

## "KĀŚIRĀJA" MAHĀSENA OF BĀṆA<sup>1</sup> A CRITICAL REVIEW

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बाणभट्टेन हर्षचरिते काशिराजमहासेनस्य मारणविषये  
उल्लेखो व्यधायि। एषः महासेनः क इति विषये विमर्शका  
विवदन्ति। अत्र लेखकः भासं परमप्रमाणत्वेन समुपस्थाप्य  
तदीयनाटकेभ्यो वचनान्युद्धृत्य कञ्चन नवं निष्कर्ष  
प्रस्तौति राज्ञः उदयनस्य पुत्रः जयवर्मा एव काशिराज-  
महासेन इति।

Bāṇa in Harṣacarita ucchvāsa VI<sup>2</sup> caustioning Harṣa against his universal confiding-ness illustrates a historical incident which narrates the killing of Kāśiraja Mahāseṇa at the hands of his queen Suprabhā, who lured into confidence the king as a devoted wife and administered poison mixed with "Madhuraka"<sup>3</sup> coated groots of fried grains when having the king gone hilarious owing to liquor taking.

Messrs E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas translate "madhumoditam". as "sweet toothed" king of Kāśi.<sup>4</sup> M.M. P.V.-Kane<sup>5</sup> translate as—"Exhilarated with wine" and "madhuraika as Viṣaṃ. Suprabhā tookup this act in order to anoint her son as king. Bāṇa calls it the deliberate act of connivance meant to achieve a capricious end by way of an internal schism, on the part of a women, when having strained relations with a husband. [Pramadākṛtāḥ Preceded by Pramattānām [HC-VI P 697 LLI-2 JNVSE]

V.S. Apte<sup>6</sup> (Skt. Eng. Dictionary, interprets [Madhurakaḥ]<sup>7</sup> as 1 Red Sugar cane 2. Rice 3. A kind of sugar or Mollasses 4. A Sweet drink or syrup. 5. Poison; Sir Monier Williams (Skt. Eng. Dictionary)<sup>8</sup> interprets it as a kind of drug (Jīvaka)

Hemacandra in Nighaṇṭuśeṣa<sup>9</sup> edited by "Munirāja puṇya vijaya jī" with vācanācārya Vallabhagaṇis Comneutary also takes Madhuraka as a synonym of jīvaka.

"Kūrcake śṛṅgakaḥ sarjo Dīrghāyuh Kūrca śīrśakaḥ. Maṅgalya nāmadheyśca-priyajīvakaḥ. Jīvakaḥ Hrasvāṅg madhurakaḥ prāṅnakaścira jīvyapi."

And Bhāvaprakāś'a Nighaṅṭu<sup>10</sup> in Guducyādivarga 55 Says: –

"Jīvano madhuraś cāpi nāmnā saḥ parikīrtitaḥ. Jīvanāyagaṅaḥ Proktaḥ Śukrakṛt Vṛṇiḥaṅo Himah.

R.D. Karmarkar<sup>11</sup> in "Bāṇa" p. 43 (chapter IIB.)Says: –

22 Mahāsena (King of Kāśī) – Was poisoned by  
Foud of wine – Suprabhā who wanted  
to secure the Kingdom  
for her son.

Sūryanārāyaṇa Chaudhari<sup>12</sup> in his Hindi translation of Harṣacarita part II [V-VIII] takes "Lājaiḥ" to mean "viśalīpta lāvā" and so does Ācārya Jagannātha Pāṭhaka<sup>13</sup> construe the "lājās" as "lāvās".

Kauṭilya<sup>14</sup> and Kāmandaka<sup>15</sup> in Arthaśāstra I 20.16 and Nītisāra VII 52 have referred to this very incident without naming the king as well as the queen – as under "The queen – killed the king of Kāśī by mixing fried grains with poison under the guise of honey" and

"Having mixed fried grains with poison, and having lured him with honey or wine, the queen killed great lord of Kāśī when gone in isolation."

Vātsyāna in Kāmasūtra (V. 5-29)<sup>16</sup> has referred to Kāśīrāja jayasena killed by the Aśvādhyakṣa "ābhiraṃ hi koṭṭarājaṃ parabhavanagataṃ bhrātṛ prayuk-to rajako jaghāna, kāśīrājāṃ jayasenāṃ aś-vādhyakṣaḥ."

Jayamaṅgalā ṭikā of Nītisāra –

"tathāh-avoparuddha-bandhutā Kopa taptā devī balāt - kāreṇābhigacchantāṃ, ekadāviṣaniśra - lājabhojane madhurā miśra - miti vilobhya bhojayitvā svayamakṣa kāśīrājaendram nijaghāna"

Jayamaṅgala's allusion to "āhavoparuddhabandhutā kopataptā devī" is quite an important one. It will help us in interpreting the real significance of the history of "Kāśīrāia's

(Brahmdattas) illustrated by palijātakas (texts) such space as *Khuḍḍaka nikāya*,<sup>17</sup> (Nālanda Devanāgarī 'pāligrantha māla – Suttapiṭaka parts I and II, *Anguttara-Nikāya* referred to by R.B. Pāṇḍeya (Indian Historical Quarterly volume XXXVII No.4. December 1962<sup>18</sup>, *History of Kōśala upto the rise of Mauryas*<sup>19</sup> by Vishuddhā nanda Pāṭhaka.

A parallel incident of a queen killing her husband to wrest kingdom for "her son has been illustrated by Somadeva Sūri in *yaśastilaka campū*<sup>20</sup> as under also repeated variantly, in *Nīti Vākayāmṛtaṃ*.<sup>21</sup>

"Śrūyate hyātmanaḥ kila svacchanda vṛttimicchanti viśadūṣita madyagaṇḍusena maṇikuṇḍalā mahādevīyava-neṣu nijatanujarājyārthamaja rājaṃ jaghāna."

In *yaśastilaka campū* Somadeva refers to "Ajarāja" as the name of the king and in *Nītivākyaṃṛtaṃ* he refers to it as "Rājānama-mgaṃ" Varahmamiḥira in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 78-1. p 475 refers to the incident of a Kāśirāja killed by an anklet smeared with poison." "Visapradigdhena ca ntīpureen- a devī Viraktā kila kāśirājaṃ<sup>22</sup>. (*Jaghām*)

The incident referred to by Bāṇa as a definite mark of happening appears to be more reliable as referred to by Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka, the latter two writers omitting the name proper of the queen as well as the king. Since Kauṭilya's allusion easily tallies with that of Bāṇa, we may have to consider the historicity of Mahāseṇa as a King of of Kāśī killed by Suprabhā before the 4th century B.C. period.

Bhāsa in *Pratijñayaughadrāyaṇ* (PRY) Act-II referred to Kāśirāja whose upādhyāya jaivanti came as courier for the hand of vāsavadattā to ujjayini's king pradyota Mahāseṇa who tactfully put him off because he had taken to the ruse of the sham tusker for enticing udayana of vatsas for making him who his daughter by personal contact.<sup>23</sup>

In Act VII. f *Avimāraka*<sup>24</sup> Bhāsa refers to Sudarśanā as the queen of Kāśirāja again kept as unnamed though Jayavarmā has been styled as the reigning king being her second son, the first son Viṣṇusena alias Avimāraka having been the adopted son of Sauvīrarāja having Sucetanā, her younger sister as the queen, sucetanā having lost her own son immediately after his birth.

Karaṅgī and Sumitrā have been mentioned as the two daughters of Kuntibhoja son of Duryodhana<sup>25</sup>, the king of Vairantya, who were married to Viṣṇusena alias Avimāraka and Jayavarmā respectively, Karaṅgī being the daughter in law of Sauvīrarāja and Sucetanā and Sumitrā that of Kāśirāja and Sudarśanā.

**"Pita Kuraṅgyaḥ bhūpalo Vairantyanagares-varaḥ  
Duryodhanasya tanayaḥ Kuntibhojabhavān nanu."**

The author of Vināvāsavadattaṃ a drama in 8 Acts having the theme of PRY (Pratijñā- Yaug-andharāyaṇa) repeated in a different light of incidental delineation, refers to Kāśrāja as Viṣṇusena<sup>26</sup>, Jayavarmā as king of Madhurā and Sañjaya as that of Aśmaka, Darśaka as that of Magadha, Jayaratha as that of Aṅga, śatamanyu as that of matsya and subandhu as that of sindhu.

In Mālatimādhava Bhavabhūti refers to the incident of the father of vāsavadattā (obviously pradyata Mahāsena- PRY Act II having Gopalāka and pālaka<sup>27</sup> as sons of? vāsvadattā as daughter and VVD (vināvāsa vadattaṃ Act IV LL 16) betrothing Vāsavadatā unto sañjaya the king, and vāsavadattā of her own handing herself over to udayana<sup>28</sup>, obviously alluding to the theme of pratijñāyaugadharāyaṇa, vināvāsvadattaṃ deriving motifs from Guṇāḍhyas Bṛhatkathā represented by BKM (Bṛhatkathā mañjarī) (Kathā mukha lambaka guccha II verses 1.274 pp 45-68)<sup>29</sup> and Kathā saritsāgara (KSS) kathā mukha lambaka taraṅgas 1-6-pp 24-47)<sup>30</sup>, which also refers to Brahmaddatta king of Vārāṇasī<sup>31</sup>, having somaprabhā as queen and śivabhūti as the Minister a peer to Bṛhaspati (BKM XII) Padmāvati lambaka Brahmaddatā Khyōyikā no I pp 441-443 verses 1-32 and [KSS] Padmā- Vatī Lambaka] taraṅga I verses 17-182, taraṅga V verses I verses 17-144 and taraṅga II verses 1-156, taraṅga III Verses 1-95 taraṅga IV Verses, I-197, verses 1-219 pp 538-565)<sup>32</sup>

Brahmadatta king of vārāṇasī having Somaprabhā as queen as illustrated by Guṇāḍhya (BKM and KSS) can help us take up the identification of king Mahāsena having the title Brahmaddatta inherited from the, earlier king the founder king having Somaprabhā of Suprabhā as queen. Bāṇa having given a shortened name as suprabhā or a scribal error in the Harṣacarita or some son of Brahmaddatta and suprabhā as Mahāsena having suprabhā as queen taking to the treacherous crime.

If reliance is to be given to the illustration of Bhavabhūti in Mālatimādhava combined with the illustration of Bhāsa then Sañjaya see MS to be the kāsīrāja of Bhāsa referred to in pratijñāyuga aadharāyaṇa whom Mahāseṇa had promised the hand of Vāsavadattā but had to change mind in light of vāsavadattās unwillingness for him. But VVD (Vānāvā savasattam) refers to sañjaya as Aśmakeśvara.

The omission of name by Bhāsa of Kāsīrāja in pratijñāyugaandharāyaṇa and Avimāraka and express mention of Jayavarmā as Kāsīrāja makes it clear that Jayavarmā was also a Kāsīrāja son of Kāsīrāja unnamed as such husband of sudarśanā. The author of Viṇāvāsavadattam in all probability an elder brother of Jayavarmā of Bhāsa.

In Avimāraka Kuntibhoja has been explicitly mentioned as the king of Vairantya in VI. 13 p 182 but his queen has been left unnamed by the poet and has been surely called as 'Devī in Act-I (pp. 110, 111, 113, 114). The expressions of Kauñjāyana and Bhūtika and two ministers of Kuntibhoja that Kāsīrāja had Sauvīrarāja being equal in status as sisters' husbands of the svāmi i.e. king Kuntibhoja and were fit for a kinship by way of a marital tie<sup>33</sup> clearly indicates the point of prevalence of marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter even by the northerners even when śukrācārya in śukramītiḥ establishes such a custom among the southerners<sup>34</sup> "atha devyāḥ bhrāteti sauvīranarendra guṇādhitkaḥ"<sup>35</sup>

Bhūtika's statement:— may be noted here

"Our secret agents says or report that "His honour along with his son is not seen, the Ministers discharge his functions; there is not any reason for this and entrance into the royal house hold is not allowed, as they say<sup>36</sup> Now Sauvīrarāja being brother of queen of Kuntibhoja and being the husband of sister of the latter bring to light the double relationship of Kuntibhoja with Sauvīrarāja i.e. Sauvīrarāja's sister married to Kuntibhoja and the latter's sister married to Sauvīrarāja as sucetanā referred to in Act VI p. 183 LL 21-24] (BNC)

Viṣṇusena obviously a son of Kāsīrāja from Sudarśanā handed over Sucetanā sister of Sudarśanā on the expiry of sucetanā's son on his very birth, makes him the adopted son of Sauvīrarāja. The explicit mention of Jayavarmā as Kāsīrāja in Act VI p. 184 LL 22-27) makes Jayavarmā's father Kāsīrāja as an ex-

pired one. In Act 1, 10<sup>th</sup> verses also Sauvīrarāja not being seen along with his son, the ministers functioning in his place even allow a surmise that Sauvīrarāja was also an expired king. Kāśirāja (PRY Act-II) having sent Jaivanti his upādhayāya as dūta for the hand of his son in all probability Jayavarmā or Sañjaya as per statement of Bhavabhūṭ's mālatī mādhaba. Sañjaya having expired and Jayavarmā latter on surviving to get the hand of Kuraṅgi but getting the hand of sumitra younger daughter of Kuntibhoja and younger sister of Kuraṅgi make historical facts a jumbled medley.

Author of VVD takes Viṣṇusena as Kāśirāja wooing the hand of Vāsvadattā but ignored and Sañjaya āsmakalord also ignored and Jayavarmā as Mādhurā rāja also ignored.

Bhāsa<sup>37</sup> and the author of VVD<sup>38</sup> agree only on taking Darśaka as the king of Magadha and Āruṇi as the pāñcāla king.

Bāṇa has referred to the vairantya King as Ranti-Deva killed by Vallabhā out of wrath for a co-wife by a bejewelled anklet and sauvīra king vīrasena killed by Kaṃ savati by a cincture gem inlaid over her waist smeared with poison<sup>39</sup>, kauṭilya in KAŚĪ.20-16 refers to Variantya killed (by the queen) by an anklet smeared with poison) and the Sauvīra King by a gem inlaid in the zonegirdle<sup>40</sup>.

### **Kāmandaka Says:—**

"Viṣadigdhenā sauvīraṃ mekhaīamaṇinā nṛ-paṃ nūpureṇa ca vairūpyam<sup>41</sup>.

Jayamaṅgalā to KNS says:—

"tathā Sauvīrārajaṃ parantap- a- nāmānaṃ ativākpāraṣyo- patāpitā tanmanyumokṣā— rhinī Devī Svayamagada Prakṛta- Pratikārā Sparsā viṣadigdheṃ mekhalā maṇinā praṇayakaopāt kilāhatya jaghāna. tathā sapatinībhirmithyābhiśastā vipatyapogrhitā viṣadighā-bahiḥ pārśveṇa nūpureṇa krīḍantī Kilāhatyā- vantirājaṃ vairūpyaṃ devī jaghāna"<sup>42</sup>

Upādhyāya nirapekṣā ṭikā to KNS says :—

Viṣāktena mekhalā maṇinā sauvīravi-ṣayā - dhipaṃ nūpureṇa raivatyākhyam nṛpaṃ<sup>43</sup>

Hence text of KNS VII 53 refers to vārūpyaṃ in place of vairantyaṃ of Kauṭilya and Jayamaṅgalā refers to sauvīra rāja as parantapa and vairūpya king of Avanti, Upādhyāya nirapekṣā ṭikā refers to a king named Raivatyaka, killed by an anklet<sup>44</sup>. R.P.

Kangle quoting jayamañgalā and cāṇakyaṭīkā of Bhikṣu prabhmati on 2.1 to 3.1 refers parantapa as the name of the king of sauviras, Vaiahamithara in Bṛhatsaṃhitā 78.1 p. 475 refers to Kāśirāja as the victim of poisoned Nūpura (viṣadighena ca nūpureṇa devī virakatā kila kāśirājaṃ."

R.P. Kangle is quoted by Bāṇa in Harṣacarita verbatim as naming Kāśiraja as Mahāsenā and his queen as Suprabhā.<sup>45</sup>

Bhoja's allusion in PRY to Kāśirāja (un-named) having sent his upādhyāya Jaivanti for the hand of Vāsavadattā and Kāśirāja having queen as Subarśanā mother of Viṣṇusena and Jayavarmā, having queens as Kuraṅgī and Sumitrā, Sauvirarāja having queen as Sucetanā being the sister of kuntibhoja king of vairantaya, son of Duryodhana, father of Kuraṅgī and Sumitrā, Suvīrarāja's sister being the queen of kuntibhoja all make a mess of Historical facts.

R.B. Pāṇḍeya in his article entitled "A note on the Brahmdattas of Kāśī,<sup>46</sup> published in Indian Historical quarterly XXXVII No. 4, December 1962 on the evidence of Pālijātakas refers to Six kings of Vārāṇasī besides Brahmdatta as named Uggasena, Dhanañjaya, Mahāśilava, Sanyama, Vissasena and udayabhadra and on the evidence of Vāyu Purāṇa<sup>47</sup> and Viṣṇupurāṇa<sup>48</sup> as named—Yogasena, Viśvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallāṭa. Vāyupurāṇa having "Yogasūnuḥ" word in place of yogasena noted by R.B. Pāṇḍeya in the edition of Vāyupurāṇa p. 376 verses 180-182. Viṣṇupurāṇa IV 19 45-46, Omitting Yogasena alias Yogasūnuḥ and naming Bhallabha in place of Bhallāṭa as son of Viśvaksena (p. 357) Gītāpress ed. Gorakh Pura H.P. Poddar—1961).

Of the Jātakas Gaṅgamata Jātaka refers to Udaya as the king of Vārāṇasī<sup>49</sup>, Brahmdatta Jātaka<sup>50</sup> refers to Brahmdatta as king of Kāśī, Vāyupurāṇa 99, 454 refers to a hundred Brahmdattas<sup>51</sup>, Brahmdatta referred to in Darimukha Jātaka<sup>52</sup> was, originally a Mugadhan Prince. R.B. Pāṇḍeya refers to the frequent failure of heirs of the kings of Kāśī (aputtakaṃ rājakulaṃ)<sup>53</sup>. That is why the magadhan, videhan and pāñcālan stock of princes adopted as such assumed the heredity of Brahmdattas of Kāśī, Brahmdatta being a general title of all kings owing it from them primeval King Brahmdatta.

"Mattohimī Kāśirājena vedehena ya-sassinā<sup>54</sup> in mātupoṣaka jātaka refers to the Kāśirāja as of videhan lineage,

Samb jāta<sup>55</sup> refers to sotthisena prince son of Brahmdatta of Kāśī.

**"Yoputto Kāsirājasa Sotthisena tti tam vidu.  
Tassāham sambulā bhariyā Evam jānihi dānava.  
Vedeha putto bhaddamte Vane vassti ā-turo."**

Kuṇāpajātaka<sup>56</sup> refers to the mother of Bhramdatta as wedded to Kośalarāja who took to some pernicious act through Pañcalacaṇḍa. Mahābhārata (Sabhā Prava 8.23)<sup>57</sup> refers to a hundred Brahmdattas, likewise. Dr Kailash Chand<sup>58</sup> Jain in his "Malwa Through the Ages" refers to the rule of Haihayas comprising of Five leading groups, Vītihoṭras, Śaryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Junḍikeras all called as Tālajaṅghas, over the Gulf of Cambay to the Gaṅgā-Jamunā Doab and hence to Benaras. Rulers of Kāśī and Ayodhyā rose against them Haryaśva King of Kāśī fought with the Vītahvya Haihayas at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Haryaśva's (Son)–Sudeva was defeated by the Haihayas–Sudeva's son Divodāsa built the city of Vārāṇasī for the second time. When the Haihayas defeated him he was forced to leave the city. Divodāsa's son was Pratardana who attacked and defeated the Haihayas (Vītahvya) Pratardana's son vatsa carried his victory columns around Kauśāmbī which was named after him as the Vatsa Kingdom.

Bimbisāra the Magadhan King had son for Ajātaśatru who killed his own father and became king, his mother Mahākośalā died out of grief for her husband. The village proper was not annexed to Magadha, only revenues accrued were received by the Magadham King. Prasenajita King of Kośala, the maternal uncle of Ajātaśatru, with held this benefit from Ajātaśatru because of his reprehensible conduct of a patricide. This resulted in the war between Kośala and Magadha; ceṭaka king of vaiśali in league with the Kāśī Kośalan cofeder-a-cy, which rose against Magadha. In the two battles, Prasenajita who was worsted in the first but succeeded in the second by making Ajātaśatru prisoner but sparing his life owing to his being his nephew, prasenajita also married his daughter<sup>59</sup> Vajirā to Ajatasatru a practical example of marriage<sup>60</sup> with maternal uncle's daughter. Dr. Paṭhaka alludes to the revolt of Viḍuḍābha son of Prasenajita against his own father who was old at the time of 2 wars against Magadha, in collusion with his commander in chief Dighayrayaṇa, Prasenajita fled to safety

see-king help of Ajātsatru at whose gates he died due to indigestion etc.

A co-uterine brother of Prasenajita, son of Mahākośalā King, A kośala is described as Kāśirāja<sup>61</sup>

This co-uterine brother Kāśirāja younger to Prasenajita has not been named by Dr. Pōrhaka. He is definitely a Kośalan prince and not a kāśi prince. The maternal uncle's daughter's marriage with Ajātsatru cannot make us identify Ajātsatru with either Viṣṇusena or Jayavarmā marrying the daughters of their maternal uncle.

Bhāsa in Avimāraka refers to Kuntibhoja as Vairantya rāja having sister of Sauvīrarāja as his queen and having his own sisters Sucetanā married to Sauvīrarāja and Sudarśanā to Kāśirāja, himself being a son of Duryodhana, having finally marryig his own daughters Kaurāṅgī and Sumitrā to Viṣṇusena alias Avimāraka adopted son of Sauvīrarāja actually a son of Kāśirāja having his younger son Jayavarmā married to Sumitrā as present Kāśirāja having his young son Jayavarmā married to Sumitrā as present Kāśirāja explicitly. Now Vairantya capital of Kuntibhoja has also been referred to as the Capital of Rntideva by Bāṇa in Harṣacarita<sup>62</sup>.

A.D. Pusulkar<sup>63</sup> identifies Vairantya as Rintambur or Rintipur on the Gomti as branch of the Chambal, sauvīra according to N.L. Dey<sup>64</sup> and Dr. B.C. Sircar<sup>65</sup> included Multan and Jahravar which latter lay about fifty miles below the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab. Sindhu lay to the west and Sauvīra to the east of the lower Indus. Madra = district round sialkot (Ancient Śākala) the capital of King Candraoprasbha<sup>66</sup> having Mahārtha Prabhāva, Bhāsa and Siddhārthaka as ministers variantly named as Bhāsa, Prabhāsa Siddhārtha and Prahasta by Somadeva<sup>67</sup> Now Vairantya-rāja in Madhya Pradeśa marrying his sister to Kāśirāja and Sauvīrarāja and later on his daughters to adopted son of Sauvīrarāja viṣṇusena and Kāśirāja jayavarmā son of Kāśirāja the sister's husband of his own and his own sister Sucetanā and Sudardana, makes a jumbled medley of marital relations.

Now Bhāsa deemed as the minister of Śakalarāja candra Prabha we can make it an easy point of surmise that he does refer to factual happenings in his Avimāraka.

Since Kauṭilya also refers to the queen killing Vairantya with<sup>68</sup> an anklet smeared with poison we can easily take this incident also as having happened before 4th century B.C. Varāhamihira super imposes the incident of Vairantya rāja on Kāśirāja in 78-I p. 475.

The author of Viṇāvāsavadattaṃ takes Kāśi Pati as viṣṇusena as fond of hunting, Jayavarmā as King of Madhura being a dunce, Sañjaya the Aśmaka rāja as pāna-prasakta, and rudhiredgāri. He only places Magadha rāja Darśaka as tallying admirably with the illustration of Bhāsa in Svapna Vāsavadattaṃ.

All these facts representing a confusioin of Historical Chronology we can safely make it a point to derive a via-media inference taking Bhāsa's illustration as most reliable, since he seems to have been a contemporary of all the kings referred to by him. He does not name Kāśirāja in PRY and Avimāraka. The one referred to in PRY was a contemporary of Udayana whom, Vāsavadattā chose of her own having Viṣṇusena and Jayavarmā as two sons. Viṣṇusena though adopted by Sauvīrarāja was actually the son of Kāśirāja who could have dethroned Jayavarmā and usurped the Kingdom of Kāśi. His son or that of Jayavarmā could have got involved in the fray and may be Mahāsena son of Viṣṇusena having Suprabhā as queen or Jayavarmā alias Mahāsena having Suprabhā as a cowife to, Śumitrā, became victim of this happening in favour of her son, against son of Sumitrā.

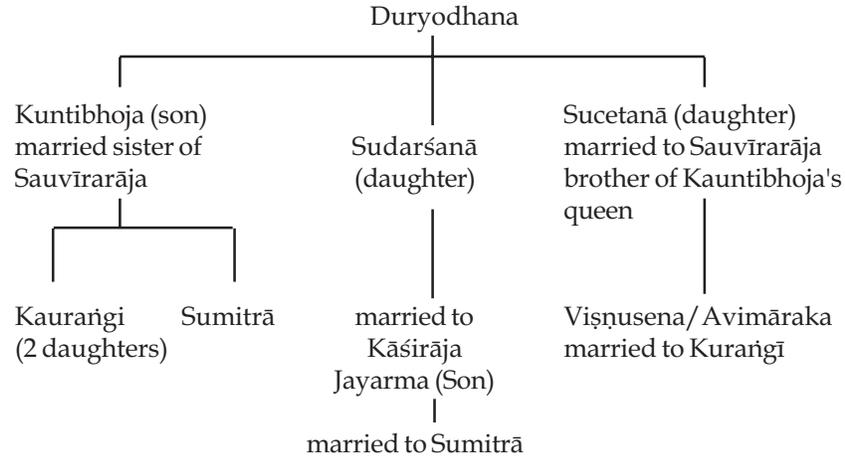
1. Paper Presented to Al. oc 42 Sampūrnānanda Saṃskṛta University Vārāṇasī 221002.
2. Madhumoditaṃ Madhurakasamlipatiḥ Lājaiḥ Suprabhā Putrarājyārthaṃ Mahāsonaṃ Kāśirājaṃ Jaghāna Harṣacarita (HC). Text with Amalā ṭikā of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya and his two sons Āśutoṣa and Nityabodha 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Kolkata 1939. Printed at Vācaspaiya press, p. 697 LL 3-4 (JNVSE).  
Nirṇaya Sāgara pressed (NSPE) with Saṅketākhyā ṭikā of śaṅkara edited by Kāshinātha pāṇḍuraṅga paraba 7<sup>th</sup> e.d. recedited by Nārāvaṇa Rāmācārya Kāvya tīrtha published by Satya Bhāmā bai pāṇḍuraṅga, Bombay 1946 p. 200 LL 2-4 having "madhumocita madhuraka sanliptairlā jaiḥ" as the reading. The text edited by Jaganātha Pāṭhaka (JNPE) with Saṅketākhyā ṭikā and Hindi translation p 355 LL 2-3 "madhumocita madhuraka samlipaith" P.V. Kaneed p 51 LL 12-13 text Notes pp 162 L 31 reading is "madhumoditaṃ" as in JNVSE.
3. JNVSE Amalāṭikā interprets – "Madhurameva madhuraāKaṃ tena viṣaviśeṣena iti medinī (Kośa) p 136 verses 194–195 edited by Jagannātha Shāstrī Hośinga Kāshi Sanskrit grantha mālā 41.

- Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series office Vārāṇasī, 1968 also a "Kūrccaśirṣo Madhurakaḥ Sṛṅgahrasvāṅga Jivakḥ." Amarakośa (Nāmaliṅga nuśāsana) with English equivalents and word Index II. 4. 143 p. 45 edited by Dr N-G-Sardesai and D.G. Padhye oriental Book Agency poona 2 1969 second ed, published by K.R. Sardesai & printed by S.P. Barve.
4. The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa MLBD Delhi 110007 1961 by arrangement with Royal Asiatic Society London p 194 L 12.
  5. The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa with an Introduction and Notes. Motilal Banarsi Dass (MLBD) Delhi 110007 1965 Second edition Notes to VI<sup>th</sup> Uchhvāsa p 162 L31.
  6. HC JVNSE p 697 ṭikā amalā para 678 LL 6-7 "pramattānām Pramādaśālinām' pramadākṛtaḥ Kaminībhiḥ Sampāditāḥ anavadhānatā nibandhnāḥ vipadaḥ."
  7. Skt.-Eng Dictionary MLBD Delhi 110007 1963 p 421 and also 2000 edition published by J.P. Jain MLBD A-45 Nariana New Delhi 110028 Jainendra Press.
  8. Skt Eng. Dict. p 781 edited by Leumann and capeller printed at Clarandon Press Oxford 1957 Printed from sheets of 1899 edition.
  9. Lal Bhai Dalpat Bhai Series 18, General editors Dalsukh-Malvania and Amblal, P. Shah L.D. Sanskrit Vidyāmandira, Ahmedabad 380009 June 1968.
  10. p. 161 edited by Viśvanātha Dvivedi Śāstrī Āyurvedācārya MLBD Delhi 110007 Ninth ed 1977.
  11. Extension lectures series no. 6 Karṇāṭaka University Dharwar 1964 published by S.S. Wodeyar, Registrar and printed by Sh. D.V. Ambekar at the Ārya Bhūṣaṇa press 915/1 Shivajinagar Poona 4.
  12. P 88 LL 18-19 Sanskrit Bhavana Kaṭhautiyā post office kājhā District Purniyā (Bihar) 1948.
  13. JNPE p 355 LL 2 Hindi translation.
  14. Kauṭīliyam arthaśāstraṃ (KĀŚ Part I) University of Bombay registrar T.V. Chidambran 1960.  
"Lājān madhneti viṣeṇa paryasya Devī Kāśirājaṃ" p 28 and KĀŚ part II 1963 p 56 Bombay University Press Fort Bombay.
  15. Nītisāra p 164  
"Lājan viṣeṇa samyojya  
Madhneti Vilobhya tam.  
Devī tu Kāśirājendraṃ.  
Nijaghāna raho gataṃ.  
With jayamaṅgatā and Upādhayāya  
Nirapekṣā ṭikās edited by G.B. Kale and madhādeva Cintāmaṇi Āpte.  
Ānandāśrama series 136 Poona (Pune) 1958.
  16. Kāmāstra Part II p 859 Gaṅgaviṣṇuśrīkṛṣṇa dāsa lakṣmī verī-  
Kaṭeśvara press ed. Kalyāṇa Bombay 1934. Also edited by Dev Datt Shastri series no. 29 Chowkhamba Sanskrit seven office Vārāṇasī 1964 p 582.

17. Edited by Bhikṣu Jagadīśa Kāśyaṇa Pāli Publication Board Bihar Government 1959.
18. Narendra Nath law 9 Panchanan Ghosh lane Calcutta 9 the Calcutta Oriental Press Private Ltd.  
Article entitled. "A note on Brahmādattas of Kāśī" pp 335-339.
19. Motilal Banarasi Dass Bungalow Road Jawahar Nagar Delhi 110006 printed by Lakshmi Dass at the Banaras Hindu University press Vārāṇasī 22-1005 by Sundar Lal Jain Nepali Khapra P.B. 75 Vārāṇsī 1963 pp 211-222.
20. Yaśastilaka Campū IV p 88 LL 4-5 3<sup>rd</sup> Puspa of Mahāvīra Jaina granthamālā Uttarākhaṇḍa edited by Paṇḍita Sundara lāla Śāstri Adhyakṣa Kamaccha B. 21/129 Thākurbādi Vārāṇasī with a foreward by Dr. V.S. Agarwal printed by Ānanda press B-12/112 Gaurī Garīja Vārāṇasī 1 July 1971.
21. "Srūyate hr kila ātmanaḥ svacchanda vṛtti micchantī viṣavidūṣita gaṇḍuṣeṇa maṇikuṇḍalā mahādevī, yavaseṣu nijatanuja-rāiyārthaṃ jaghāna rājanamaṅgaṃ.  
Nītivākyāmṛtaṃ (NVA) chapter 24—35 p 121 edited by Rāmachandra Mālavīya Vidyābha - vana - grantha - mālā no. 162 Chowkambā Vidyābhavana Vārāṇsī I 1972.
22. Bṛhatsaṃhitā of varāhanuhira edited by Paṇḍita Acyutānanda jhā śarmā vidyābhavna granthamālā 41. Chawkhambā Vidyābhavana Chowk Vārāṇasī I (CVBCV) 1959.
23. "eṣa Kāśīrājopādhyāyaḥ Jaivantiradya dautyena prāptaḥ."  
Pratināyauḡandharāyaṇa II p 58 LL 8 Text edited by myself with Sanskrit Commentary in English and Hindi First ed. 1965 Motilal Banarasi Dass Bungalow Road Jawahar Nagar Delhi 110007 published by Sunder Lal Jain and printed by Shantilal Jain.
24. Śudarsanā-evaṃ Karomi, Bhaggvān Bhaṇatu Nāradaḥ-tavāyaṃ patro'gnerut pannaḥ tvad bhaginyāḥ sucetanāyāḥ prasavasamakā-laeva tatsutaḥ svargaṃ gāiaḥ tavāyaṃ putrastvad bhaginyaitvayā dattaḥ sauvīrarājas-casava-tyanta santuṣṭaḥ Pṛtisaḍṛśiḥ kriyāḥ kṛtvā Viṣṇusena-iti samjñamakarot and "kathamidānīm jyeṣṭhapatnī kanīyase dīyate. sudarśane! Abhidhīyatāṃ kāśīrājāya jayavarmaṇaḥ kuraṅgī vayasādhiketi, nanvasti kuraṅgyāḥ kanīyasī sumitrā nāma, sā Jayavarma-bhāryā bhāṣyati". Bhāsanāṭaka cakraṃ VI p 183 LL 21-24 p 184 LL 21-24 oriental Book Agency 15 Shukrawar Poona 1962 published by R.N. Sardesai and printed by M.S. Sathe at the prajñā press Wai.  
Also p 189 LL 6-8 190 L-1 and 193 1-4 Avimārakaṃ edited by Bāk Kunbae-(Avimāraka and Bālacaritaṃ) with Appreciation by Dr. Radha kishan Meharchand Lacchman Das 2736 Kucha Chelan Daryaganj Delhi 6 1968 (Now - New Delhi 110002)
25. BNC Avimāraka VI 13 p 182 Bāk Kunbae ed. p 186.
26. Vīnāvā savadattaṃ I p 7 LL 5-6 and 13-14 edited by Dr. K.V. Śarmā with a preface by Dr. V. Raghavankuppuswāmi śāstrī research insti-

- tute. My-lapore Madras 4. 1962. printed at Śrī Bhārati Vijyam press Triplicane Madras 5.
27. PRY II 13. p. 90 myed-BNC. PRY p-80 arthaśāstra guṇagrāhī jyeṣṭho gopālakaḥ Sutaḥ. gāndhar-vadveṣī vyāyāmasālī cāpyanupālakaḥ" and VVD IV p 77 LL 16 "adya prabhṛti gopālaka-pālakayostṛtiyo vatsarājah" BKM KM II p 48 verses 28-29.  
"tāmaṅgēravatīm prāpya rūpa-lāvūnya śālinīm gopāla pālakaḥ putrau tasyām prāpa sutām tathā putrī vāsavadattākhyā svapne vāsava sūcitā." KSS KM III 73-75 p. 34:-  
"Tāmaṅgaravatīmṛajā gṛhītvojjayainīm yayau, jātau dvau tanayau caṇḍamahāseṇa-sya bhūpiateḥ eko gopālako nāma dvitīyaḥ pālakastathā" and "ekā vāsavadattākhyā kanyakā śrūyate Paraṃ." ibid II 3.6 p 32 MIBD Delhi 110047 edited by Jagadiisa lal sastrī 1970.
28. MM (Mālatī Mādhava of Bhavālbhūti II p 57 LL 2-3 M.R. Kale MIBD Delhi 110007) 3<sup>rd</sup> ed 1967 also PIII.L 6 p 112 LL 1 edited by śrī śreṣarāja śarmā śāstrī kāvyatīriha. Haridāsa Sanskrit – series 247 Chowkhanbā Sanskrit series Banaras 1954. Published by Jaikrishan Dass Haridas gupta Post Box No 8 Banaras.
29. BKM edited by Śivadatta and Kāshinātha pāṇḍuraṅga paraba. Meharchand Lachmandass. Daryaganj New Delhi 110002 1982 Reprinted from 1931 ed. of NSPE Bombay.
30. KSS edited by J.L. Śāstrī MLBD Delhi 110007 1970.
31. BKM Opcit 28 above "Brahmadatta-iti Khyāto Vārāṇasyāma-bhunnrpaḥ tasya soma-prabhā nāma bhāryā Soma prabhā bhavat XII I-4-5 p 441.
32. "Astrha prathitā pṛthvyām nāmnā vārāṇ sī. Purī, tasyā-mabhūdbrahmadatto nāma rājā purā purī, āsītsoma prabhā devī netrapeyāsyā - sāpyabhūt KSS XVII I verses 17, 20-22 p 538 KSS opeit eff 28 above.
33. Kauñjāyanaḥ-svāmin Bhauṣ Vapi Kṣatriyeṣu pūrva sambandhaviṣeṣau sauṅvitarāja kāśī-rājau svāmiano bhaginipatitve tulyau, asmat-sambandha योग्यविति स्वामिनां चिन्तातु. तत्रापूरवमेवाऽसुविरारजेनाऽपुत्रास्य कानाददुताऽप्रेषिताऽ. साऽऽस्मभिरबालाऽकन्येत्यपदेऽमुक्त्वाऽसुपुजितोऽसिजिताऽऽदानीम्तुऽकसिराजेनाऽपुत्रास्य कानादऽदुताऽप्रेषिताऽ तत्राऽबालाऽबालाऽचिन्तायाम् स्वामिऽप्रामानम् BNC p 115 LL 22-24 PI16 LL 1-3 .
34. "Uduhayte dākṣiṇātyariḥ Bākl. edition 1 P 22 LL - 3 p 2. mātulasya sutā dvijaiḥ IV 5-47 p 276 edited by Brahma śankara miśra Kāshi Sanskrit grantha mālā no. 185 CSSOVI 1968. "In the southern countries maternal uncle's daughters are married by brāhmauas" śukranītiḥ IV. 5 94 p 187 by Benoy Kumar Sarkar English translation of different text. Oriental Books reprint corporation 54 Rani Jhansi Road New Delhi 110055 1975 seconded.
35. BNC p 116 LL 9-10
36. p24 translation by Bak Kunbae LL 8-12 Mehar chand Lacchman Dass 2736 Kucha chelan Daryaganj Delhi 6 1968 now New Delhi 110002. Also p 42 Avimānaka Love's enchanted world by J.L. Mason and D.D.

- Kośanbi MLBD Firsted 1970.
37. SVD (BNC) Act V-P. 44 (5, 7, 13 a samā - kaṃ mahārāja dar.-Śako bhavantamāha - eṣa khalu bhavato) mātyo 'Rumaṇvān mahatā bala samudayenopayātaḥ khalvā-ruṇinabhighāṭay-itum'. And tam- āṛuniṃ d ā ruṇa karmadakṣaṃ.
  38. "māgadho rājā darśakaḥ"Krūraḥ" VVD P7 L13. "ārauṇirasamākaṃ Katā-Kṣa-Sādhyah" ibid PII L-1.
  39. "yogaparāga Virasavarṣiṇāca maṇinūpureṇa Vallabhā sapatnīruṣā vairantyaṃ Rantidevaṃ" and "rasadig-dha-madhyena ca mekhalāmaṇinā Hamsavati Sauvīraṃ vīrasenam." HC JNVSE p698 II 3-4/5-6. P-V-Kane Ed text p57 II 16-18 NSPEP200 LL7-9-JNPE p355 LL6-8.
  40. Viṣadigadha nūpureṇ-a vairantyaṃ mekhalā maṇinā sauviraṃ KASĪ Text pp 28-29 pp 56-57 KAS pt II R.D. Kangle.
  41. KNS VII 53 P164. part I (I-VII)
  42. ibid p. 164 LL 4-7
  43. ibid 164 LL 15-16
  44. KAS; pt II Notes to 1.20.16 p 56.
  45. ibid. cp Dr. A D pusal-kar - Bhāsa A study P37 eff 2; the table given as under:



Bhāsa A Study:- Munshi Ram manohar Lal oriental Booksellers and Publishers Post Box 1165 Nai Sarak Delhi 6 (H.O.) 54 Rani Jhansi Road New Delhi 110055.

46. Edited by Narendra Nath Law. The Calcutta Oriental Press Private Limited 9-Panchanan Gosh Lane Calcutta 9 (ff 335-339) pp 335-336.
47. Vāyupurāṇa 99 180-182 man Sukhramora 5 clive road Calcutta pp 507-508 1959. "a-nuhasyatu dāyādo brahmadatto mātāpāḥ, yogasūnuḥ sutastasya viśvakseno' bhavan-nṛpaḥ vibhrājaputrāḥ rājānaḥ sukrteneha Karmaṇā Viśvaksenasya putrastu Udaksenobabhūvana. Bhallāṭastasya dāyādo yenarājā purāhataḥ bhallāṭasyatu dāyādo rājāsīt janamejayah.
48. Viṣṇu Purāṇa IV 19.45-46 p 351 GPE 1961 H.P. Poddar and Munilal

- Gupta "anuhād brahma -dataḥ tatas" ca viśvak-senastas -  
mādudaksenaḥ bhallābhastasya cāt-majah".
49. Nalanda Devanāgarī pāli-granthamālā Suttapiṭaka Khuḍḍaka nikāya jatakapāli paṭhamo bhāgo pāli publication Board (Bihar Government 1959-p 172).
  50. ibid p 96 jātaḥ 323.
  51. Vāyupurāṇa p 522 opcitceff 48 above.
  52. Khuḍḍaka Nikāya p 130 opciteff 50 above.
  53. ibid p 219 jātaḥ 438.
  54. ibid p 219 jātaḥ 456.
  55. ibid p 394 jātaḥ 519.
  56. pp 125 LL 5 Khuḍḍakanikāya Dutiya bhāgo 1959 (Part II).  
Brahmdattasya mātaraṃ  
Ohāya Kośula rājaṃ pāñcāla  
Caṇḍena pāpamakāsi
  57. "Sataṃca Brahmadattā nām Vīrināmīranām śatam" p 299 I Gita press ed. Gorakhpur 1956 Ghanashyam Dass Iālāna edition.
  58. Malwa through the ages p 93 Moti Lal Banarasi Dass (MLBD) Delhi 110007 1972.  
Mahābhārata Anuśasana Parvā Adhyāya 30 verses 10-22 and 26-49  
pp 63-64 Gīta Press ed. Part IV Mūlamātram Gorakhpur 1958 H.P.  
Poddar ed. refers to Haryaśva's fall at the hands of Vītahavyas (verses 10, 11) Sudeva's consecration (verses 13) sudeva's son as divodāsa's act (verses 15) Śaudewtha kāśiso): Divodāsa' fall and fugitive act and Divodās's son as pratardana verse 30)
  59. HOKUTTROTM pp 211-212. (History of Kośala unto the rise of the Maryas)
  60. ibid pp 212-214.  
Prasenjita restored the revenues of Kāśī village to Ajātaśatru once again in favour of his daughter vajirā's pin money ibid 215.
  61. ibid p 211, 217, 221, 222.
  62. Yogaparāga virśasṇa varṣinā ca maṇinūpureṇa vallabhā spatnīṣā variantyaṃ rantidevaṃ JNVSEP p 698 LL 31 NSPE p 200 LL 78d JNPSE p. 355 LL 6-7 and P.V. Kane ed. Text p 51 LL 12-16 having yogaparāga visara varṣinā as reading.  
Also referred to by Kālidasa in meghadūta 1.45 p 33 Kālidāsa granthāvali by Dr. Revā Prasād a Dvivedī BHU Vārānasī 221005 1976.
  63. Bhāsa A Study p 346 opcit Also 391 giving detailed description of the two as depicted by Bhāsa in Avimāraka Also GDOAAMI NL Dey pp 16.167 109 situated on a small river called Aśvanadi or Asvarathanadi falling into Chambal.
  64. ibid p 183 NL Dey.
  65. 33 ASOGOAAMI MLBD Delhi 110007 seconded rensed ed
  66. BKM p 13813 p 139 verses 17 KSS VIII 1.17 20 p 204
  67. KSS VII 1-25 p 205 MLBD Delhi 110007 J.L. Śastrī 1970.
  68. KĀŚĪ. I..20 16 p 28 R.P. Kangle II p 56 R.P. Kangle University of Bombay ed. 1960 : 1963.