, जिसका उल्लेख प्रायः किया जाता है।

८. कुमारदेवी-चन्द्रगुप्त के सिक्कों पर 'लिच्छवयः' लिखा मिलता है। 'लिच्छवयः' 'लिच्छवि' शब्द का संस्कृत में बहुवचन-रूप है। कुमारदेवी वैशाली की लिच्छवि-राजकुमारी थी, जो मगध के गुप्तवंश के प्रथम प्रभावशाली राजा ('महाराजा-धिराज') चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम से व्याही गयी थी। इस विवाह के फलस्वरूप वैशाली-विदेह एवं मगध एक राजनीतिक-प्रशासनिक सूत्र में बँध गये और इसीको जतलाने के लिए सिक्कों पर लिच्छविजातिबोधक 'लिच्छवयः' शब्द अंकित कराया गया। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि वैशाली-विदेह का राज्य लिच्छवि गणतंत्र से लिया गया था; क्योंकि उस समय के अन्य गणतंत्रात्मक राज्यों में भी सिक्कों पर उन जातियों या कुलों के नाम अंकित कराते थे, जिनका शासन चलता था और राजतंत्रात्मक राज्यों में सिक्कों पर राजाओं के नाम अंकित कराये जाते थे, जो उस समय राज्यासीन होते थे।

दो और पक्ष हैं, जो स्वतंत्र तर्कों के रूप में नहीं हैं, केवल परिस्थितियों की व्याख्या भर करते हैं। इन्हें भी दे देना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है।

९. तिब्बती-साहित्य में बुद्धकालीन लिच्छवियों को 'लिच्छवि राजा' कहा गया है, जबकि हमें मालूम है कि वे राजतंत्रात्मक 'राजा' नहीं थे। इस विसंगति का कारण यह मालूम पड़ता है कि लिच्छवि-संस्था (संसद्) का प्रत्येक सदस्य 'राजा' कहा जाता था ('जातक', 'ललितविस्तर') और तिब्बतियों ने भी वही शब्द प्रयुक्त किया, जिसका अंगरेजी अनुवाद 'किंग्स' किया गया। अध्यक्ष को भी 'राजा' ही कहते थे ('जातक', 'अर्थशास्त्र')। अतएव, यदि तिब्बती-साहित्य में बाद के (यथा, पहली सदी ईसवी के) लिच्छवि-भासकों के लिए 'राजा' शब्द आया है, तो वह संसद्-सदस्य अथवा अध्यक्ष के लिए प्रयुक्त समझा जाना चाहिए।

१०. इतिहास से हमें ज्ञात है कि नेपाल का लिच्छवि-राजवंश सन् ८७९ ई० तक राज करता रहा। कहा जा सकता है कि जब वैशाली के लिच्छवि नेपाल जाकर राजतंत्र के रूप में प्रकट होते हैं, तब वैशाली में भी वे पिछले समय में, अर्थात् १२५ ई० पू० से ३१९ ईसवी के बीच, राजतंत्रात्मक ही रहे होंगे, गणतंत्रात्मक नहीं। इसका जो उत्तर पहले दिया जा चुका है, उसमें थोड़ा और जोड़ा जा सकता है।

प्रथमतः, गणतंत्र के इस दूसरे युग में बहुत आगे चलकर, यानी तीसरी-चौथी सदियों में, संभवतः लिच्छवि-गणतंत्र पर राजतंत्र का प्रभाव आने लगा था, मगर वह बहुत स्पष्ट नहीं हुआ था। यदि पूरा प्रभाव पड़ जाता, तो गुप्त सिक्कों पर 'लिच्छवयः' अंकित नहीं होता। दूसरे, लिच्छवियों के नेपाल चले जाने का समय चौथी सदी का प्रारम्भ न होकर पाँचवीं-छठी सदी है, जब वे अपने राज्य से वंचित हो, गुप्त-साम्राज्य के अन्तर्गत रहकर, अपनी पुरानी गणतंत्रात्मक परम्परा से अच्छी तरह कट चुके थे

तथा विघटित हो नेपाल चले गये थे। तीसरे, हिमालय की तलहटी की परिवर्तित परिस्थिति में वैशाली के गणतंत्रीय लिच्छवि राजतंत्रीय बन गये। वहाँ वे सदियों तक सफलतापूर्वक टिके।

वैशाली के इतिहास का यह युग, जिसमें लिच्छवि-गणराज्य का दूसरा काल (१२५ ई०पू० से ३१९ ईसवी) आता है, राजनीतिक प्रभुता-विस्तार, आर्थिक समृद्धि, धार्मिक जागरण और कलात्मक क्रियाशीलता ('आर्टिस्टिक ऐक्टिविटी') का युग था, जिसमें लिच्छवि-संघ समस्त बिहार में सर्वाधिक प्रधान राज्य था। अपने व्यापार की संवृद्धि के लिए लिच्छवियों ने इस युग में पंचनदीसंगम (आधुनिक चेन्नर ग्रामसमूह) नामक नदीपत्तन ('रिवर पोर्ट') का विकास किया, जिस (नाम) का उल्लेख (नदी एवं उसके पार बसे अन्य नगर सहित) तीसरी-चौथी सदी के श्वेताम्बर आचार्य संघदासगणी कृत प्राकृत कथाग्रन्थ 'वसुदेवहिण्डी' में उपलब्ध है। कथा है कि कृष्ण के पिता वसुदेव राजगृह से भ्रमण करते हुए (हींडते/हींडते हुए : लोकप्रयोग) यहाँ पहुँचे थे। लिच्छवि-गणराज्य की समाप्ति के ८७ वर्ष बाद यहाँ आये प्रसिद्ध चीनी बौद्ध यात्री फाहियान ने इस स्थान का नाम the confluence of the five rivers बताया है, जो पंचनदीसंगम का शाब्दिक अनुवाद है। प्राचीन भारतीय गणराज्यों में वाणिज्य-व्यापार पर बहुत बल दिया जाता था^१।

१. अबतक लिच्छवियों का अपेक्षाकृत विस्तृत इतिहास इन छह व्यक्तियों द्वारा लिखा गया है :—विमलाचरण लाहा, 'अजित कलैन्स इन बुद्धिस्ट इण्डिया' (कलकत्ता, १९२२), 'ट्राइन्स इन ऐशिएन्ट इण्डिया' (पूना, १९४३), 'होमेज टु वैशाली' (वैशाली, १९४८) (तीनों में लम्बे लेख हैं); योगेन्द्र मिश्र, 'ऐन अली हिस्ट्री ऑफ वैशाली' (दिल्ली, १९६२); जे० पी० शर्मा, 'रिपब्लिक्स इन ऐशिएन्ट इण्डिया सर्वा १५०० बी० सी०—५०० बी० सी०' (लायडन, १९६८); उपेन्द्र महारथी, 'वैशाली के लिच्छवि' (पटना, १९६९); हितनारायण झा, 'द लिच्छविज' (वाराणसी, १९७०); शैलेन्द्र श्रीवास्तव, 'लिच्छवियों का उत्थान एवं पतन (६०० ई० पू०—७८१ ईसवी), (नयी दिल्ली, १९८४)। नेपाल के लिच्छवि राजाओं के अभिलेखों का संग्रह धनवन्ध बजाचार्य द्वारा 'लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख' (काठमांडू, १९७३) नामक पुस्तक में हुआ है।





विकासोन्मुख वैशाली

नागेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह

सन् १९४३ ई० तक वैशाली का नाम लोगों को मालूम न था। लोग इसे बसाढ़ अथवा बनिया-बसाढ़ के नाम से जानते थे। विद्वानों अथवा अधिक पढ़े-लिखे लोगों को इसकी महत्ता का पता था, किन्तु सामान्य जनता इससे पूर्णतया अपरिचित थी। उसकी दृष्टि में अशोक का स्तम्भ 'भीमसेनकी लाठी' बन गया था और उसके पश्चिम के सटे-सटे स्थित दोनों स्तूप 'भीमसेन का भार' या 'भीमसेन का पल्ला' बनकर रह गये थे। सारा इलाका उपेक्षित था और अन्य गाँवों या इलाकों के समान वीरान, निस्पंद और निष्क्रिय था। सन् १९४२ के 'भारत छोड़ो' आन्दोलन के ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादियों द्वारा कुचल दिये जाने और दमनचक्र के चालू रहने के कारण सर्वत्र मुर्दनी छापी हुई थी।

इसी परिस्थिति में सन् १९४४ ई० के उत्तरार्ध में श्री जगदीश चन्द्र माथुर, आई० सी० एस० (इण्डियन सिविल सर्विस) के सदस्य के रूप में, हाजीपुर के एस० डी० ओ० (सबडिविजनल अफसर, अवर अनुमण्डल-पदाधिकारी) बनकर आये। वे वैशाली के गौरव से परिचित थे, किन्तु उस इलाके की दुरवस्था देख उन्हें घोर निराशा हुई। उन्होंने इस संबंध में कुछ करने का निश्चय किया, जिसका परिणाम हुआ वार्षिक वैशाली-महोत्सव और वैशाली-संध नामक संघटन। आगे चलकर मुख्यतया इन्हीं दोनों संस्थाओं के माध्यम से वैशाली का विकास होने लगा।

वैशाली के विकास की भावना से प्रेरित होकर श्री जगदीश चन्द्र माथुर ने ३१ दिसम्बर १९४४ को हाजीपुर के सरस्वती सदन में एक सार्वजनिक सभा बुलायी और इस विषय पर विचार-विमर्श किया गया। अगली बैठक ४ फरवरी १९४५ को हुई, जिसमें विभिन्न काम बाँटे गये। ३१ मार्च और १ अप्रैल १९४५ को वैशाली के भग्नावशेषों पर राजा विशाल के गढ़ के सटे पूर्व, नीचे विस्तृत खेतों में, प्रथम वैशाली-महोत्सव मनाया गया। पहले दिन वैशाली-संध नामक एक संस्था की स्थापना भी की गयी। इस अवसर पर विद्वानों के विद्वत्तापूर्ण भाषणों के अतिरिक्त प्रदर्शनी, नाटक, खेल-कूद, वाद-विवाद प्रतियोगिता, ग्रामोत्थान, कवि-सम्मेलन, हिन्दी-साहित्य-सम्मेलन तथा पुस्तकालय-सम्मेलन भी हुए और वैशाली-संबंधी एक हिन्दी पुस्तक का प्रकाशन किया गया। प्रथम वैशाली-महोत्सव में निस्सन्देह परवर्ती संस्थाओं, विकास तथा अभिव्यक्तियों के बीज वर्तमान थे। दिसम्बर १९४५ में श्री जगदीशचन्द्र माथुर का हाजीपुर से स्थानान्तरण हो गया, किन्तु

१९५५ तक और पुनः १९६२-६३ में वे बिहार में कार्यरत रहे। वे जहाँ भी रहे, बराबर वैशाली-संबंधी विकास से जुड़े रहे। १९७३ तक (थाईलैंड जाने के पहले तक) वे वैशाली-संघ के प्रधान सचिव (जनरल सेक्रेटरी) बने रहे। वैशाली-महोत्सव प्रतिवर्ष वैशाली के स्वसावशेषों पर मनाया जाने लगा।

यह महोत्सव अब भी होता है, जो वैशाली की दिव्य विभूति चौबीसवें तीर्थंकर भगवान् महावीर के जन्मदिन (चैत सुदी १३) को मनाया जाता है। प्रातःकाल बीना पोखर (बसाढ़) के जैन मन्दिर पर तीर्थंकर भगवान् की पूजा होती है। उसके बाद बसुकुण्ड स्थित प्राकृत विद्यापीठ में उसकी अघ्निकात्री परिषद् (जनरल कौंसिल) की वार्षिक सभा होती है, जिसकी अध्यक्षता बिहार के राज्यपाल करते हैं। फिर उन्हींकी अध्यक्षता में विद्यापीठ के तत्त्वावधान में पूर्वघोषित विषय पर विद्वत्-संगोष्ठी होती है। अपराह्न में अभिवेक-पुष्करिणी (बसाढ़) से मंगलकलश में उसका पवित्र जल लेकर शोभायात्रा प्रारंभ होती है, जो पंडाल तक पहुँचती है। वहाँ मंगलकलश स्थापित होने के बाद भाषणों और मनोरंजन का कार्यक्रम चलता है। प्रदर्शनी एवं प्रतियोगिताओं में सफलतापूर्वक भाग लेनेवालों को अगले दिन पुरस्कृत किया जाता है।

ठेठ देहाती क्षेत्र में विविध प्रकार के लोगों के बीच वैशाली-महोत्सव का प्रतिवर्ष आयोजन निश्चित रूप में एक सफलता है, जो नवजागरण का प्रतीक है। किन्तु इसके अतिरिक्त भी वैशाली-संघ की कई उपलब्धियाँ हैं: “पुरातत्त्व-संबंधी खूदाइयों का सिलसिला पुनः चालू हुआ; एक स्थानीय पुरातत्त्व संग्रहालय की स्थापना हुई (जो भारत में पहला ग्रामीण संग्रहालय था); जैन समुदाय द्वारा वैशाली के भगवान् महावीर का जन्मस्थान होने की मान्यता प्राप्त की गयी; प्राकृत और जैन संस्कृति के अध्ययन के लिए एक प्रतिष्ठान स्थापित किया गया; स्थानीय जनता के लिए विद्यालयों इत्यादि की स्थापना हुई; अनेक अनुसंधानपूर्ण और लोकप्रिय प्रकाशन प्रस्तुत किये गये; लोकगीतों तथा लोक-संस्कृति की अन्य अभिव्यंजनाओं को प्रोत्साहन दिया गया; तीर्थयात्रियों तथा अन्य आगंतुकों के लिए सुविधाओं का आयोजन हुआ; तथा स्थानीय कुषकों एवं शिल्पियों इत्यादि के आर्थिक विकास के लिए विविध कार्यक्रम चलाये गये।”

स्थूल-संकोच के कारण हम संक्षिप्त रूप में ही इनपर प्रकाश डालेंगे।

उत्खनन के लिए प्रार्थित होने पर जब भारत सरकार के पुरातत्त्व विभाग ने अपनी आधिक कठिनाई जतलायी, तब वैशाली-संघ ने बिहार, कलकत्ता, बम्बई आदि क्षेत्रों से दान प्राप्त करके सात हजार रुपये की रकम प्रस्तुत कर दी और तब पुरातत्त्व विभाग के वरिष्ठ अधिकारी और विद्वान् श्रीयुत कृष्णदेव ने १९५० में नियोजित रूप से उत्खनन किया। इस उत्खनन का व्योरेवार वर्णन वैशाली-संघ प्रकाशित कर चुका है। बिहार

१. जगदीशचन्द्र माथुर और योगेन्द्र मिश्र (सम्पादक), 'वैशाली-दिग्दर्शन', वैशाली संघ, १९८१, पृष्ठ ८८।

सरकार के काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल अनुसंधान प्रतिष्ठान ने १९५८-६२ में वैशाली क्षेत्र में खुदाई करायी, जिसका शुभारम्भ डाक्टर ए० एस० अल्लेकर ने किया और अभिवेक-पुष्करिणी के पास ही मिट्टी के एक स्तूप का अनावरण कर भगवान् बुद्ध के शरीरावशेष की मंजूषा ढूँढ़ निकाली। इस बार की चार-साढ़ेचार वर्षों की खुदाई बहुत विस्तृत थी, जिसका पूरा विवरण आगे चलकर बिहार सरकार ने एक बड़ी पुस्तक के रूप में निकाला। हाल में भारत सरकार के पुरातत्त्व-विभाग (नयी दिल्ली) ने भी कोल्लुआ में खुदाई करायी है जिसके फलस्वरूप ऊपर पड़ी मिट्टी की परतों को हटाकर अशोक-स्तम्भ और आसपास के स्तूपों का मूल रूप प्रकट हुआ है। इन खुदाइयों के फलस्वरूप वैशाली का पूरा इतिहास सामने आ गया है।

२८ जनवरी १९४५ को पाँच व्यक्तियों का प्रथम वैशाली-महोत्सव का मूल आयोजक दल (श्री माथुर सहित) जब यहाँ पहुँचा था, तब अशोक-स्तम्भ एक ठाकुरवाड़ी के भीतर आँगन में खड़ा था और अपनी मुक्ति की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा था। अशोक-स्तम्भ के चारों ओर अनधिकृत रूप से खड़े इन मकानों को वर्षों पूर्व हटा दिया गया है।

वैशाली में पुरातात्विक संग्रह का प्रयत्न लोगों द्वारा छिटफुट रूप से किया गया था, किन्तु कोई उल्लेखनीय सफलता नहीं मिल पायी थी। वैशाली-संघ ने इस ओर ध्यान दिया। जब चकरामदास गाँव और वैशाली के निवासियों ने अभिवेक-पुष्करिणी के समीप कुछ जमीन दान के रूप में वैशाली-संघ को दी, तब वहाँ संघ ने बिहार सरकार से अनुदान प्राप्त कर एक भवन का निर्माण करवाया। इसी भवन में लोगों के व्यक्तिगत संग्रहों के पुरावशेष जमा कर दिये गये और वैशाली-संघ ने इसकी पूरी व्यवस्था करने का दायित्व स्वीकार किया। गम्भीर प्रयत्नों के फलस्वरूप भारत सरकार ने वैशाली में एक पुरातत्त्व संग्रहालय बनवाना स्वीकार किया। एतदर्थ वैशाली-संघ ने स्थानीय जनता से आवश्यक जमीन प्राप्त कर भारत सरकार को स्थानान्तरित कर दी। यह संग्रहालय-भवन अभिवेक-पुष्करिणी के उत्तरी भिण्डे पर स्थित है और भारत सरकार द्वारा पूर्णतया संचालित है।

जैन समुदाय द्वारा वैशाली के सटे क्षत्रियकुण्डपुर (वर्तमान बभुकुण्ड) के भगवान् महावीर के जन्मस्थान होने की मान्यता प्राप्त करना वैशाली-संघ की एक अपूर्व सफलता है। इसने प्रारम्भ से ही अनेक प्रकाशनों, लेखों आदि द्वारा जैन भतावलम्बियों को भगवान् महावीर की ऐतिहासिक जन्मस्थली की ओर जागरूक करने की कोशिश की। विद्वानों, मुनियों और सामाजिक नेताओं से दिल्ली, पटना, पावापुरी और अन्य स्थानों पर सम्पर्क स्थापित किया गया। प्रयत्नों को सफलता मिली। १९४८ में महोत्सव के अवसर पर पहली बार जैन तीर्थयात्री वैशाली पधारे। जैन तीर्थङ्कर की अत्यन्त प्राचीन मूर्ति को बीना पोखर पर एक नवनिर्मित मन्दिर में प्रतिष्ठित कर उनकी जैनो द्वारा पूजा होने लगी। वैशाली-कुण्डपुर तीर्थसमिति का निर्माण किया गया। तबसे बराबर इस स्थान

पर हर वर्ष भगवान् महावीर के जन्मदिवस पर जैन समुदाय धार्मिक अनुष्ठान करता आ रहा है। इसने बसाढ़ में मुख्य सड़क और 'बस-स्टैंड' के समीप एक जैन-विहार (जैन धर्मशाला) का निर्माण भी करवाया है, जो दुमंजिला है। १९५० के पुरातात्विक उत्खनन के लिए धन एकत्र करने में जैन महानुभावों से विशेष सहायता मिली थी। वैशाली प्राकृत विद्यापीठ के निर्माण में भी जैन समाज ने उदारता एवं सहृदयता का परिचय दिया है। जैन समाज के लगभग सभी समुदायों ने अब वैशाली के महावीर-जन्मभूमि होने के ऐतिहासिक तथ्य को मान लिया है। वैशाली क्षेत्र में बसुकुण्ड नामक ग्राम में वहाँ के निवासियों ने दो एकड़ जमीन इस उद्देश्य से स्थानान्तरित कर दी है कि वहाँ पर भगवान् महावीर का स्मारक बनाया जाए। यह वही स्थली है, जिसे परम्परा से वहाँ के निवासी पवित्र मानते रहे हैं और जहाँ कभी हल जोता नहीं गया। इस स्थान पर २३ अप्रैल १९५६ को भारत के राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के हाथों महावीर-स्मारक की नींव डाली गयी। इस जगह स्मारक के लिए योजना तैयार की जा रही है।

सन् १९५२ में वैशाली-संघ ने महावीर की जन्मभूमि वैशाली में प्राकृत और जैन संस्कृति के विशेष अध्ययन के लिए एक प्रतिष्ठान स्थापित करने की योजना बनायी और उसे मुद्रित रूप में जैन समाज एवं बिहार सरकार के सामने रखा। कई स्थानों पर बातों और विचार-विनिमय के उपरान्त अन्ततः जैन समाज के संस्कृतिप्रेमी तथा लोक-प्रसिद्ध श्रेष्ठी श्री शान्तिप्रसाद जैन ने अपने समाज की ओर से छह लाख रुपये का भवन प्रतिष्ठान के लिए तैयार करा देने की घोषणा की बशर्ते कि बिहार सरकार विद्यापीठ के चलाने का भार अपने ऊपर ले ले। बिहार सरकार ने यह भार स्वीकार कर लिया। दिसम्बर १९५५ से विद्यापीठ मुजफ्फरपुर में किराये के मकान में चलने लगा। मकान तैयार होने पर मार्च १९६५ में विद्यापीठ मुजफ्फरपुर से वैशाली में अपने नये भवन में स्थापित हो गया। संस्थान के पुस्तकालय में जैन साहित्य का अच्छा संग्रह है। यहाँ एम० ए० की पढ़ाई होती है तथा पी०एच० डी० और डी० लिट्० उपाधियों के लिए अनुसन्धान किया जाता है। संस्थान ने अनेक अनुसन्धान-ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन किया है। सन् १९६३ से संस्थान प्रायः प्रति वर्ष महावीर जयन्ती के अवसर पर विद्वद्गोष्ठी का आयोजन करता रहा है।

वैशाली क्षेत्र में पहले शिक्षा का अभाव था। नवजागरण का प्रारम्भ होने पर इस क्षेत्र में कई तरह के विद्यालयों की स्थापना हुई। बसाढ़ में एक उच्चस्तरीय विद्यालय स्थापित किया गया, जिसका नाम महावीर तीर्थङ्कर हाई स्कूल रखा गया। हाई स्कूल के लिए संघ ने स्थानीय जनता से चार एकड़ जमीन प्राप्त की, जिसे हाई स्कूल की समिति को भवन-निर्माण के लिए सौंप दिया गया। कई शिशुशालाएँ, बालपाठशालाएँ, महिला समाज शिक्षा केन्द्र, शिल्प कला केन्द्र, पुस्तकालय और विज्ञान-मन्दिर स्थापित हुए। अनेक वर्षों तक तुर्की-वैशाली सचन शिक्षा विकास योजना ने भी इस क्षेत्र में शिक्षा और ज्ञान के प्रसार में यथेष्ट योगदान किया। एक समय की उदास वैशाली में अब वैशाली-संघ एवं वैशाली क्षेत्र के उत्साही लोगों के प्रयासों के फलस्वरूप ज्ञान का प्रकाश तेजी से फैलने लगा।

वैशाली-आन्दोलन का प्रारम्भ से ही सुपाठ्य सामग्री को विद्वानों तथा साधारण पाठकों के समक्ष प्रस्तुत करने का उद्देश्य रहा। सर्वप्रथम उसने प्रथम वैशाली-महोत्सव के अवसर पर 'वैशाली' नामक एक लेख-संग्रह निकाला। १९४८ में 'वैशाली-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ' (*Homage to Vaisali*) का प्रकाशन किया गया, जिसकी विद्वन्मण्डली तथा प्रकाशन-जगत् में बड़ी प्रशंसा हुई। इसमें हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में उच्चकोटि के विद्वानों के वैशाली सम्बन्धी भौतिक लेख थे तथा वैशाली पर प्रकाश डालनेवाली अन्य सामग्री भी सम्मिलित थी। संघ ने १९५० में अपने द्वारा करायी गयी वैशाली की खुदाई का विवरण अंग्रेजी में प्रकाशित किया और हिन्दी में 'पुरातत्त्व की दृष्टि में वैशाली' नामक एक दूसरी पुस्तक भी निकाली। अंग्रेजी में वैशाली संग्रहालय का क्रमबद्ध प्रामाणिक कैटेलग वैशाली का संक्षिप्त इतिहास सहित पुस्तक रूप में प्रकाशित किया गया। हिन्दी में भी जनसाधारण को दृष्टि में रखकर 'वैशाली पथ-प्रदर्शिका' नाम से एक गाइड निकाला गया। वैशाली महोत्सवों के अवसर पर दिये गये भाषण भी बहुधा अलग-अलग पुस्तिकाओं के रूप में प्रकाशित होते रहे हैं। संघ ने 'महावीर-वाणी, बुद्ध-वाणी' नामक फोल्डर भी निकाला है। वैशाली में यात्रियों के लिए पिक्चर पोस्ट कार्ड का एक सेट भी प्रकाशित किया गया है, जिसमें वैशाली के मुख्य स्मारकों और ध्वंसावशेषों के चित्र हैं। कई वर्ष पूर्व श्री जगदीश चन्द्र माथुर द्वारा लिखित २८ पृष्ठों का एक अभिनेय रूपक भी संघ द्वारा प्रकाशित किया गया है। हाल में इसने 'वैशाली-दिव्यदर्शन' नामक पुस्तक निकाली है। वैशाली-आन्दोलन की प्रेरणा के फलस्वरूप अन्य व्यक्तियों तथा संस्थाओं द्वारा भी इस विषय पर साहित्य प्रकाशित किया जाने लगा तथा विश्वविद्यालयों में शोध-प्रबन्ध भी प्रस्तुत किये जाने लगे।

वैशाली-संघ ने प्रारम्भ से ही लोक-गीतों तथा लोक-संस्कृति की अन्य अभिव्यंजनाओं को प्रोत्साहन दिया, जिससे लोक-संस्कृति का संरक्षण और उन्नयन हो। इसलिए लोकोत्सव-माला नाम से एक ऐसे कार्यक्रम की योजना बनायी गयी, जिसके अन्तर्गत वैशाली-क्षेत्र के लोक-गायकों को समय-समय पर अपनी कला प्रस्तुत करने और प्रतियोगिताओं में हिस्सा लेने का अवसर मिलता रहे। स्थानीय लोक-गीत-मण्डलियों में प्रमुख रही है मछुओं की मण्डली जिसके गायन की प्रशंसा सब कोई करते हैं।

सन् १९४४ तक वैशाली क्षेत्र अत्यन्त उपेक्षित इलाका था, जहाँ न तो यातायात के साधन थे, न आगन्तुकों के लिए ठहरने का स्थान, न बिजली और न अन्य सुविधाएँ। वैशाली-संघ ने सरकारी अधिकारियों का इस ओर ध्यान दिलाया और बराबर इन सुविधाओं के लिए आवेदन-पत्र भेजता रहा। इन प्रयासों के फलस्वरूप वैशाली क्षेत्र की परिस्थिति अब बहुत बदल-सी गयी है। हाजीपुर और मुजफ्फरपुर दोनों से वैशाली तक पक्की सड़कें जाती हैं और ८० गाँवों के क्षेत्र में जगह-जगह प्रमुख स्थानों को जोड़नेवाली सड़कें भी बना दी गयी हैं। सन् १९५६ में वैशाली में बिजली भी आ गयी।

वैशाली के तत्कालीन जमीन्दार दीवान बहादुर बदरी नारायण सिंह ने वैशाली-संघ के नाम पौने सात कट्ठा जमीन हस्तान्तरित कर दी थी। इसपर वैशाली-संघ ने बिहार

सरकार से अनुदान लेकर एक आवासगृह (रेस्ट हाउस) बनवाया। बाद में १९५६ में तिरहुत के तत्कालीन आयुक्त (कमिश्नर) श्रीयुत श्रीधर बासुदेव सोहनी के प्रयत्न से खरौना पोखर के उत्तरी तट पर एक अत्यन्त सुन्दर और सुव्यवस्थित लोक निर्माण विभाग निरीक्षण भवन (पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० इन्स्पेक्शन बंगला) का निर्माण हुआ। इस बंगले का स्थापत्य और उपस्कर (फर्निचर) कलात्मक शैली का है, जिसके लिए श्री उपेन्द्र महारथी ने रूपांकन (डिजाइन) तैयार किया था। बिहार सरकार के पर्यटन विभाग ने १९६० में वैशाली में एक पर्यटक सूचना केन्द्र की स्थापना की, जिसके लिए वैशाली-संघ ने वहाँ के ग्रामवासियों से प्राप्त ३९ डिसमिल जमीन बिहार सरकार के नाम हस्तान्तरित कर दी। फिर संघ के प्रयत्नों से ही मुजफ्फरपुर से वैशाली तक बस-सेवा की व्यवस्था भी हो गयी। बिहार सरकार के वन-विभाग की सहायता से वैशाली क्षेत्र के कुछ पृष्करों के किनारे फूल तथा फल के वृक्षों का रोपण भी किया गया। संघ ने प्रारम्भ में एक होमियोपैथिक डिस्पेंसरी की व्यवस्था की थी। जब बिहार में सामुदायिक विकास योजना के अन्तर्गत ब्लॉक केन्द्र स्थापित किये गये, तब वैशाली को एक पृथक ब्लॉक बनाया गया और केन्द्र भी। इस प्रकार वैशाली-संघ तीर्थयात्रियों, पर्यटकों तथा अन्य आगन्तुकों के लिए सुविधाओं का आयोजन करने में प्रारम्भ से ही सचेष्ट रहा है।

वैशाली-संघ ने स्थानीय कृषकों तथा शिल्पियों के आर्थिक विकास के लिए विविध कार्यक्रम चलाये। कई वर्षों तक बांस के शिल्प के सीखने का एक केन्द्र चला और इसके अन्तर्गत अनेक स्थानीय शिल्पियों को कलात्मक प्रशिक्षण दिया गया। सन् १९६४ से १९७३ तक श्री जगदीश चन्द्र माथुर भारत सरकार के कृषि विभाग में थे। उस समय उन्होंने वैशाली क्षेत्र के कृषि पैदावार के विशेष विकास का प्रयत्न किया। एतदर्थ वैशाली-संघ को अखिल भारतीय फ्रीडम फ्रॉम हंगर कैम्पेन से कुछ सहायता भी दिलायी गयी। इस संस्था से दो रिग (उत्खनन की मशीन) दिये गये। अनेक निजी नलकूप भी खुदाये गये। इस गैर-सरकारी योजना में बिहार सरकार से भी सहायता मिली। जापान से आये चार युवक विशेषज्ञों ने वैशाली में दो वर्षों तक रहकर इन कृषक दलों तथा अन्य स्थानीय कृषकों को नवीन कृषि-पद्धतियों को अपनाने में सहायता दी। आगे चलकर वैशाली में फ्रीडम फ्रॉम हंगर कैम्पेन ऑफ् इन्डिया नामक संस्था ने अपने खर्च पर संघ को एक अनुभवी कार्यकर्त्ता श्रीयुत कृष्णदेव दीवान दिया, जो १९७१ से कृषि विकासार्थ किसानों के संगठन के काम में जुट गये। इस किसान-संगठन का नाम है वैशाली एरिया स्मोल फार्मर्स एसोसियेशन, जिसका संक्षिप्त रूप होता है वास्फा (VASFA)। कृषि विकास के क्षेत्र में इस संस्था द्वारा प्रशंसनीय कार्य हो रहा है।

वैशाली-संघ की उपलब्धियों से प्रेरणा प्राप्त कर इस क्षेत्र में कई संस्थाओं का जन्म हुआ, जिनमें प्रमुख है १९५६ में स्थापित वैशाली बुद्ध जयन्ती समारोह समिति। इसकी ओर से २४ मई १९५६ को बड़े उत्साह से बुद्ध जयन्ती मनायी गयी तथा क्षेत्र की भलाई के लिए हर पहलू पर विचार-विमर्श होने लगा। कालान्तर में यही संस्था वैशाली विकास परिषद् के रूप में परिणत हो गयी। कई क्षेत्रों में इस संस्था ने उल्लेखनीय कार्य

किया है। इसने संघ के वैशाली को भारत के पर्यटन मानचित्र पर लाने के प्रयत्न को यथाशक्ति आगे बढ़ाया है। सरकारी सहायता लेकर वैशाली क्षेत्र में कई स्थानों पर तोरण द्वारों का निर्माण हुआ है और खरीना पोखर पर भारत सरकार के संग्रहालय भवन के ठीक पीछे (उत्तर) युवा छात्रावास (यूथ होस्टल) बनवाया गया है। इस परिषद् ने इलाके में सड़क-निर्माण, विद्युत्-आपूर्ति, सिंचाई-व्यवस्था आदि के सम्बन्ध में भी अभिरुचि ली है। महावीर स्मारक योजना को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए भी यह सचेष्ट है। जापान बौद्ध संघ के अध्यक्ष महान् सन्त महामान्य श्री निचिदात्सु फुजीई गुरुजी (ज० ६ अगस्त १८८५, मृ० ९ जनवरी १९८५) से सम्पर्क कर उन्हें वैशाली में विश्वशान्ति स्तूप के निर्माण के लिए राजी कराने का इसका प्रयत्न सफल रहा। बिहार सरकार ने गुरुजी की शर्तों को स्वीकार कर कई लाख रुपये खर्च करके अभिषेकपुष्करिणी के दक्षिणी किनारे पर आवश्यक भूमि प्राप्त की और उसे गुरुजी के हवाले किया। इस काम में बिहार के राज्यपाल डा० अखलाक-उर् रहमान कदवाई, बिहार सरकार के पर्यटन विभाग के निदेशक डा० शत्रुघ्न प्रसाद ठाकुर और वैशाली के जिलाधिकारी एवं समाहर्ता श्री मुख्तियार सिंह से अपूर्व सहायता मिली। खरीना पोखर पर वैशाली-आन्दोलन के पहले किसी सड़क का नामोनिशान नहीं था। संघ के प्रयत्नों से पहले उत्तर और बाद में पूर्व की ओर सड़कें बन गयी थीं, किन्तु दक्षिण और पश्चिम ओर विशाल भिण्डे सिर उठाये खड़े थे और उधर की जमीन उबड़-खाबड़ थी। विश्व शान्ति स्तूप निर्माण योजना ने एक असंभव काम संभव कर दिया और जिलाधिकारी की मुस्ती तथा ग्रामवासियों के सहयोग के कारण दक्षिण और पश्चिम में भी शान्ति स्तूप के शिलान्यास के पहले ही, उस अवसर पर जुटनेवाली विशाल भीड़ का स्वागत करने के लिए, सड़कें तैयार हो गयीं तथा दक्षिणी सड़क के दक्षिण, सरकार द्वारा अर्जित भूमि की भराई भी सम्पन्न हो गयी। २० अक्तूबर १९८३ को वहाँ बिहार के महामहिम राज्यपाल द्वारा वैशाली के विश्व शान्ति स्तूप का शिलान्यास किया गया। इस अवसर पर श्री फुजीई गुरुजी ने अधिक उम्र के बावजूद स्वयं भी पधारने का कष्ट किया था, जिनका विशाल भीड़ द्वारा वहाँ स्वागत किया गया। अभिषेकपुष्करिणी पर चारों ओर से वृक्ष लगाये जाने की योजना भी है, जिसका प्रारम्भ इस अवसर पर कर दिया गया और महामहिम राज्यपाल ने पहला वृक्ष लगाकर उसमें पानी पटाया।

वैशाली विकासोन्मुख है और सबसे इस कार्य के लिए सहयोग एवं सहायता की अपेक्षा रखती है। आशा है, १९८२ से चालू गंगापुल (महात्मा गांधी सेतु) से इस कार्य में और भी तेजी आएगी।





VAISHALI PRAKRIT JAIN RESEARCH INSTITUTE : IDEALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

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Incubation

The idea of a Research Institute for Vaishali was first mooted in 1952 at the 8th Vaishali Festival held on April 7, 1952. One of the resolutions passed at the festival recommended to the Jain community and the Government of Bihar to start the Vaishali Prakrit Jain Institute at Vaishali, and, set up a sub-committee consisting of Dr. A. S. Altekar, Shri J. C. Mathur, Prof. Yogendra Mishra, Dr. Nathmal Tatia, Shri Lalanji Jain, Shri Nemi Chandra Shastri, Prof. Dalsukhbhai Malvaniya and Shri Jagannath Prasad Sah for the purpose. The Education Minister to the Government of Bihar, Shri Badri Nath Verma, especially supported this idea at the festival at which the Chief Guest was Shri K. M. Munshi, Food Minister to the Government of India. In due course of time, the sub-committee submitted an exhaustive and detailed scheme¹ in printed form for setting up the proposed institute to the Government of Bihar. Two separate appeals² were also issued on behalf of Dr. Srikrishna Sinha (Chief Minister of Bihar and President of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha) and Sri R. R. Diwakar (Governor of Bihar) pleading for the sponsoring of the project of an Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Prakrit and Jainology at Vaishali and inviting the culturally-minded persons,

1. *A Scheme for the Vaiśālī Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Prakrit and Jainology*, Vaiśālī Saṅgha, 1952, hereinafter cited as 'the Vaiśālī Saṅgha brochure of 1952.'
2. The one-page 'Appeal from Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar' and the two-page 'Appeal from Sri R. R. Diwakar, the Governor of Bihar' were distributed along with the Vaiśālī Saṅgha brochure of 1952 cited earlier.

particularly the generous Jain community at large, to lend their support and cooperation by making handsome donations to push through the proposed scheme. The response to these appeals was encouraging and the Government of Bihar was pleased to approve of the proposal for the establishment of the Vaishali Institute on May 18, 1953. The conception of an institute for Prakrit Studies all the more gained ground as two centres of traditional learning, namely, a centre of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Pāli and Buddhism and a centre of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit and Brahmanism, had already been established at Nalanda and Darbhanga respectively by the Government of Bihar.

Preparations

According to the charter of sanction of the Government of Bihar, the Institute was initially characterized as an Oriental centre of Post-graduate Studies and Research in the field of Prakrit and Jainology to be located at Vaishali, the seat of the ancient Republic of the Licchavis and also a place from which Lord Mahāvira and Lord Buddha disseminated to the world the message of non-violence and peace. Sri R. R. Diwakar, the Governor of Bihar during 1952-1957, recalling the resounding message of '*Ahiṃsā Paramo Dharmah*', that went forth from Vaishali some twentyfive centuries ago, considered Ahimsā 'not only as a religious tenet but as the basic approach and attitude of man towards man as a great principle in the social organisation of humanity.'¹ Hence he suggested that as research on it was of immediate importance, Ahimsā should form one of the salient features of this Institute. As such, the Institute was suitably christened 'Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa.'

Shri Shanti Prasad Jain, the leading industrialist and philanthropist of Bihar and a prominent figure in the Jain community, volunteered to make a generous donation of Rupees six lacs and twentyfive thousand for the initial establishment. The poor but overwhelmed members of the public of the Vaishali area unhesitatingly offered to donate thirteen acres of land for its campus. The Government of Bihar in the Education Department undertook to run the Institute and meet the recurring expenditure.

A suitable permanent site for the Institute was selected at Vaishali, known at present as Basukund and identified as Kuṇḍagrāma or

1. 'Appeal from Sri R. R. Diwakar, the Governor of Bihar,' p. 2.

Kuṇḍapura, the birthplace of Lord Mahāvira, the twentyfourth and the last Tirthaṅkara of Jainism.

Establishment

The first practical step to translate the scheme into action was taken by the Government of Bihar in the form of their resolution dated November 25, 1955 followed by the appointment of Dr. Hira Lal Jain, Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Allied Studies, Nagpur University and an eminent scholar of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa studies, as the Founder-Director of the Institute. Dr. Jain joined the Institute at Muzaffarpur on December 1, 1955.

The effective functioning of the Institute, however, began from July 1956 in a rented house at Muzaffarpur. Matters progressed quickly. Certain formalities with the Bihar University were completed and the Bihar University granted recognition to the Institute as a centre of post-graduate studies and research in the subject of Prakrit and Jainology.

A constitution was also promulgated for the administration of the Institute and in accordance with it, several bodies were formed to regulate, control and advise for the proper functioning and development of the Institute.

Administration

The constitution for the governance of the Institute provides for three chief bodies, viz., the General Council, the Executive Committee, and the Publication Committee. The first two bodies are constituted by the Government of Bihar in the Education Department according to the rules laid down in the constitution for specified periods from time to time. The Publication Committee is constituted by the General Council itself. The Governor of Bihar is the ex-officio Adhishṭhātā and the Education Minister of Bihar is the ex-officio Adhyakṣa of the General Council. The Executive Committee and the Publication Committee are headed by the Commissioner of Tirhut Division as ex-officio Chairman. The General Council is the supreme Governing Body of the Institute. It takes policy decisions regarding the development of the Institute and recommends to the Government for the implementation of various programmes and schemes formulated from time to time. The Executive Committee looks into the day-to-day administration of the Institute and exercises control over its routine matters. The Publication Committee deals with matters of detail pertaining to the publication programmes

of the Institute. The proposals mooted by these Committees are considered by the General Council before recommendation to the Government for final consideration and decision.

The Institute is proud of having an eminent scholar like Dr. Hira Lal Jain as its Founder-Director. He held this august office from December 1, 1955 to July 24, 1961. His worthy successors, viz., Dr. Nathmal Tatia (holding the office from July 25, 1961 to January 13, 1973), Dr. Gulab Chandra Chaudhury (from January 14, 1973 to May 4, 1974) and Dr. Nagendra Prasad (from May 5, 1974 to January 18, 1982) equally distinguished themselves in contributing to the development of the Institute as one of the finest centres of research and training. Dr. Ram Prakash Poddar acted as the Director of the Institute from January 19, 1982 to April 12, 1984 and gave an impetus to the activities, particularly academic, of the Institute. From April 13, 1984, Dr. Deva Narayan Sharma, as the Acting Director, assumed the heavy responsibility of nourishing the Institute in its best traditions.

Objectives

Prakrit and Jainology had drawn the attention of the Orientalists, and much valuable work had been done by a number of eminent scholars like Jacobi, Bühler, Pischel, Schubring, Woolner, Charpentier, Winternitz, Guerinot, Hoernle, Thomas, Glasenapp, Jules Blick and Alsdorf in the West and V. R. Gaudhi, C. L. Jaini, P. C. Nahar, Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi, Bechardas, Muni Sagarānanda, Muni Jinavijaya, Muni Puṇyavijaya, K. C. Bhattachārya, Satkari Mookerjee, P. L. Vaidya, Hira Lal Jain, A. N. Upadhye, S. M. Katro and M. A. Mehendale in the East, before the establishment of this Institute. A number of text-publishing series and bodies like the Āgamodaya Samiti Series (Surat), Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā Series (Bhavanagar), Jaina-dharma-prasāraka Sabhā Series (Bhavanagar), Manekchand Digambara Jain Granthamālā (Bombay), Raichand Jain Sāstramālā (Bombay), Jain Cultural Research Society (Banaras), Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha (Banaras) and Sacred Books of the Jainas (Arrah) had published a number of valuable original texts and studies on Prakrit and Jainology.¹ But despite these individual efforts of isolated scholars and private institutions, it had not been possible to popularise the subject and attract adequate number of serious and better-equipped scholars for intensive research work and advanced studies in its manifold branches. Hence it was that the Vaishali Institute was established by the Government.

1. See the Vaidali Sangha brochure of 1952, pp. 2-3 for this list.

of Bihar to provide adequate facilities for higher studies and original researches to scholars willing to specialise in different branches of Prakrit and Jainology and to equip them at the same time with the scientific technique of modern research.

Thus the objective of this Institute remained to make it a centre of higher study and research in

- (i) Prakrit languages and literature,
- (ii) Jainology in all its branches, viz., philosophy, religion, history, epigraphy, palaeography, art and architecture, and
- (iii) The principle and technique of Abhimsā and its practice both by the individual and society.

With a view to promoting these objectives, the following specific functions, among others, were considered vital for the Institute :

- (a) To admit graduates with sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit for higher studies and prepare them for M. A., Ph. D. and D. Litt. degrees of the Bihar University,
- (b) To carry on institutional research,
- (c) To prepare, edit and publish critical editions and translations of the hitherto unpublished Prakrit and Jain literature and to publish the researches done by the members of the Institute,
- (d) To build up and equip an up-to-date library of printed books, manuscripts, journals and periodicals for study and reference,
- (e) To disseminate the popular aspect of Prakrit and Jain learning among the common people by holding meetings, conferences and discourses by inviting eminent scholars, monks etc.
- (f) To organise tours and trips to promote the cause of Prakrit and Jain learning.

Building

Although the foundation stone of the Institute building was laid at Basukund by the first President of the Indian Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, on April 23, 1956, the building could be made ready seven years later by 1963. The building began to be used as the venue of the annual scholars' seminar from 1963 onwards. But the Institute shifted from Muzaffarpur to its permanent site at Basukund with effect from March 1, 1965 where it has been functioning since then. The Institute building is double-storeyed and provides accommodation for offices, classes,

library, research scholars' study, general meetings and councils, and visiting scholars.

Library

The Institute has a well-equipped library of about twelve thousand rare books and journals on various Indological subjects in general and Prakrit and Jainology in particular. Besides, a collection of eight hundred select books has been donated by Shrimati Hira Kumari of Calcutta which has enriched the reference section of the library. This library has earned a good reputation, and research scholars concerned with Prakrit, Jainology and Ancient Indian History visit it for their research purposes.

Hostel

There is a small hostel for students carrying on study and research at the Institute; but the accommodation being very scanty, there has been a long-felt need of a spacious and big hostel.

Shri Jagannath Kaushal, the Governor of Bihar during 1976-1979, was good enough to take interest in the expansion of the hostel facilities, and by his kind efforts a grant of Rupees two lacs and fifty thousand was obtained as assistance from the Central Government for the construction of a new hostel. The condition of the grant was that it would be matched by the Government of Bihar. The present Governor of Bihar, Dr. A. R. Kidwai, desired some improvements in the lay-out plan of the proposed hostel. Accordingly, an ambitious plan for the hostel was prepared by the Public Works Department (Buildings), Muzaffarpur, and was submitted with the estimate to the Education Department of the Government of Bihar for administrative approval. Dr. A.R. Kidwai, the Governor of Bihar, laid the foundation stone of the proposed 'International Students' Hostel' on April 23, 1983.

Teaching

The Institute runs post-graduate classes in Prakrit and Jainology. Teaching is of two years' duration and the Institute prepares students for the M. A. degree of the Bihar University, Muzaffarpur. The courses of study in the subject provide for eight papers, each of one hundred marks. Of them, four are compulsory papers and the remaining four optional group papers. In the determination of group subjects, Shri M. A. Ayyangar, the Governor of Bihar during 1962-1967, had suggested

that in order to widen the scope of the Institute, subjects like Logic, Comparative Religion, Linguistics etc. should be incorporated in its curriculum. Accordingly, the subject as taught here offers¹ five specialized groups, viz., Literature, Philosophy, Epistemology & Logic, Ancient Indian History & Epigraphy and Comparative Religion & Philosophy for the teaching of which specialized teachers in the said disciplines are available at the Institute.

The Institute also provides for teaching of English of the B. A. Pass standard as a part of the three-year M. A. course for Oriental students and students coming from South-East Asian countries. Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Governor of Bihar during 1957-1962, had pointedly laid stress upon the need of introducing improved and effective method of teaching English, because such knowledge was an essential tool in higher study and research.

Teaching imparted at the Institute is based upon personal contact between the teachers and the taught, and greater emphasis is laid upon the tutorial and the seminar system than upon formal lectures. Holding of monthly seminars on varying aspects of Prakrit & Jainology forms a regular feature of the academic activities of this Institute.

Education at the Institute is free. Besides, some meritorious students are offered assistance in terms of monthly scholarships purely on merit basis. The late Shrimati Hira Kumari of Calcutta donated Rupees six thousand with the proviso that the interest accruing therefrom should be utilized for student welfare.

The Institute has had the privilege of utilizing the great services of distinguished teachers like Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, Dr. Jagadish Chandra Jain and Professor Anant Lal Thakur. Dr. Chhaganlal Shastri, Dr. Vimal Prakash Jain, Dr. Nand Kishore Prasad, Dr. Shriranjan Surideva and Dr. Om Prakash Sharan served on the teaching staff of the Institute in the past with full dedication to teaching and research.

Research

In order to draw talents to the field of research at the Institute, candidates having high second class Master's degree in Prakrit and Jainology or even in any of the allied subjects like Sanskrit, Pali, Philosophy, Ancient History and Modern Languages and having an aptitude for research are allowed admission. Some research scholars are

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1. *Vide Courses of Study for M. A. Examinations in Prakrit and Jainology of 1983, Bihar University, Muzaffarpur.*

also awarded scholarships purely on merit basis for carrying their research work. While the research scholars and members of the teaching staff of the Institute carry on research work individually in their specialized fields of study, the Institute as such has from time to time short and long-term programmes of research too. Two Japanese scholars worked here as research scholars and produced works of great significance without however submitting them for an examination. Mr. M. Shinoda worked on *Abhidhamma-Samuchchayaṭīkā* and Mr. Hanaki translated the *Anuyogaddārṇi* into English.

Some of the important authors on whom researches have been completed here are Vālmiki (6th-5th century B. C.), Vimalasūri (5th century A. D.), Kundakunda (650-701 A. D.), Haribhadra (c. 827 A. D.), Pushpadanta (10th century A. D.) and Rāidhū (1380 A. D.). Some important Prakrit and Sanskrit texts which have also formed the subjects of research at the Institute are, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (a pre-Buddhist Brahmanical work), *Mahābhārata* (6th-5th century B. C.) of Vyāsa, *Vasudevahindī* (c. 3rd-4th century A. D.) of Saṅghadāsa Gaṇī, *Meghadūta* (c. 400 A. D.) of Kālidāsa, Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhatkathā-Ślokaśaṅgraha* (c. 5th century A. D.), *Paumachariyam* (473 A. D.) of Vimalasūri, *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* (the first *Āṅga* of Jain canonical literature) (6th century A. D.), *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (the fifth *Āṅga*), *Paumachariyū* (later half of 9th century A. D.) of Svayambhū, *Karpūramanjari* of Rājasekhara (880-920 A. D.), *Mahāpurāṇa* (c. 959-965 A. D.) of Pushpadanta, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (c. 1150 A. D.) of Jayasena and *Sandeśarāśa* (12th century A. D.) of Abduḥ Rahman. Besides, some of the important topics of research completed here relate to non-violence, Buddhist and Jain *Āchāra*, Linguistics including Bajjikā (Skt. Vrijikā, Pāli Vajji) language and so forth.

Publication

Publication of valuable works embodying researches in the field of Prakrit & Jainology is an important activity of the Institute. So far, eighteen such works have been published by the Institute. These works comprise critical studies, original researches, critical editions and translations. Among the publications of this Institute are the scholarly works of Dr. J. C. Sikdar, Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri, Dr. K. R. Chandra and Dr. Kanchhedilal Jain. Besides some of its own researches, one of the important publications of the Institute is a work on Hastimalla (later half of the 12th century A. D.). Some critical editions published by the Institute pertain to important texts such as the *Ardhamāgadhi Āgama*

Bhagavatsūtra, *Anuyogaddārath*, *Viśeṣaśākyakabhāṣyam* (c. 489-593 A. D.) of Jinabhadra Gaṇi, Udyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālākahā* (857 A. D.), Rājasekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* (880-920 A. D.), Nayanandi's *Sudāmsan-charitī* (1043 A. D.), Ṭhakkura Pheru's *Dravyaparīkṣhā & Dhātūpattī* (1290 A. D.) and Nayachandrasūri's *Rambhāmañjarī* (15th century A. D.).

The principle of publication normally followed is to confine to publication of works prepared and produced at the Institute itself; but in exceptional cases the Institute also undertakes to publish works of high research value in Prakrit and Jainology by outside scholars.

The Institute has taken care to cater to the needs of its students and has decided to publish *Prakrit Gadya-Padya-Bandha* in a series comprising selections from different types of Prakrits beginning from the Ardhmāgadhi and coming down to the Apabhraṃśa stage. The publication of *Prakrit Gadya-Padya-Bandha* (Part I) is the first attempt in the direction. This contains selections from the Aśokan inscriptions and the Ardhmāgadhi Jain Canonical texts. The manuscript of Part II in this series containing selections from the Jain Saurseṇī literature which was made ready sometime ago, is in the press.

Research Bulletins and Collections of Research Articles

Publication of Research Bulletins has been envisaged as an important programme of this Institute. The Institute has published four Research Bulletins so far which abound in valuable research articles by outstanding scholars. One of the Bulletins contains the original Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyāvatāra* of Siddhasena Divākara (5th-6th century A. D.) with the *tippana* of Devabhadra Sūri and the *ṭīkā* of Siddharshi Gaṇi (covering 95 pages). Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, a philosopher of eminence, gives a faithful rendering of the original verses and supplements them with a very lucid, brilliant and exhaustive exposition and elucidation of the logical and epistemological problems dealt with in the said short but celebrated treatise of Jaina Logic and Epistemology. Dr. Mookerjee's exposition (covering 143 pages) is conceived to be 'an expanding commentary on comparative and critical lines'¹ on the text written in the aphoristic style.

Among some other contributions, Dr. Hiralal Jain's article on *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama*², Dr. Nathmal Tatia's article on the principle of Ahimsā³

1. *Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin No. 1* (Vaishali, 1971), p. 10.
2. *Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin No. 2* (Vaishali, 1974), pp. 5-11.
3. *Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin No. 1* (Vaishali, 1971), pp. 145-160.

in the context of Jaina and Gandhian Philosophy and Religion, Pt. Sukhlal Sanghavi's paper on the need of a historical and comparative study of different systems of Indian Philosophy for the proper understanding of a particular system¹, Dr. Mohan Lal Mehta's paper on Omniscience², Dr. A. N. Upadhye's paper on Jayasena³, Shri Agarchanda Nahata's paper on *Sudaṇṣaṇachariṭī*⁴ and Shri R. C. Dwivedi's paper on Pramāṇa⁵ are very revealing. Among some other distinguished scholars in their respective fields who have enriched these Research Bulletins figure Dr. J. C. Jain, Dr. T. G. Kalghatagi, Dr. Gustava Roth, Dr. N. H. Santani, Dr. B. K. Khadabadi, Dr. Yogendra Mishra, Dr. V. P. Varma, Dr. Shri-ranjana Surideva, Professor Ramjee Singh, Dr. Madhusudan Prasad and a host of other scholars.

Due to the keen and continued interest evinced by the present Governor of Bihar, Dr. A. R. Kidwai, particularly in the academic pursuits of the Institute, the Institute took up the publication of the second revised and enlarged edition of the book *Homage to Vaiśālī (Vaiśālī Abhinandana-Grantha)* the first edition of which had been published by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha as far back as 1948.

Academic Participation of Teachers

The teachers of this Institute have been actively participating in the deliberations of Conferences like All-India Oriental Conference, Indian Philosophical Congress, Bhāratīya Darśana Parishad and so on. They have also been taking part in seminars organized by different Universities and academic institutions from time to time. Dr. Nathmal Tatia attended as a special invitee History of Religion Congress held in U. S. A. in 1969. He was elected President of the Prakrit & Jainology section of the All-India Oriental Conference in 1970. Dr. R. P. Poddar attended the International Sanskrit Conference, held in Delhi, in 1972. He participated in the International Seminar on Buddhism & Jainism held under the auspices of the Institute of Orissan & Oriental Studies, Cuttack in 1976 and presided over one of the sessions. He also attended All-India Seminar on Early Jainism held under the auspices of Punjabi University, Patiala. Dr. Poddar was given an assignment by the Publications Division, Ministry of Infor-

1. Ibid., pp. 270-288.
2. *Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin No. 2* (Vaishali, 1974), pp. 87-90.
3. Ibid., pp. 12-14.
4. Ibid., pp. 204-214.
5. Ibid., pp. 48-58.

mation and Broadcasting, Government of India to write a monograph¹ on Śūdraka (4th-5th Century A. D.) to be included in the book *Poets, Dramatists and Story-Tellers* in the series Cultural Leaders of India.

Annual Seminar of Scholars

An annual seminar at the Institute on the occasion of the birthday celebration of Lord Mahāvira has of late become a regular feature of the Institute. Previously the Vaiṣālī Saṅgha used to convene a seminar of scholars as a part of the annual Vaiṣālī festival. But Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Governor of Bihar, while presiding over the 14th Vaiṣālī Festival on April 2, 1958, put forth the suggestion of severance of the seminar-part of the programme from the cultural programme. Accordingly, the seminar of scholars came to be conducted under the aegis of the Institute in the institute building at Basukund from the year 1963 by which time the construction of the building had been completed. The subjects of these seminars held so far are as follows : Grihastha Dharma as propounded by Mahāvira, Buddha, Manu and Gandhī (1963), The Jain view of Good and Evil (1964), Materialism versus Spiritualism (1965), Religion & Secularism (1966), Dharmaniti and Rājaniti (1967), National Unity (1968), Ārya versus Anārya (1969), Foundations of World Peace : Ahimsā and Anekānta (1970), *Dharma ke Mūla : Anubhūti Evaṁ Tarka* (1971), *Viśva Vyavasthā ke Niyāmaka Tattva : Niyati Evaṁ Karma* (1972), Ideals of Ancient Indian Democracy (1973), Jain Philosophy (1974), Prakrit Language and Literature (1975), Democracy and Ahimsā (1978), Vaiṣālī in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Literatures (1979), Our religious tradition and Vaiṣālī (1980), Relevance of Jainism today (1981), Ahimsā—its relevance in the modern age (1982), Priyadarśī Aśoka's Administrative Ideals (1983), and Secularism (1984).

Scholars of repute in their respective fields of studies from all over India and abroad have taken part in these seminars. Some such eminent participants² are : Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., Principal Mahendra Pratap, Dr. Yogendra Mishra, Principal Bhagawan Prasad Sinha, Dr. Nathmal

1. Cultural Leaders of India : *Poets, Dramatists and Story-Tellers* published by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-110001, November 1980, pp. 24-35.
2. Names are arranged here in order of their first appearance on the scene of the seminar.

Tatia (1963); Āchārya Tulsī, Muni Shri Dhanarājaji Mahārāj (1964); Dr. P. L. Srivastava, Professor D. Malavaniya, Professor A. L. Thakur, Pandit Darbari Lal Kothia, Shri Laksmi Chandra Jain (1965); Dr. Gulab Chandra Chaudhury, Dr. Sukumar Sen (1966); Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Pt. Ram Padaratha Sharma (1967); Sadhvi Kasturāji, Pt. Vidyadhar Shastri, Dr. P. S. Muhar (1968); Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri, Principal Ram Karan Sharma (1969); Dr. N. K. Devaraja, Dr. Satkari Mookerjee (1970); Principal N. K. Gaur, Dr. D. S. Trivedi (1973); Pandit Kailash Chandra Shastri (1974); Shri Vijoy Singh Nahar, Pandit Shobhakanta Jha (1975); Shri S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S., Shri Ganga Sharan Singh (1978); Dr. Pratap Chandra Chandra, Shri S.K. Srivastava, I.A.S., (1979); Shri Sanat Kumar Chaturvedi, I. A. S., (1980); Muni Shri Jinendra Varṇi ji, Muni Shri Padma Prakash Kaushal, Dr. D. S. Kothari, Dr. Shyam Nandan Kishore (1981); Sādhvi Chandanā ji; Dr. Gustava Roth (1983); and Dr. Jagadish Chandra Jain (1984).¹

Silver Jubilee (April 17, 1981)

The Institute completed 25 years of its existence in December 1980. As a mark of its Silver Jubilee Celebrations the Institute honoured the Jain Muni Shri Jinendra Varṇi Ji with a Praśastipāṭha, Tāmrapatra, Uttariya and Nārikela on the occasion and also presented a cash award of Rs. 2500/- (Rupees twentyfive hundred only) for his invaluable work *Jinendra Siddhānta Kośa* published in four volumes. The great Muniji later returned the amount to the Institute for the promotion of its academic activities.

Uniqueness

The Vaishali Prakrit Jain Research Institute is important and unique in the educational set-up of India on many counts.

First, it is situated at one of the most important sites in Bihar, near the ruins of ancient Vaiśālī, the earliest republic of the world with glorious heritage of culture and learning on the one hand and the birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra, the great religious teacher, on the other. Shri R. R. Diwakar in his appeal for the establishment of the Institute had aptly said : "....Vaiśālī should not merely remain a place of pilgrimage or an archaeologist's paradise. It should be a lively centre of deeper learning and research so that scholars may study all the aspects and trace the course of the great and inspiring teaching that emanated from here."²

1. See J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra, *Vaiśālī-Digdarśana* (in Hindi), Vaiśālī Saṅgha, 1981, pp. 123-139 for details of these seminars (1963-81) and their participants.
2. 'Appeal from Sri R. R. Diwakar, the Governor of Bihar', p. 1.

Second, being located in a village, the Institute has an entirely rural environment, quite peaceful and congenial to serious and sustained studies. Here, 'in unpretentious surroundings',¹ 'away from the din and bustle of city life,.....the depth of spirit is being probed into in solitude.'² Actually, the sponsors of the Institute wished to make it a link between the highest scholarship on the one hand and life as lived by the common people in the remote villages of India on the other. Research institutes and universities have in the past been established in big towns and cities, but they have been characterised by an almost complete divorce from the life of the masses, and have sometimes encouraged an attitude of mind not altogether responsive to the needs of a free nation. In the circumstances, the sponsors wished to make this Prakrit Institute a nucleus of a Rural University.³ They also felt that its teachers and students would endeavour to carry the message of learning and higher thought among the villagers in the neighbourhood and at the same time organize constructive activities for the social and economic amelioration and cultural revival of these people.⁴ This is why, the Institute was launched in the interior village-surroundings with a potentiality of a worthy centre of learning.

Third, it is the first institution of higher education of its kind in the country and has been a pioneer in the field of Prakrit and Jain learning. Prakrit studies all over the country have almost been manned by the alumni of this Institute. Dr. Jogendra Chandra Sikdar, ex-Research Officer, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute, Ahmedabad; Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri, ex-Head, Department of Sanskrit & Prakrit, H. D. Jain College, Arrah (Bihar) and Dr. K. K. Dixit of Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute, Ahmedabad have been the alumni of this Institute. At present, Department of Prakrit & Sanskrit, Jabalpur University is headed by Professor Vimal Prakash Jain, Department of Prakrit Language in the School of Languages in Gujarat University by Dr. K. R. Chandra, Department of Jainology in the Punjabi University, Patiala by Dr. Atul Nath Sinha—

1. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, in his letter to the Director of the Prakrit Jain Institute, quoted in *Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Calendar, 1955-1960*, Muzaffarpur, 1961, p. 101.
2. Remark of Dr. S. Bhattacharya, Head, Department of Sanskrit, Banaras Hindu University, quoted in *Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Calendar, 1960-1975*, Vaishali, p. 87.
3. The Vaiṣaṇi Saṅgha brochure of 1952, p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 11.

all alumni of this Institute. Dr. Kishore Nath Jha, also an *alumnus*, is a Professor in Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad. Other alumni holding responsible posts in the field of Prakrit Studies are: Dr. Ajit Shukdeo Sharma, Department of Jainology, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Dr. Prem Suman Jain, Department of Prakrit, Udaipur University; Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. Damodar Shastri, Head, Department of Jainology, Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi; Dr. Gokul Chandra Jain, Department of Prakrit and Jainagama in the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi; Dr. Raja Ram Jain, Department of Prakrit; H. D. Jain College, Arrah; Dr. Rai Ashvini Kumar, Department of Prakrit, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya; and Dr. Vidhata Mishra, Department of Linguistics, Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga. Many other alumni of this Institute are serving in the Departments of Prakrit at different Colleges in the State of Bihar. Some of our alumni are holding high posts at different institutions, Government or otherwise. A few of them are Dr. Nagendra Prasad, Regional Deputy Director of Education, Darbhanga; Dr. Ram Prakash Poddar, Deputy Director (Higher Education)-cum-Superintendent of Libraries, Bihar; Dr. Nand Kishore Prasad, Registrar, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda; Dr. Raj Kumar Pathak alias Dr. Shriranjan Surideva, acting Deputy Director, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad and Editor of *Parishad-Patrika*, Patna; Dr. Jayadeo, Principal, Patna Collegiate School, Patna; Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sharma, U. G. C. Professor, Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga; Dr. (Mrs.) Rama Singh, Vice-Principal, Women's College, Motihari (East-Champaran); and Dr. Ram Kripal Sinha, Reader in English, Ram Dayalu Singh College, Muzaffarpur.

Fourth, the Institute has attracted students from abroad as well, notably from Japan and the countries of South-East Asia such as Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand and Burma who have obtained M. A. and Ph. D. degrees having studied here for the required period. Some of these degree-holders, it is learnt, are well-placed in life. Casual students from western countries such as the United States of America have visited the Institute in connection with their research projects and benefited from its library and the erudition of its faculty-members.

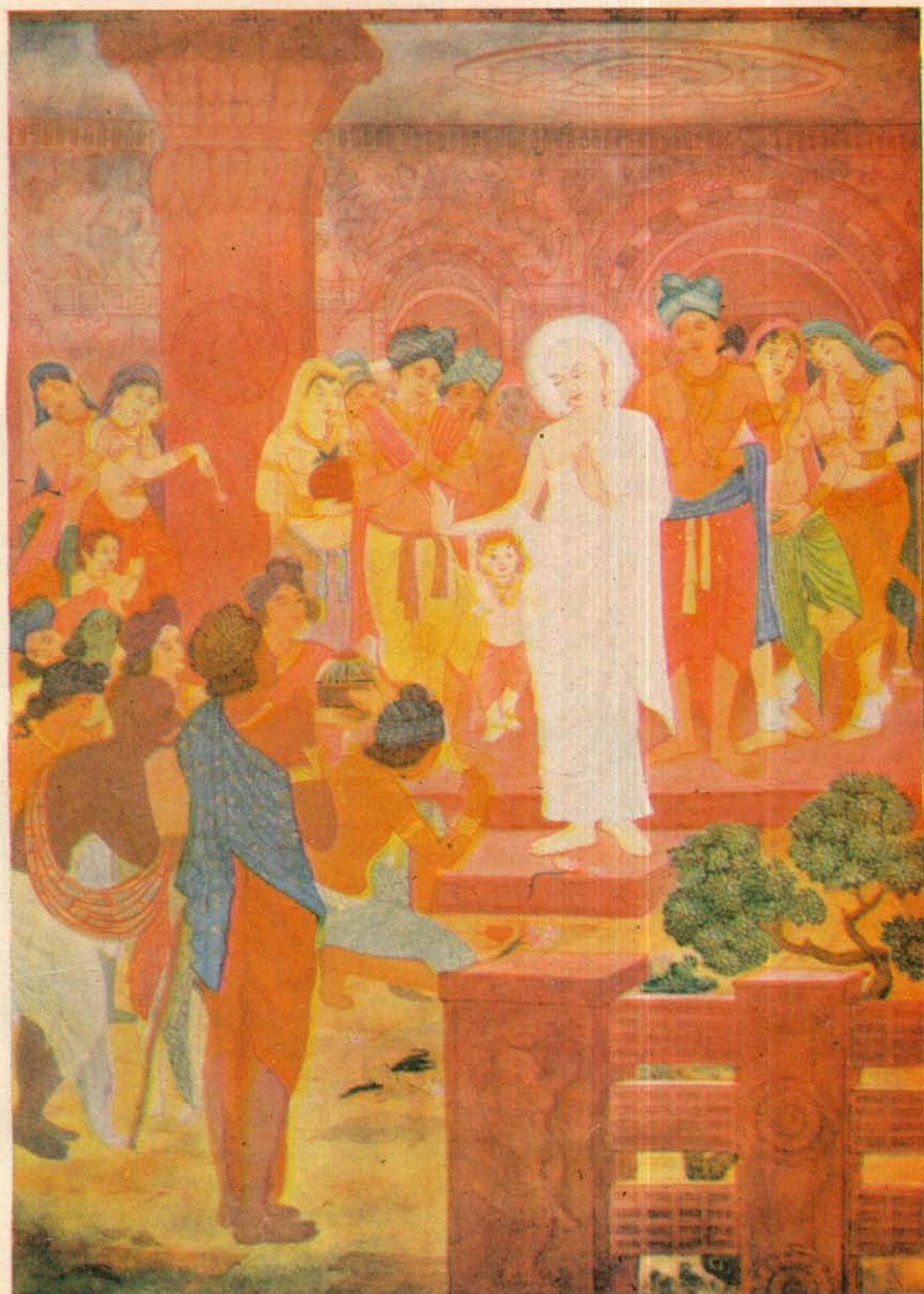
Fifth, the Institute is partly fulfilling the purpose of an open-air University. It has been running a popular lecture series (*Loka Bodhya Vyākhyānamālā*) for the people of the locality who are inquisitive to learn more about Prakrit and Jainology and theory and practice of Ahimsā. The idea of this popular lecture series was given by the late

Shri J. C. Mathur which was incorporated in the objectives of the Institute. In this series, talks have been delivered by Shri Chinta Haran Chakravorty of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Shri B. L. Atreya and Dr. N. K. Devaraja of Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; Dr. D. S. Trivedi of Varanasi, and others.

Finally, the Institute, which is about thirty years old, has by this time a considerably long and high tradition of research and publication to its credit.¹

1. Vide *Catalogue of Publications*, published by Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Vaishali-844128, in 1983, which mentions 22 titles. *Research Bulletin No. 4* also has since been published (in 1983). Moreover, *Research Bulletin No. 1* (published in 1971) gives the full text of the *Nyāyāvatāra* (95 pages) with a discussion on its contents by Dr. Satkari Mookerjee (143 pages).

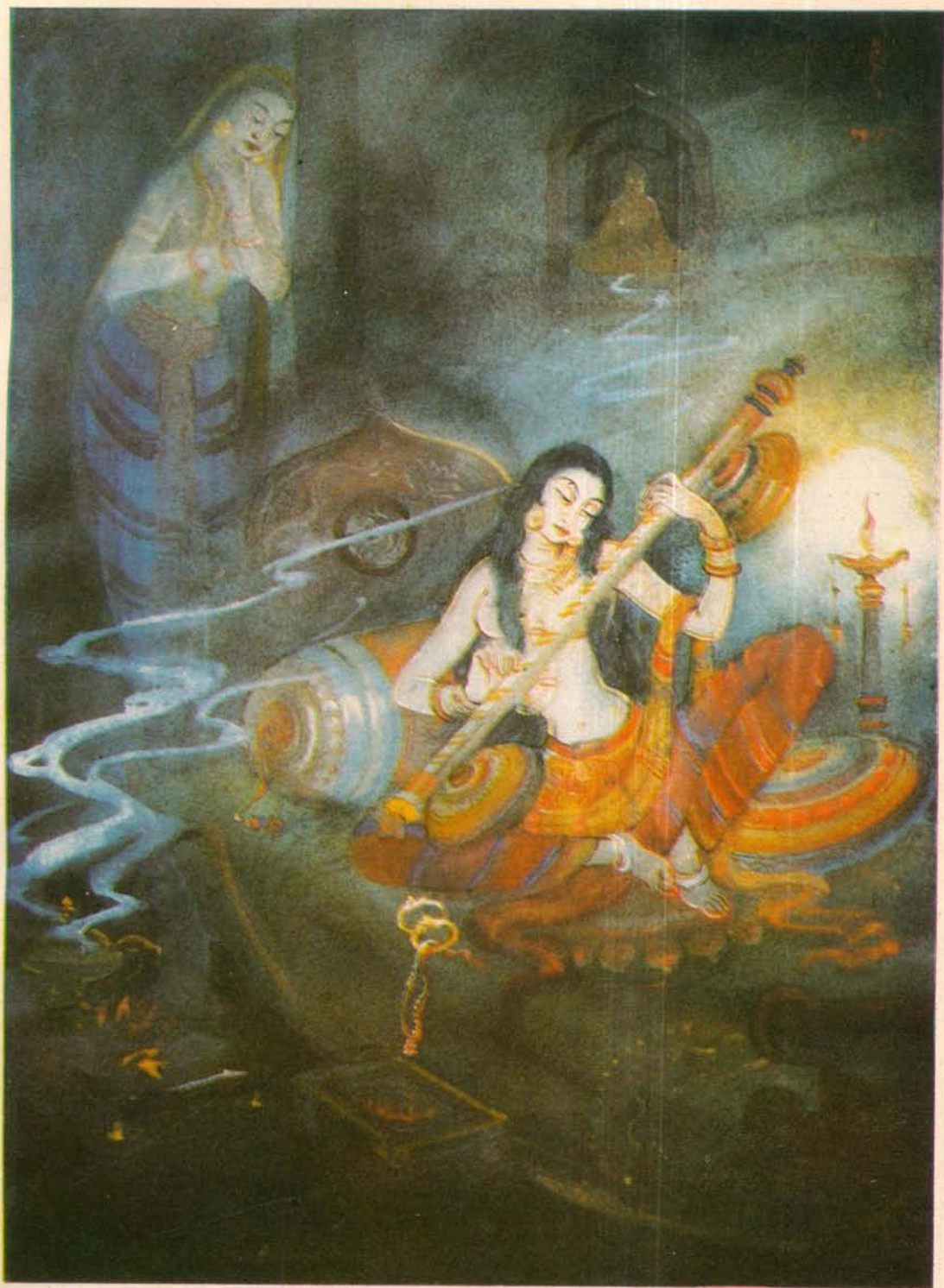




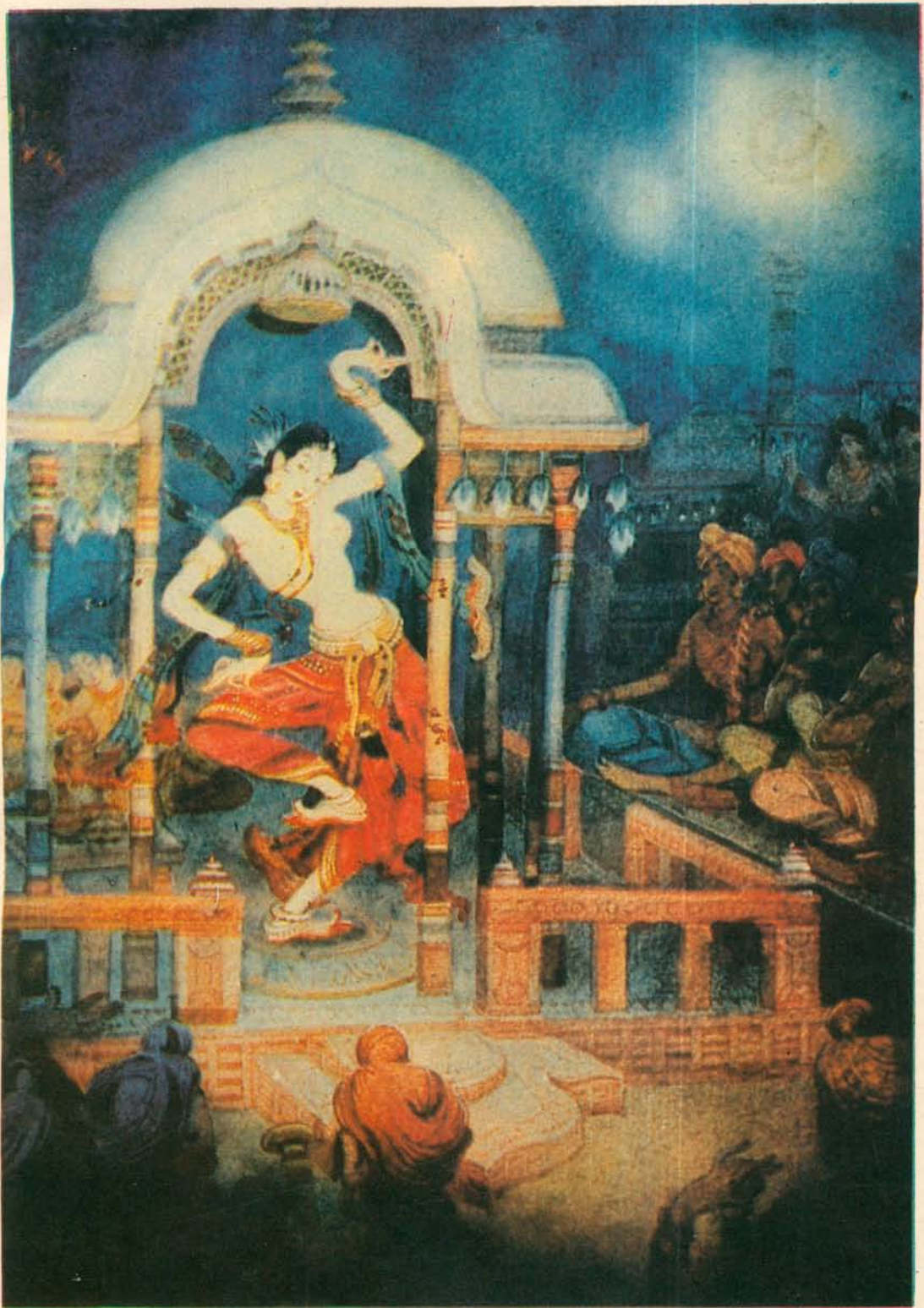
The Pravrajya on Nishkramaṇa of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Vardhamāna Kāśyapa renounces the householder's life and adopts the life of Dīkshā and Vairāgya



Vimalakirti, a direct disciple of the Buddha and a householder of the Vaiśālī City.
Centuries later, he and his thoughts gained high popularity in Eastern Asia



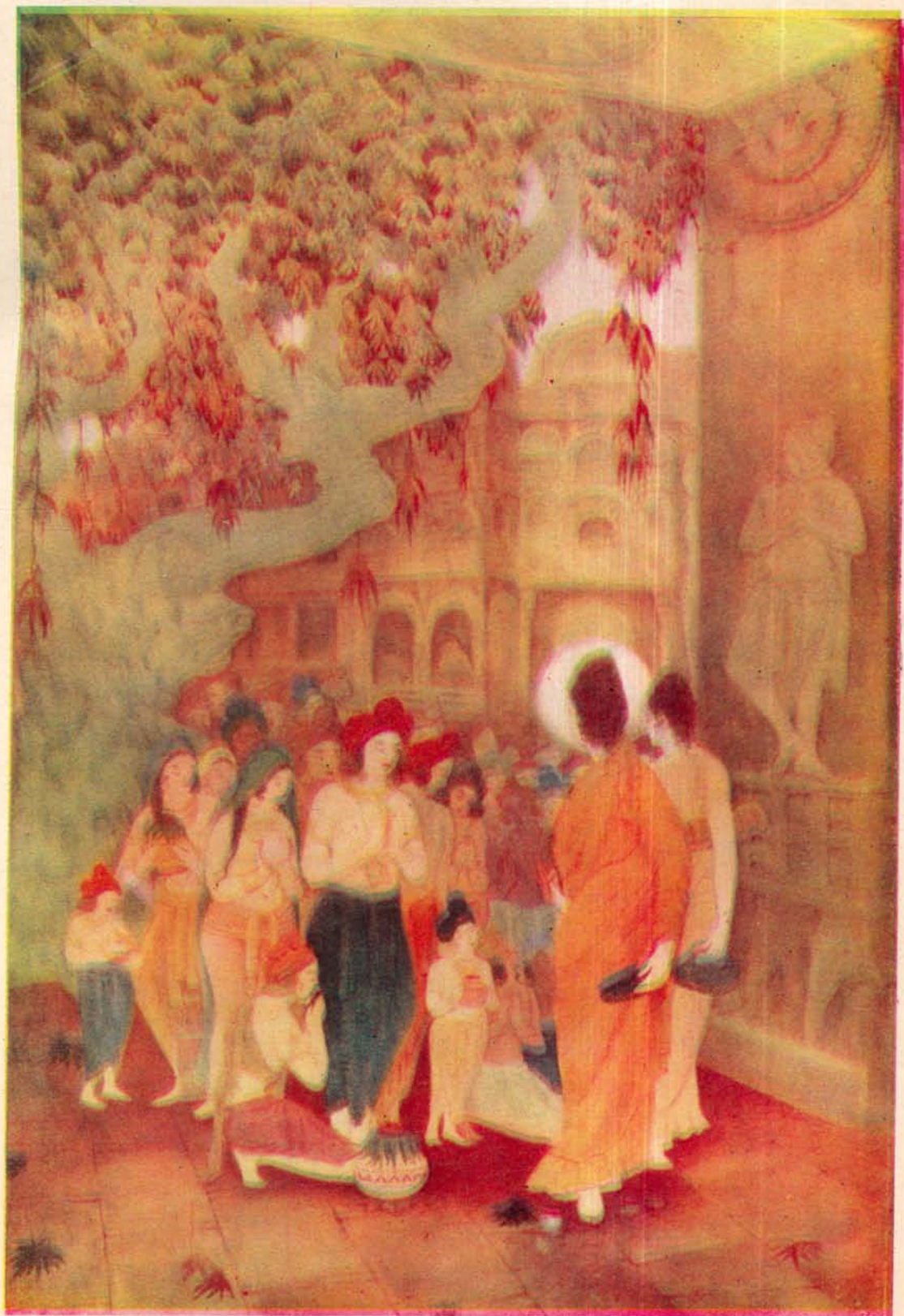
Amrapālī, the reputed gaṇikā of the Vṛjī-Gaṇa of Vaiśālī, playing on the vīṇā.
 Later in her life, she entered The Buddhist Church and became a nun.



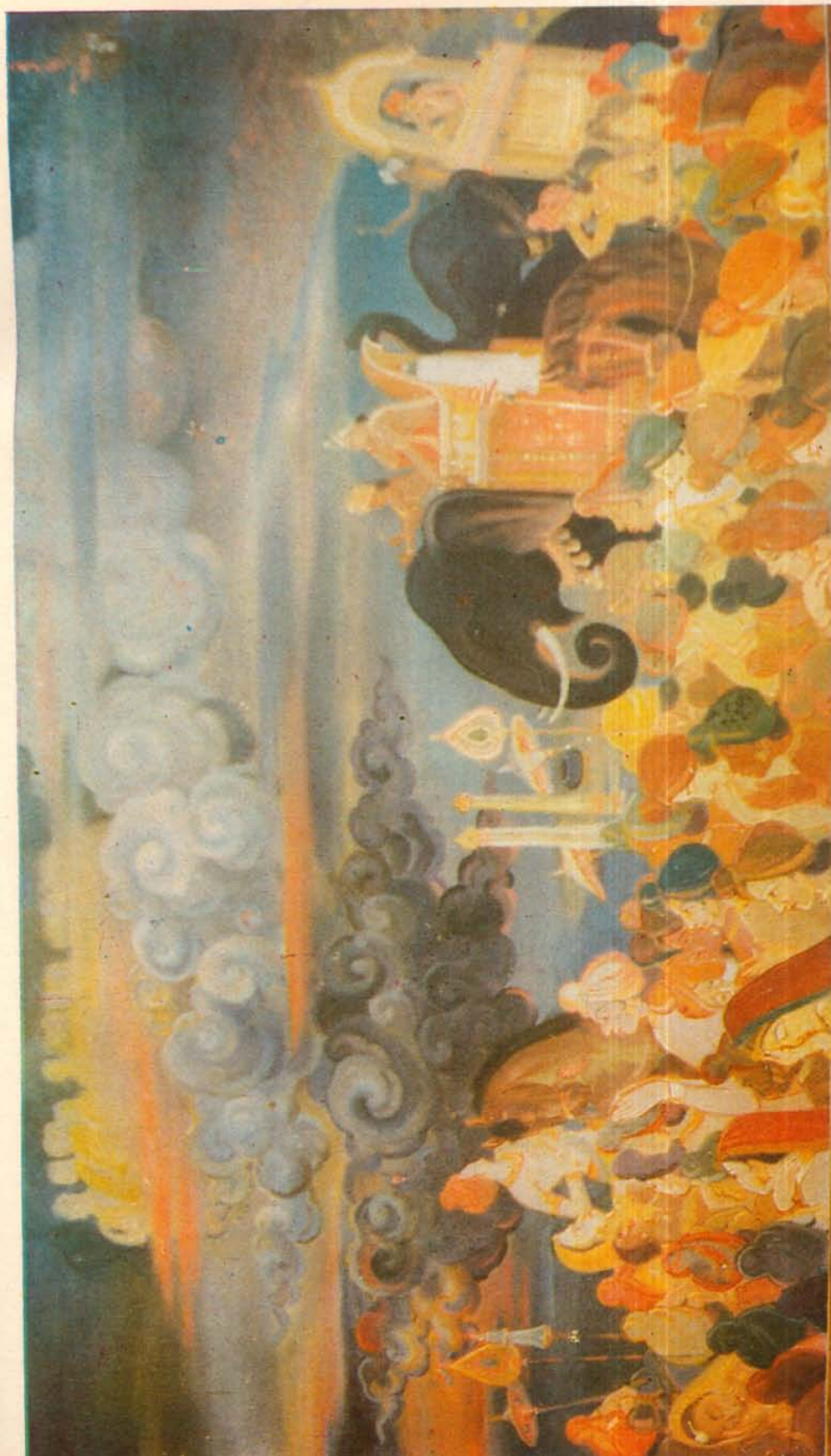
Āmrāpālī, the renowned gaṇikā of the Vṛjji-Gaṇa of Vaiśālī, in a dancing pose.. Later in her life, she entered the Buddhist Saṅgha and became a Therī (Skt, Sthavirā)



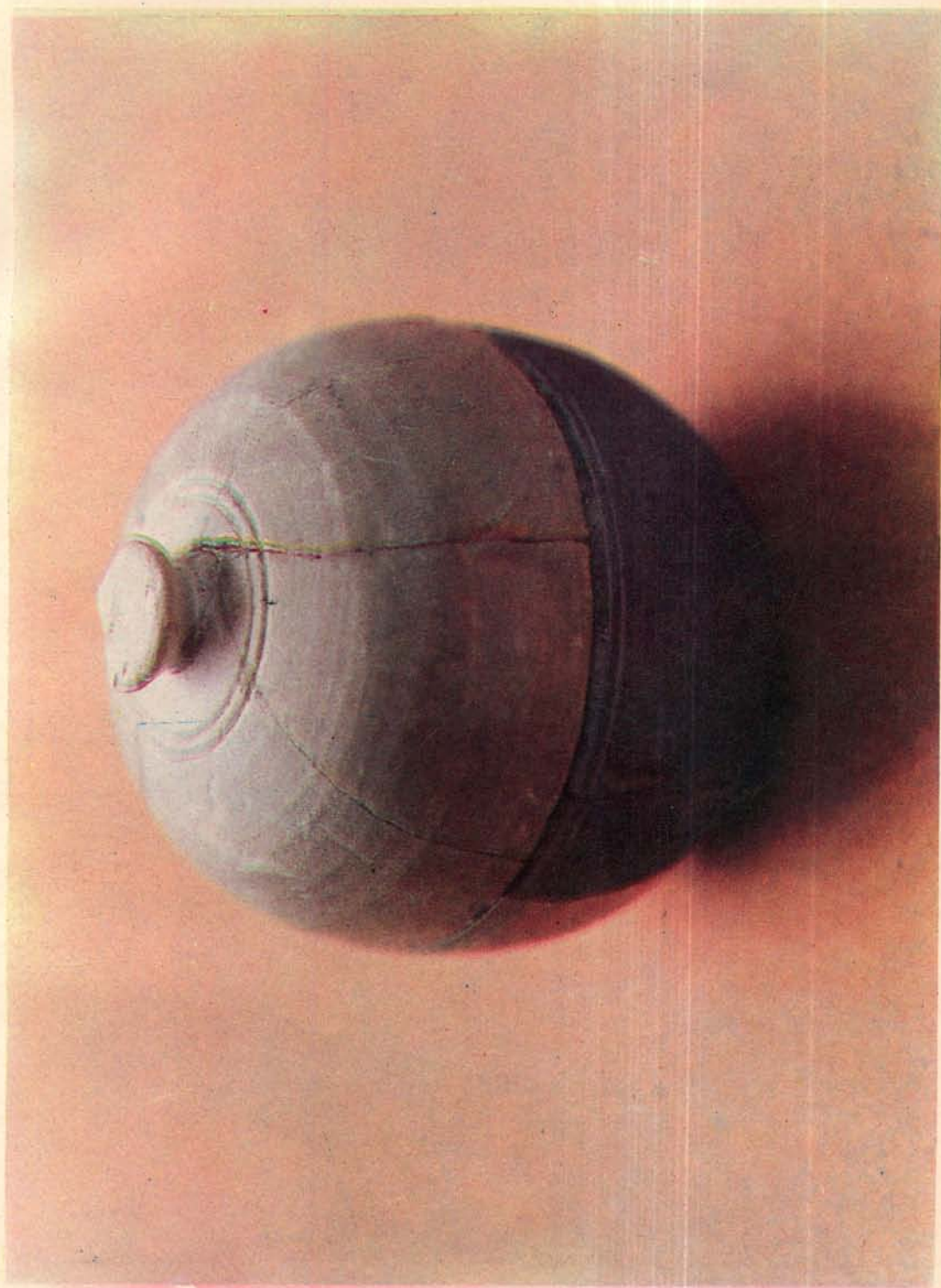
Gautama Buddha talking to Ānanda about the Lichchhavis at Kuṭṭhārasāla (Vaiśālī) or Pinnacled Rest-house
(house with a point)



Gautama Buddha's last look at Vaiśālī on his way to Kushinagar
for the Mahāparinirvāṇa



Gautama Buddha presents his alms-bowl to the bemoaning Lichchavis



The Buddha's Relics Casket (closed) found in the excavations of the mound situated north of the Kharauna Pokhar



The Buddha's Relics Casket (open) found in the excavations of the mound situated north of the Kharauna Pokhar



The site of the Buddha Relics Stūpa at Vaiśālī (north of the Kharauna Pokhar) after excavation



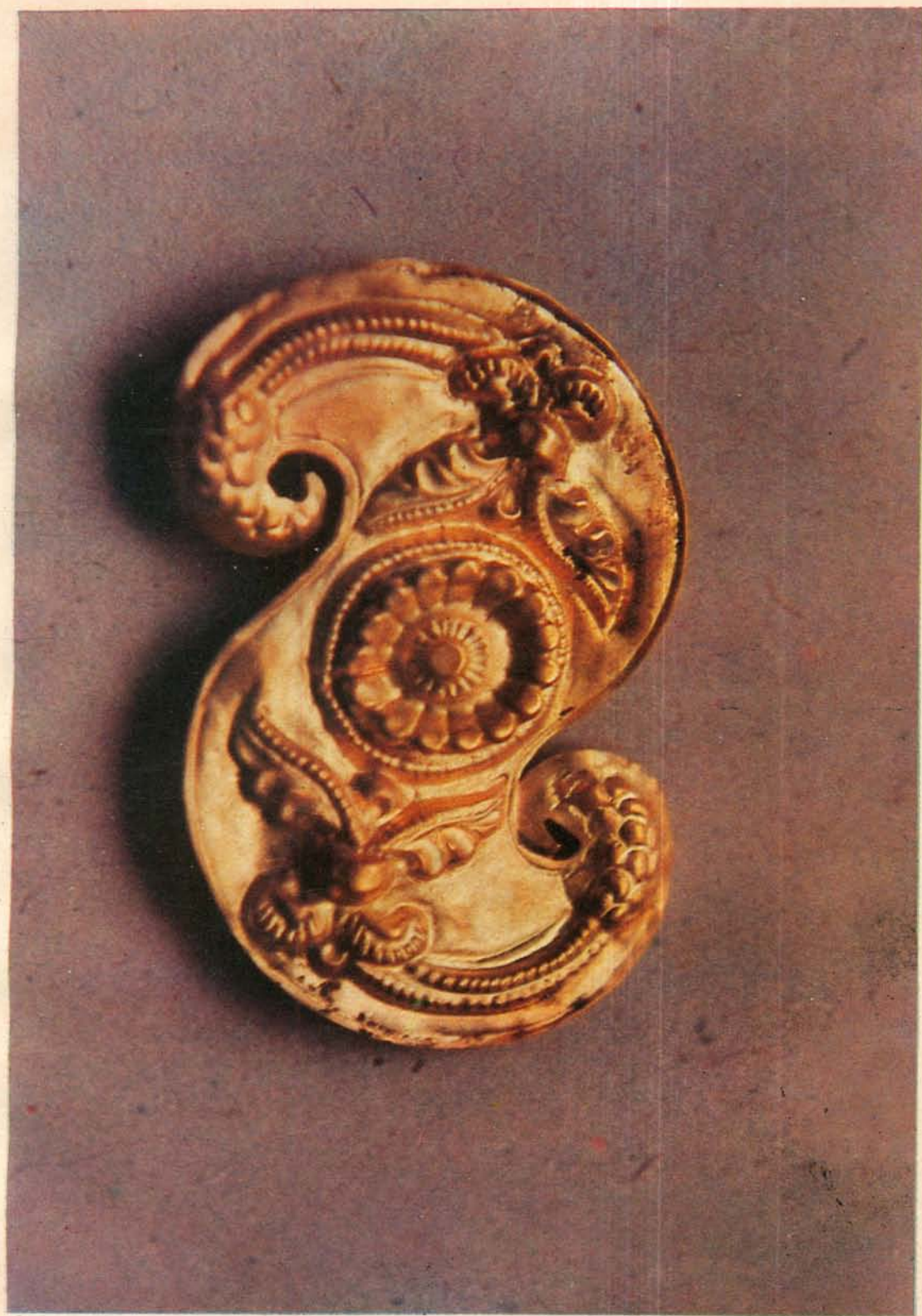
The uninscribed pillar of Aśoka Maurya (reigned 269-232 B. C.) situated at village Kolhua in Vaiśālī Area lying in Muzaffarpur district



A gold image found in the excavations of Rājā Viśāla Kā Gaṛh
at Basarh (Vaiśālī)



A gold image of the bull found in the excavations at Rājā Viśāla Kā Gaṛh at Basarh (Vaiśālī) taken from two different angles



A gold ear-ornament found in the excavations of Rājā Viśāla Kā
Gaṛh at Basarh (Vaiśālī)



Image of Chaturmukha Mahādeva of the early Gupta period popularly known as Chaumukhī Mahādeva at Village Kamman Chhapra north-east of Basarh (Vaishali district)



Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited India
(A. D. 629-645) and came to Vaiśālī in A. D. 637



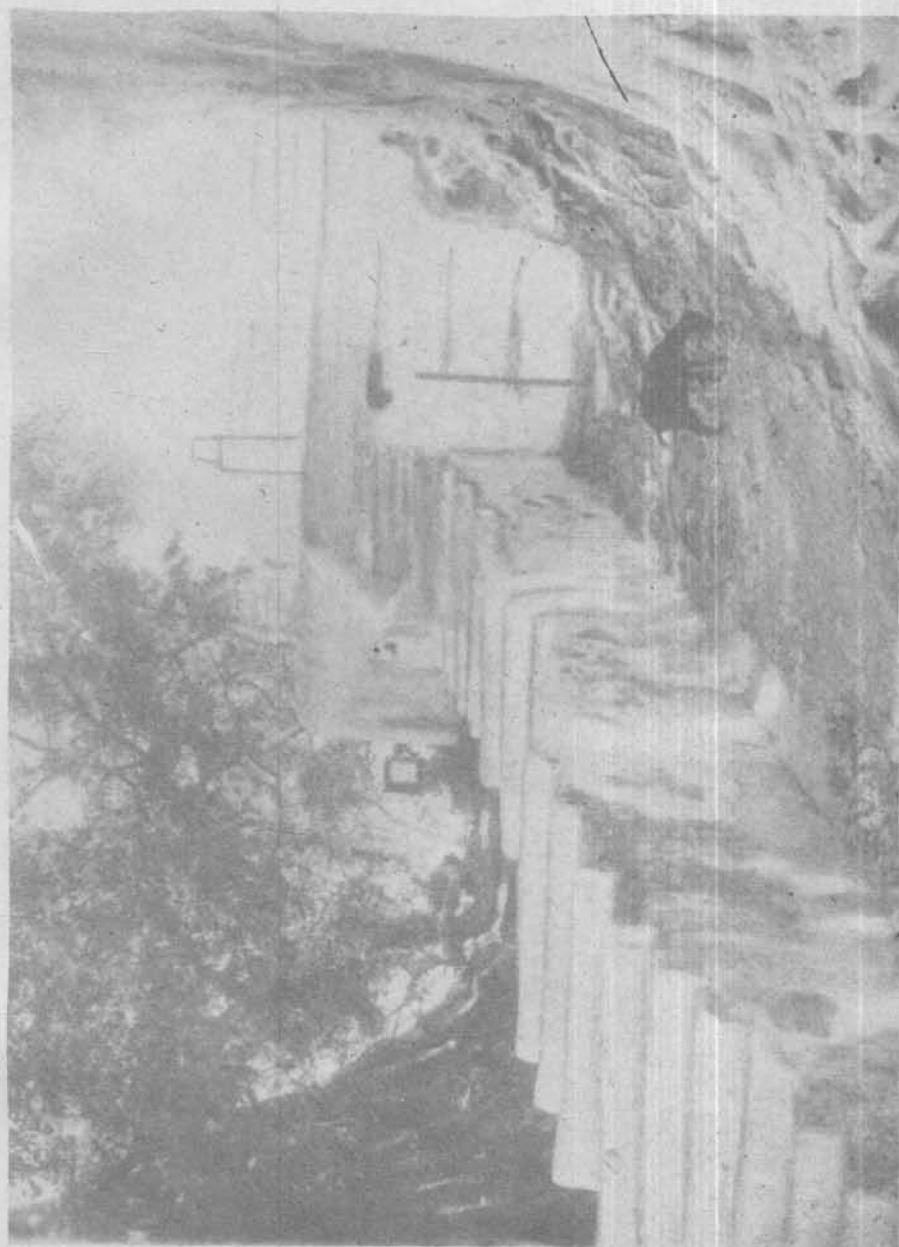
Image of the Jaina Tirthaṅkara, belonging to the Pāla period, previously in the old temple of Bauna Pokhar, now enshrined in the newly built temple near by just to the west of the old one.



From left to right—Images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, Avalokiteśvara (Buddhist) and Hara-Gaurī (Mahādeva and Pārvatī), all of the Pāla period, found in a temple known as 'Bauna Pokhar Ka Mandir' at Basarh (Vaiśālī)



The black-basalt statue of Kārtikeya, belonging to the Pāla Period, enshrined in a temple called Harikatora at Basarh (Va.śālī).



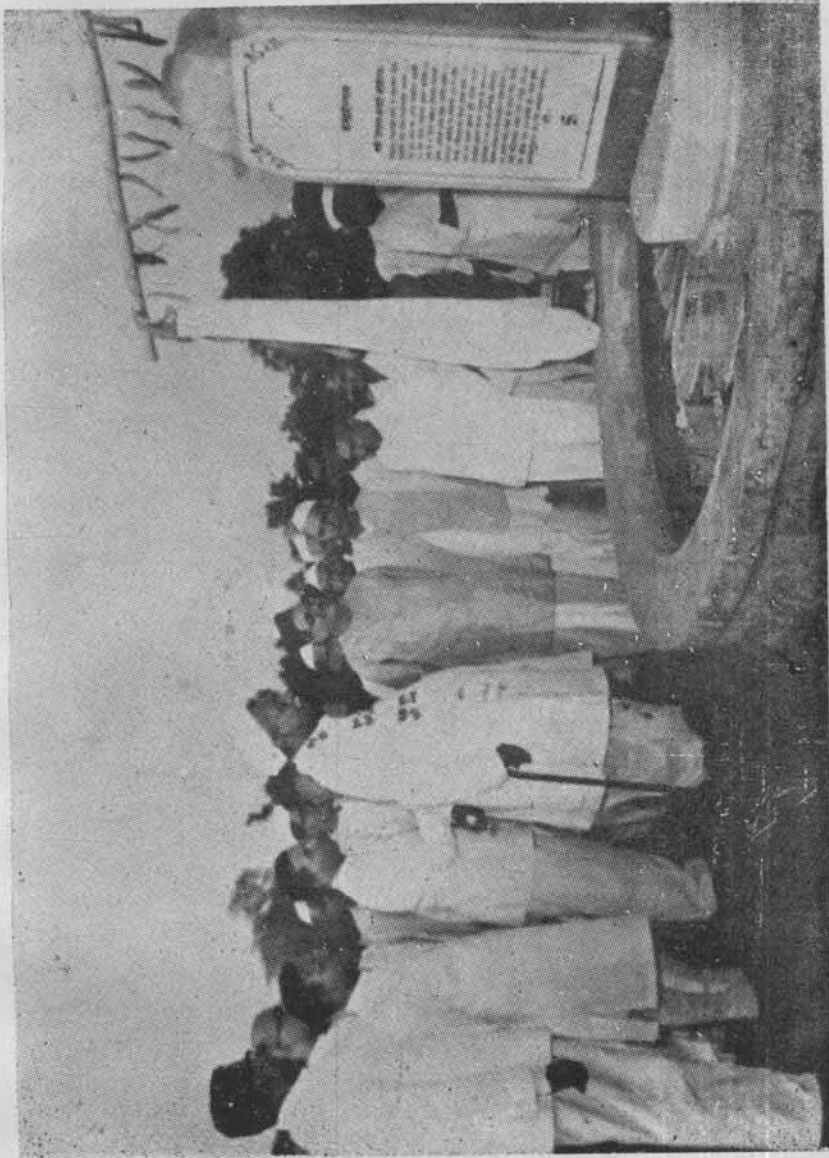
Tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Qāzin Shuttāri (A. D. 1434-1495) on the top of a ruined Buddhist brick stūpa mound at village Basarh about 300 yards to the south-west of Rājā Viśāla Kā Gārh. The long flight of steps on the south leading to the summit of the mound may be clearly seen in the picture



Major-General Alexander Cunningham, the first Director-General of Archaeology in India, who felt attracted towards Vaiśālī, made intensive explorations in the entire area, and excavated some sites there (1861-1864, 1881)

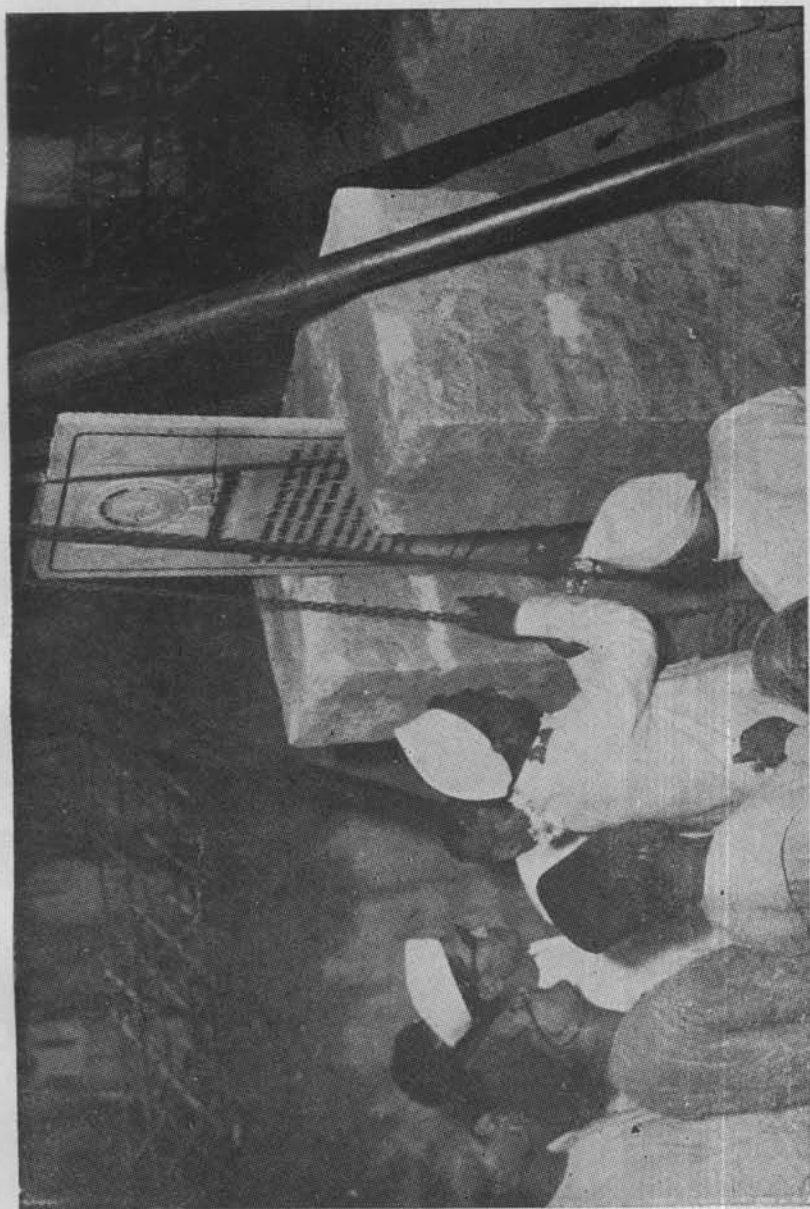


Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, inaugurating the Children's Fair at Vaisali on March 21, 1956. On his left is seen Shri Dip Narayan Singh, Minister of Cooperation to the Government of Bihar.

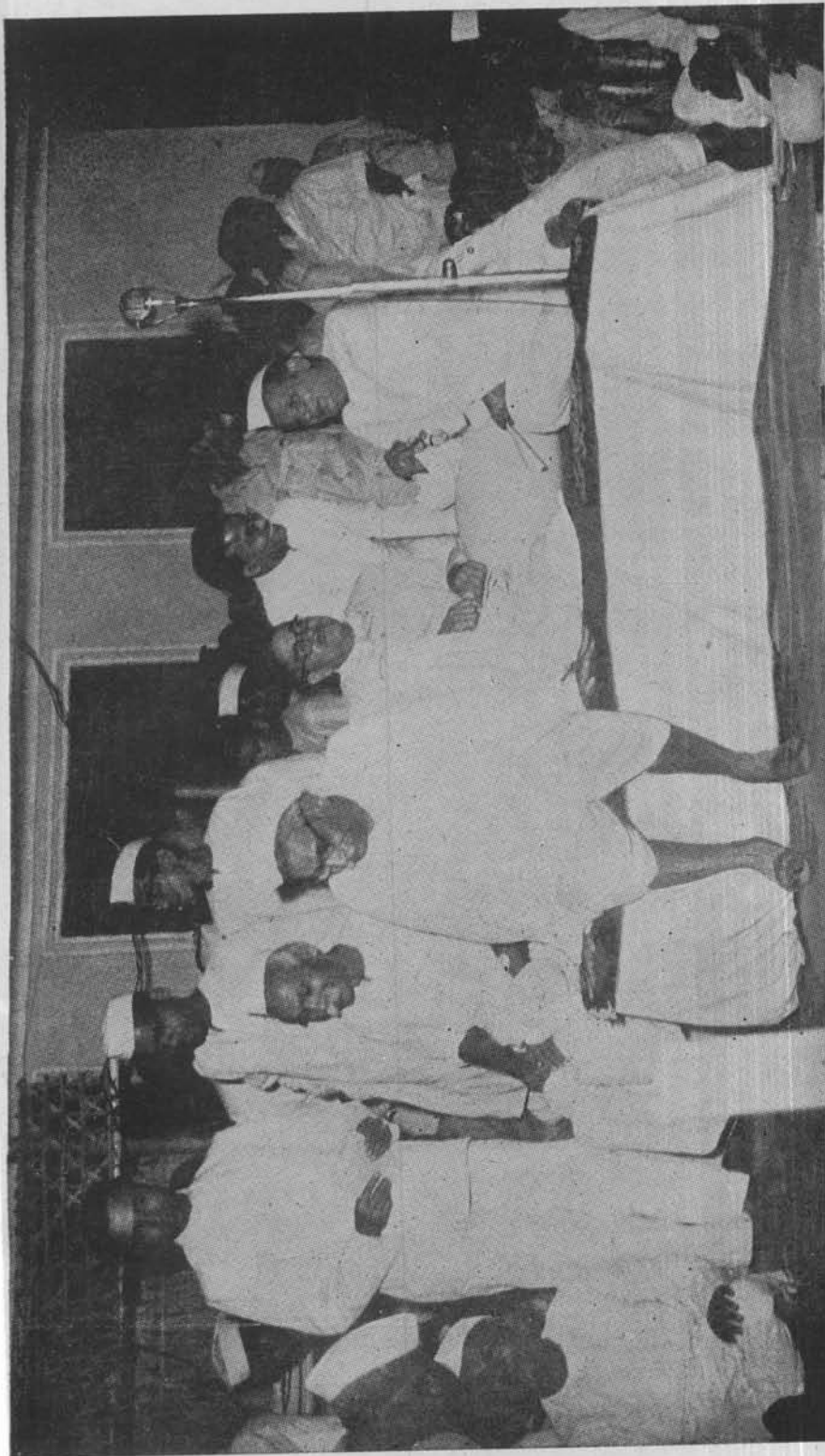


Unveiling of the Mahāvira Birthplace Memorial Inscription by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, on April 23, 1956 at village Basukund in Vaiśālī Area, P. S. Saraiya, Distt. Muzaffarpur.

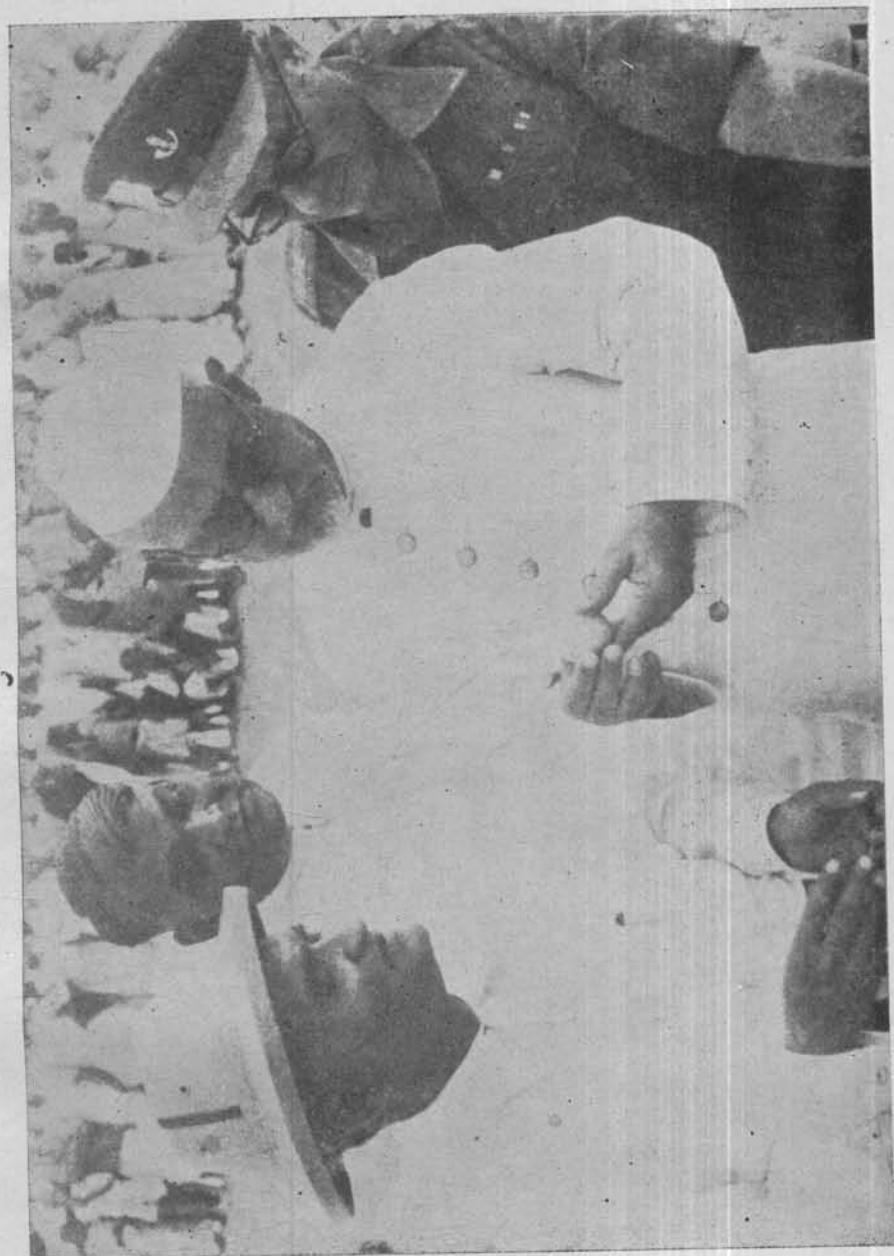
On his left is seen Dr. Hiralal Jain, Director of the newly-established Vaishali Prakrit Jain Research Institute, functioning at Muzaffarpur for the time being (1955-1965).



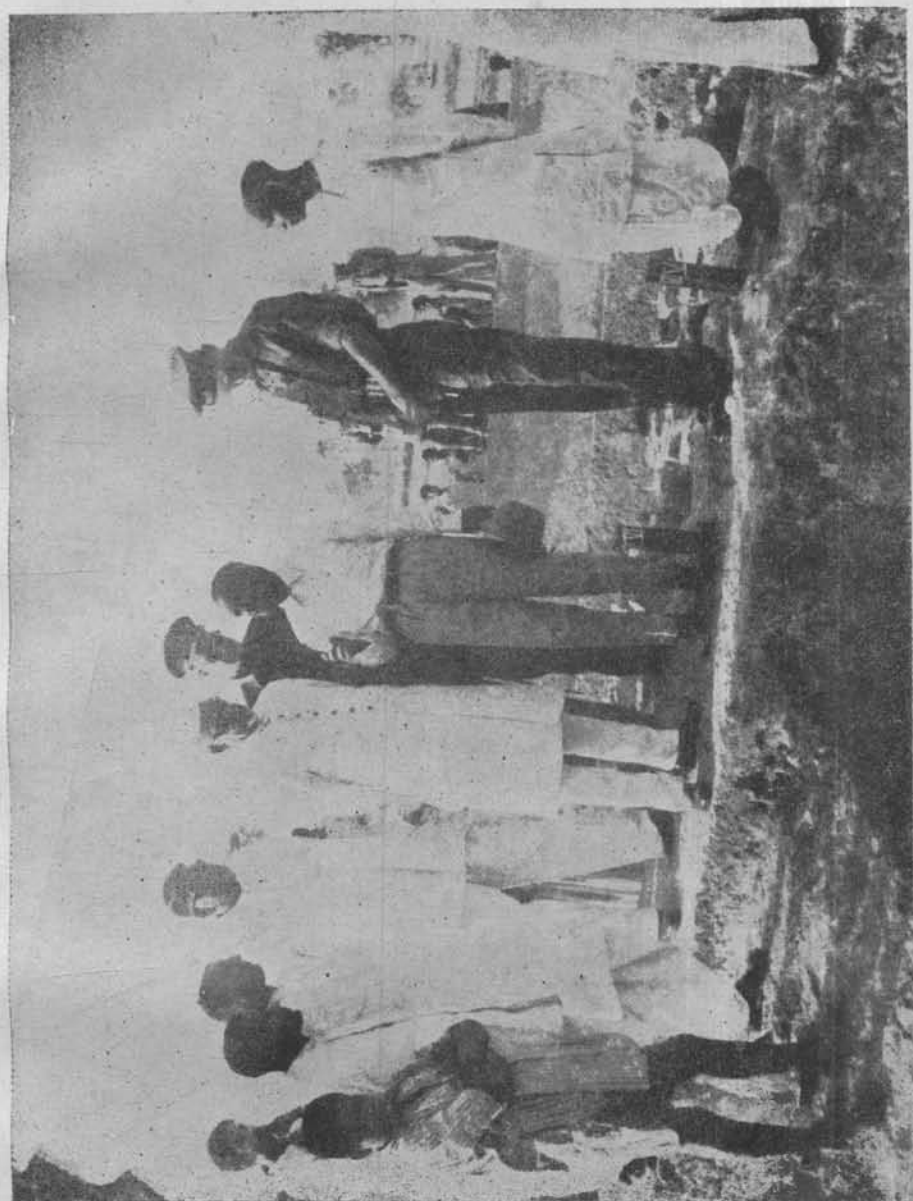
Foundation laying ceremony of the Vaishali Prakrit Jain Research Institute building at village Basukund in Vaishali Area, P. S. Saraiya, Dist. Muzaffarpur, by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, on April 23, 1956



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, at a function at Vaisāli on April 23, 1956. With him on the dais are seated (l. to r.) Shri Dip Narayan Singh, Dr. Hiralal Jain and Dr. Shrikrishna Sinhr (Chief Minister of Bihar and President of Vaisāli Saṅgha). Among those standing are (l. to r.) Shri S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S. (Commissione of Tirhut Division), Shri Laliteswar Prasad Shahi, Shri Kamal Singh Badalia of Patna City and Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S. (Director-General of All-India Radio and General Secretary of the Vaisāli Saṅgh).



Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, closely observing the Buddha's Relics Casket (April 2, 1958) recently found in the excavations. In the extreme left is Dr. A.S. Altekar, Director of Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, the excavator of the site.



Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director of Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna the excavator of the Relics
 Stūpa of the Buddha (567-487 B. C.) at Vaiśālī, explaining to Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar,
 as to how the stūpa passed through the various stages of development in succeeding periods



Dr. A. R. Kidwai, Governor of Bihar, pouring water on the newly-planted tree after laying foundation of the World Peace Stūpa at Vaiśālī on the southern side of the ancient Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī ('Coronation Tank') on October 20, 1983. On his left is sitting Rev. Fujii Guruji of Japan.

