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POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE
EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

BY

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OF "THE GROUNDWORK OF INDIAN HISTORY,"

FIFTH EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED



PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1950

Rs. 15/-

PRINTED IN INDIA
PRINTED BY S. C. GHOSE
AT THE CALCUTTA PRESS LTD., 1, WELLINGTON SQUARE, CALCUTTA

Reg. No. O. P. 90—April, 1950—A

To
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee
in token of grateful regard and esteem

PREFACE TO-THE FIFTH EDITION

A fifth edition of the *Political History of Ancient India* is now placed before scholars. The author, who has been in very poor health for a long time, has found the task of revision a difficult one. He is conscious of the fact that misprints and other faults justly open to censure have not been avoided. Fresh study of the subject and new discoveries have necessitated a thorough revision of several chapters, preparation of additional notes, omission of parts of the text and other amendments. No pains have been spared to bring the work up-to-date.

Help of various kinds, including revision of Indexes, has been rendered by Mr. Durgadas Mukherji, Dr. Sudhakar Chatterji, Mr. Rabis Chandra Kar and Dr. G-olapchandra Raychaudhuri to whom the author's acknowledgments are due.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA :

March 1, 1950.

H. C. R. C.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

In placing the fourth edition of the *Political History of Ancient India* in the hands of students of Indian Antiquities the author takes the opportunity of expressing his grateful thanks to scholars and explorers who have made accessible the rich stores of ancient learning and the priceless memorials of vanished glory that hitherto lay hidden beyond the ken of students and investigators. Suggestions and criticisms that earlier editions of the present work received in recent times, though not always of an instructive and informed character, have enabled the author to restate his position in regard to many matters treated in the volume. While unwilling to dogmatise on controversial points the writer of the following pages thinks that he has adduced fresh evidence in support of some of the views that were put forward years ago, long before certain recent notes and dissertations on kindred subjects saw the light of the day. He has also sought to incorporate new material which, it is hoped, may be of some little use to the ever-widening circle of eager inquirers who are interested in the chequered annals of this ancient land.

The Cimmerian veil of darkness that enshrouds not a few obscure spaces in the spectrum of the early history of this country cannot be lifted by the wand of the magician or the trick of the conjurer. Even if such a feat were possible the author confesses that he does not possess the requisite implements.

Help in the laborious task of compiling the indexes has been given by Dr. D. C. Sircar and Professor Gr. C. Raychaudhuri to whom the author's acknowledgments are due,

The volume that now goes forth before the public could not be made as free from mistakes as the present writer would have wished. Some of the errors and misprints have been noted and corrected but many blunders, justly open to censure, may have escaped attention. For these the author can only crave the indulgence of readers.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA:

March 81, 1938.

H. C. R. C.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The *Political History of Ancient India* now arrives at a third edition. An endeavour has been made to make it more accurate and up-to-date. Questions connected with certain dynasties, particularly of the Scythian period, have been treated afresh and several paragraphs have been revised in the light of the new information that may be gathered from literature as well as inscriptions discovered at Shahdaur, Maira, Khalatse, Nagarjunikonda, Gunaighara and other places. Footnotes and appendices have been added to explain the author's viewpoint with regard to certain controversial matters. A new feature of the revised edition is the insertion in certain chapters, particularly of Part I I , of introductory verses from literature to bring out some salient features of those chapters and, incidentally, to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed. The author craves the indulgence of the reader for certain misprints that have crept into the text. The labour of revising the Indexes has been performed by Srijuts D. C. Raychaudhuri, Gr. C. Raychaudhuri and Anilkumar Raychaudhuri.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

December 13, 1931.

H. O. R. C.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION'

A new edition of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parilcshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty* is placed before the public. The work has been out of print for some time, and need has long been felt for a fresh edition. Therefore it goes forth once more having been revised and re-written in the light of the new information that is coming in so rapidly and in such vast bulk. No pains have been spared to bring the book up-to-date and make it more attractive to students. Material emendations have been made in almost every chapter. Some of the extracts in Sanskrit have been provided with English renderings.

A new feature of the present volume is the inclusion of a number of maps, and a few chronological and synchronistic tables, which, it is to be hoped, will increase the usefulness of the work. The incorporation of fresh material has necessitated a recasting of the indexes.

The present writer never intended his work to be a comprehensive survey of the political and dynastic history of every Indian province. He is chiefly concerned with those kingdoms and empires whose influence transcended provincial limits and had an important bearing upon the general course of political events in the heart and nerve-centres of the Indian sub-continent. Dynasties of mere local interest (*e.g.*, the Tamil *Praclhamtas* of the far south, or the Himalayan *Pratyantas* in the far north) have received very brief notice, as these did not acquire an all-India importance till after the Gupta

period when a Jayadeva Parachakra-kama had intimate dynastic relations with several rulers of the Indian interior, a Lalitaditya pushed his conquests as far as Kanauj, and a Rajendra Ohola carried his arms to the banks of the Ganges.

Further, the author does not claim for the period from Parikshit to Bimbisara the same degree of authenticity as for the age of the Mauryas, the Satavahanas and the Guptas. The absence of trustworthy contemporary dynastic records makes it preposterous to put forward such a proposition. In regard to the early period it has been his principal endeavour to show that the huge fabric of sacerdotal and rhapsodic legends is not based solely on the mythical fancy of mendacious priests and story-telling Diaskeuasts, that bardic tales sometimes conceal kernels of sober facts not less trustworthy than the current accounts of the dynasties immediately preceding the raid of Alexander, and that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B. C. is not impossible. In trying to demonstrate this he has not confined himself to literature of a particular type, but has collated the whole mass of evidence, Vedic as well as Puranic, Brahmanical as well as non-Brahmanical, Buddhist as well as Jain, Indian as well as Hellenic.

The writer of these pages wishes to acknowledge with sincere thanks his indebtedness to scholars and critics who have helped him with valuable suggestions, and especially to Dr. Barnett, Professor Schrader, Dr. Jarl Oharpentier, Mr. H. Subbaiya and Mr. Asananda Nag. He is also grateful for the kind assistance which he received in many difficulties from his friends and colleagues, among whom Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Mr. H. C. Ray and Mr. J. C. Chakravorti deserve especial mention. His acknowledgments are also due to Srijut Golapchandra Raychaudhuri who gave him

much valuable help in the preparation of maps and the revision of the Indexes. The author does not claim that the Indexes are exhaustive, but he has spared no pains to include all important references.

THE UNIVERSITY, CALCUTTA :

April 12, 1927.

H; C. R. C

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object of the following pages is to sketch the political history of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. The idea of the work suggested itself many years ago from observing a tendency in some of the current books to dismiss the history of the period from the Bharata war to the rise of Buddhism as incapable of arrangement in definite chronological order. The author's aim has been to present materials for an authentic chronological history of ancient India, including the neglected Post-Bharata period, but excluding the Epoch of the Kanauj Empires which properly falls within the domain of the historian of Mediaeval India.

The volume now offered to the public consists of two parts. In the first part an attempt has been made to furnish, from a comparison of the Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Jaina, Buddhist and secular Brahmanical literature, such a narrative of the political vicissitudes of the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian period as may not be less intelligible to the reader than Dr. Smith's account of the transactions of the post-Bimbisarian age. It has also been thought expedient to append, towards the end of this part, a short chapter on kingship in the Brahmana-Jataka period. The purpose of the second part is to provide a history of the period from Bimbisara to the Guptas which will be, to a certain extent, more-up-to-date, if less voluminous, than the classic work of Dr. Smith-

The greater part of the volume now published was written some years ago, and the author has not bad

the opportunity to discuss some of the novel theories advanced in recent works like *The Cambridge Bxstory of India*, and Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

The writer of these pages offers his tribute of respect to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for providing opportunities for study which render it possible for a young learner to carry on investigation in the subject of his choice. To Professor D. R. Bhandarkar the author is grateful for the interest taken in the progress of the work. His acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Girindramohan Sarkar and Rameshchandra Raychaudhuri for their assistance in preparing the Indexes. Lastly, this preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Superintendent, for his help in piloting the work through the Press.

July

16,1923.

H. C. R. [C]

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. B.	After the Buddha.
A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India.
A. H. D. ...	Ancient History of the Deccan.
A. I. H. T.	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
Ait. Br. ...	Aitareya Brahmana.
Alex.	Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
Aug.	Anguttara Nikaya.
Ann. Bhand. Ins.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Apas. Siv Sutra	Apa [^] tambfya Srauta Sutra.
App.	Appendix.
Arch. Rep.	Archaeological Survey Report.
A. R.	Annual Report.
A. E. I. ..	Aryan Rule in India.
A. S. I. ...	Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. R. (Arch. Sin-Rep.).	Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. W. I.	Archaeological Survey of Western India.
A. V.	Atharva-Veda.
Baudb. Sr. Siltra	Baudhayana Srauta Sutra.
Bau. Sutra.	Baudhayana Dharma Sutra.
Bhand. Com. Vol.	Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.
B. K. S.	Book of Kindred Sayings.
Bomb. Gaz.	Bombay Gazetteer.
Br.	Brahmana.
Brih. S.	Brishat Samhita.
Brili. Up.	Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.
Bud. Ind. .	Buddhist India.
a	Central

C. A. H. ...	Cambridge Ancient History.
Cal. Rev. ...	Calcutta Review.
Camb. Ed.	Cambridge Edition.
Oamb. Hist. (Ind). (O. II. I.).	Cambridge History of India (Vol I.).
Oamb. Short. Hist. ..	(The) Cambridge Short History of India.
Carm. Lee.	Carmichael Lectures, 1918.
Oh.	Chapter.
Chap.	
Chh. Up. ...	Chhandogya Upanishad.
C. I. O. A. I.	Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India.
C. I. I. Corpus	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Com. Vol....	Commemoration Volume.
Cann.	Cunningham.
D.	Digha Nikaya.
Dialogues ...	Dialogues of the Buddha.
D P. P. N.	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (Malalasekera).
D. K. A. ...	Dynasties of the Kali Age.
D. U.	Dacca University.
Ed.	Edition.
E. H. D. ...	Early History of the Dekkan.
E. H. I.	Early History of India.
E. H. V. S.	Early History of the Vaishnava Sect,
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Gandhara (Eoucher) ..	Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara.
Gaz.	Gazetteer.
G. B. I : ...	The Greeks in Bactria and India.
G. E.	Gupta Era.

G. E. I. ...	...	Great Epic of India.
Gop. Br.	...	Gopatha Brahmana.
G. O. S. ...		Gaekwar Oriental Series.
Greeks ...	...	The Creeks in Bactria and Tndia.
Hariv.	...	Harivamsa..
H. and F. ...	...	Hamilton and Falconer's Tran- slation of Strabo's Geo- graphy.
H. F. A. I. C.	...	History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.
Hist. N. E. Ind.	...	History of North Eastern India.
Hist. Sans. Lit.	...	(A) History of Sanskrit Literature.
H. O; S. ...	...	Harvard Oriental Series.
Hyd. Hist. Cong'.	...	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad (1941)
I. H. Q. ...	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Int Ant. (I. A.)		Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit. ...	...	History of Indian Literature.
Imp. Gaz. ...	...	Imperial Gazetteer.
Inv. Alex.	...	Invasion of Alexander.
j		Inscriptions.
J		Jataka.
J A		Journal Asiatique.
J. A. (Journ. As.)	..	Journal of the And lira Historical Society.
J. A. H. R. S.		Journal of the American Orien- tal Society.
J.A.O.S		Journal of the American Orien- tal Society.
J. A. S. B.	'''	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. BR R A	S	Journal of the Bombay Branch
J. B. Br. R. A.	S.	of the Royal Asiaio gooiety:
J B O. R. S.	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. L. H. ...	Journal of Indian History.
J. N. S. I.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J. R. A. S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Britain).
J. U. P. H. S.	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
Kaush. Up.	Kaushitaki Upanishad.
Kaut.	Arthasastra of Kautilya, Mysore, 1919.
Kishk.	Kishkindhya Karida
Life	(The) Life of Hiuen Tsang.
M.	Majjhima Nikaya.
M. A. S. 1.	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mat.	Matsya Purana.
Mbh.	Mahabharata.
Med. Hind. Ind.	Mediaeval Hindu India.
Mod. Rev ...	Modern Review.
M. R.	Minor Rock Edicts.
N.	Nikaya.
NHIP.	The New History of Indian People (Vol. V-I).
N. Ins. ...	(A) List of Inscriptions of North India.
Num. Chron.	Numismatic Chronicles.
O. S. (Penzer)	The Ocean of Story.
P.	Purana.
P. A. O. S.	Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.
Pratijna	Pratijna Yaugandharayana.
Pro. Or. Conf.	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.
Pt. (Pat.)	Pataijjali.
R.	Raj uvula.

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Ram.		Ramayana.
R. D. B.		Rakhal Das Banerji
R. P. V. U.		Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads.
R. V.		Rig-Veda.
Sankh. Sr. Sutra		Sankhayana Srauta Sutra.
Sans. Lit. ...		Sanskrit Literature.
Santi.		Santiparva of the Mahabharata.
Sat. Br. ...		Satapatha Brahmaria.
S. B. E. ...		Sacred Books of the East.
S. E.		Saka Era.
Sec.		Section.
S. I. I. ...		South Indian Inscriptions.
S. Ins. ...		(A) List of Inscriptions of Southern India.
S. P. Patrika		Vangiya Sahitya-Parisht Patrika.
Svapna.		Svapna vasavadatta.
Tr.		Translation.
Up. Br. ...		Upanishad Brahmana.
V.	.,	Veda.
Vaj. Sam. ...		Vajasaneyi-Samhita.
Ve'd Ind. ...		Vedic Index.
Vish.		Vishnu Purana.
Vizag. Dist. Gaz		Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.
Z. D. M. G.		Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mor- genlandischen Gesellschaft.

PART I

Political History of Ancient India

PART I

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. FOBEWORP.

No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the patient investigations of numerous scholars and archaeologists have opened up rich stores of material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country. The first notable attempt to "sort and arrange the accumulated and ever-growing stores of knowledge" was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding "the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kara and the sons of Panda" and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B.C. The aim of the present writer has been to sketch in outline the dynastic history of Ancient India including the neglected period. He takes as his starting point the accession of Parikshit which, according to Epic and Paranic tradition, took place shortly after the Bharata War.

Valuable information regarding the Parikshita and the post-Parikshita periods has been given by eminent scholars like Weber, Lassen, Eggeling, Caland, Oldenberg, Jacobi, Hopkins, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Fick, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to

frame an outline of political history from Parikshit to Bimbisara out of materials supplied by Brahmanic as well as non-Brahmanic literature is, I believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

SECTION II. SOURCES.

NO inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian period. The South Indian plates purporting to belong to the reign of Janamejaya ¹ have been proved to be spurious. Our chief reliance must, therefore, be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is, in the main, Indian, and is not supplemented to any considerable extent by those foreign notices which have "done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation" of the history of the post-Bimbisarian epoch. The discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa no doubt constitute a welcome addition to the purely literary evidence regarding the ancient history of India. But the civilisation disclosed is possibly that of Sauvira or Sovira (Sophir, Ophir) ² in the pre-Parikshita period. And the monuments exhumed "offer little direct contribution to the materials for political history," particularly of the *Madhyadem* or the Upper Ganges valley.

Indian literature useful for the purpose of the historian of the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian age may be divided into five classes, viz. :—

I. Brahmanical literature of the post-Parikshita-pre-Bimbisarian period. This class of literature naturally contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties and comprises :

1 Ep. Ind., VII, App., pp. 162-63 ; IA, III, 268 ; IV. 333 ;

(a) The last book of the *Jtharva Veda*.

(b) The *Aitareya*, *Satapatha*, *Pauchavuhm* and other ancient *Brahmayas*.¹

(c) The major part of the *Brihadaranyalca*, the *Ghhandogya* and other classical *Upanuhads*.

That these works belong to the post-Parikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, to Janamejaya's successor Abbipratarin, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Parikshitas was discussed by the assembled sages. That these works are in the main pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisarian, has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rajendralal Mitra,² Professor Macdonell³ and others.

II. The second class comprises Brahmanical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of scholars, belong to the post-Bimbisarian period. To this class belong the *Bamayana*, the *Mahdbharata* and the *Pur anas*. The present *Bamayana* consists of 24,000 *slokas* or verses.⁴ But even in the first or second century A.D. the epic seems to have contained only 12,000 *iloleas* as the evidence of the Buddhist *Maha-vibhasha*, a commentary on the *Jfianaprasthana* of Katyayaniputra, suggests. It not only mentions Buddha Tathagata,⁶ but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas (Greeks) and Sakas (Scythians), *Salcan*

1 Of special importance are the *gathas* or songs in the thirteenth *kanda* of the *Sat. Br.* and the eighth *panchika* of the *Aitareya*.

2 Translation of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, pp. 23-24.

3 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 189, 202-03, 226.

4 1.4.2—*Chaturvithsa-sahasrani slokanam uktavan rishih*.

5 J. R. A. S., 1907, pp. 99 ff. Cf. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*. No. 1263.

6 II. 109. 34.

4 POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

Yavana-misritan.¹ In the *Kishlcindhya Eanda*,² Sugriva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Sakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himalayas. This shows that the Graeco-Scythians at that time occupied parts of the Panjab. The *Lanka Eanda*³ apparently refers to the Puranic episode of the uplifting of Mount Mandara, or of Govardhana, *Parigrihya girim dorbhyam vapur Vishnor vidani-bayan*.⁴

As regards the present *Mahabhdrata*, Hopkins says :⁵ "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the edifikas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190. 65 'They will revere edifikas, they will neglect the gods ;' *ib.* 67 'the earth shall be piled with edukas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, Caturmaharajika in XII, 339. 40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to....The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples, II. 51.17, and stand thus in marked contrast to Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, wh^o are mentioned very often....The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to

1 1.54.21.

2 IV. 43. 11-12. Note also the references to Vaijayantapura in the Deccan (II. 9. 12), the Dravidas (*ibid* 10. 37), Malaya and Darddiira (*ibid* 91. 24), Murachipattana (Muziris, Cranganore, IV. 42. 3), practices of the people of the Deccan (II. 93.13), "the seven flourishing realms" of YavadvIpa (Java), Suvarradvipa (Sumatra) in IV. 40. 30, and Karkataka lagna (II. 15.3).

3 69. 32 ; cf. *Matsya*, 249, 53 ; *Bhagavata*, X. 25 ; *Mbh.* III. 101. 15.

4 For some other Puranic allusions see *Calcutta Review*, March, 1922, pp. 500-02.

5 *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 391-93,

come' which occurs in III. 188. 35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."

The *Adiparva*¹ refers to king Asoka who is represented as an incarnation of a *Mahaswa* or great demon,² and is described as *mahaviryo'parajitah*, of great prowess and invincible. We have also a reference³ to a Greek overlord, *Yavanadhipah*, of Sauvira and his compatriot Dattamitra (Demetrios ?). The *Santiparva* presupposes the inclusion of the city of Malini, in the land of the Angas, within the realm of Magadha.⁴ It mentions Yaska, the author of the *Nirukta*? Varshaganya,⁶ the Samkhya philosopher who probably flourished in the fourth or fifth century after Christ⁷ and Kamandaka,⁸ the authority on *Dharmna* (sacred law) and *Artha* (polity) who is probably to be identified with the famous disciple of Kautilya.

The eighteen *Picranas* were certainly known to Alberuni⁹ (A.D. 1000), Rajasekhara (A.D. 900), and the

1 I. 67.13-14. Cf. also XII. 5.7 where Asoka is mentioned with Satadhanvan.

2 It is interesting to note in this connection that in the *Dvimahtmya* of the *Markandeya Purana* (88.5) *Maurya* is the name of a class of *Asuras* or demons :—

*Kalaka Daurhrita Mauryah Kalakeyastathasurah
yuddhaya sajja niryantu ajnaya tvarita mama*

"Let the Kalaka, the Daurhrita, the *Maurya* and the Kalakeya *Asuras*, hastening at my command, march forth ready for battle."

Note also the expression *suradvisham* (of the enemies of the gods i.e., *Asuras*), used by the *Bhagavata Purana* (1.3.24) in reference to people "deluded" by the Buddha.

3 *Mbh.*, I. 139.21-23.

4 5. 1-6.

5 342. 73.

6 318. 59.

7 J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 47-51 ; Keith, *Samkhya system*, pp 62, 63, 69.

8 *Santi*, 123. 11.

9 Cf. Alberuni, Ch. XII ; *Prachanda-Pandava* ed. by Carl Cappeller, p. 5 (*ashtadasa-purana-sara-samgraha-karin*) ; *Mbh.* XVIII. 6. 97 ; *Harshacharita*, III (p. 86 of Parab's ed., 1918), *Pavamana-prokta Purana*, i. e., *Vayu Purana* ; Cf. *Sakala-purana-rajarsi-charitabhijnah* (III. 87) and *Hareriva Vrishavirodhini Balacharitani* (II. 77) ; EHSV, seconded., pp. 17, 70, 150. The fact that the collection of the essence (*sara-samgraha*) of all the eighteen *Puranas* is attributed to a very ancient sage by Rajasekhara proves that the *Puranas* themselves were

latest compiler of the *Mahabharata* who flourished before A.D. 500. Some of the Puranic chronicles are mentioned by *Bana* (A.D. 600) and earlier writers. But the extant texts which contain lists of kings of the *Kali Age* cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D., because they refer to the so-called Andhra kings and even to the post-Andhras.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Epics and the *Pardnas*, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisarian age than are the tales of the *Mahavamsa* and the *Asokavadana* adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Maurya. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Dr. Smith considered necessary with regard to the Pali chronicles of Ceylon, is also applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and *Puranas*.

In a recent work Dr. Keith shows scepticism about the historical value of these texts, and wonders at the "naive credulity" of those who believe in the historicity of any event not explicitly mentioned in the Vedas, e.g., "a great *Bhadratan* war." It cannot be denied that the Epics and the *Puranas*, in their present shape, contain a good deal of what is untrustworthy; but it has been rightly said that "it is absurd to suppose that fiction* completely ousted the truth." The epigraphic or numismatic records of the *Satavahanas*, *Abhiras*, *Valcatakas*, *Nagas*, *Guptas* and many other dynasties fully bear out the

believed by him to have been composed long before the ninth century A. D. The existence of some of the texts in the sixth century A.D. is hinted at by the Nerur Inscription of Mahagesa (IA, VII. 161—*Manava-Purana-Ramayana-Bharat'etihasa-kuṣalah...Vallabhah* i.e. Pulikesi I). The reference in the *Matsya Purana*, which is regarded as one of the earliest among the Puranic works, to week days (70. 46; 56; 72, 27 etc.) is of value in determining the upper limit.

observation of Dr. Smith that "modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the *Puranic* lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." As to the "great *Bharata* war" we have indeed no epigraphic corroboration, because contemporary inscriptions are lacking. But, as will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter, Vedic literature contains many hints that the story of the great conflict is not wholly fictitious. Many of the figures in the *Knrukshetra* story, e.g., Balhika Pratipeya¹ (Balhika Pratipiya), Dhritarashtra Vaichitravilya, Krishna Devaki-putra and perhaps Sikhandin Yajnasena, are mentioned in some of the early Vedic texts,² and we have a distinct allusion in the *Satapatha Brahmana* to the unfriendly feeling between the first of these, a prince of the Kurus, and the Spinjaya³. It will be remembered that the great war described in the epic often takes the shape of a trial of strength between these two peoples (*Kuruyarh Srinjayanarh cha jigishu nam parasparam*)*. In the *Jaiminlya Upanishad Brahmana*⁵ Kurus reproach the Dalbhyas, a clan closely connected with the PaUchalas who appear to have been among the principal antagonists of the Kuru leaders in the Bharata War. The *Chhandogya Upanishad*, as is well-known, contains a *gatha* which eulogises the mare that comes to the rescue of the Kurus. Battle-songs describing the struggle of the Kurus against the Srinjayas and associate tribes or clans must have been current at least as early as the fifth century B. C., because Vaisampayana and his version of the *Mahabharata* are well-known to Asvalayana and Panini. If, as

1 *Mbh.* V. 23.9.

2 Cf. also Arjuna identified with Jndra in the *sat. Br.* V. 4. 3. 7. and Partha in the *Asvalayana krauta Sutra*, XII. 10 (*Vedic Index*, I. 522).

3 *Vedic Index*, II, p. 63, *sat. Br.* XII. 9.3.

4 *Mbh.* VI. 45.2.

5 1.38.1 (xii. 4).

suggested by Vedic evidence discussed in the following pages, the "great *Bharatan* war" really took place in or about the ninth century B. C, the broad outlines of the story about the conflict dating from a period not later than the fifth century B. C, cannot be dismissed as wholly unworthy of credence.

Pargiter, unlike Keith, is inclined to give more weight to Puranic tradition than to Vedic evidence, and his conclusions have apparently been accepted by Dr. Barnott.¹ It has recently been urged by the former² that Vedic literature "lacks the historical sense" and "is not always to be trusted." But do the *Puranas* which represent Sakya as one individual, include Abhimanyu and Siddhartha in lists of kings, make Prasenajit the immediate lineal successor of Bahula, place Pradyota several generations before Bimbisara, dismiss Asoka with one sentence, make no mention of the dynastic name Satavahana, and omit from the list of the so called "Andhras", princes like Siri-Kubha (Sri-Kumbha) Satakani whose existence is proved by the incontestable evidence of coins³, possess the historical sense in a remarkable degree, and are "always to be trusted"? Pargiter himself, not un-often, rejects Epic and Puranic evidence⁴ when it is opposed to certain theories. In this connection it will not be quite out of place to quote the following observations of Mr. V. Gordon Childe.⁵ "The *Kmtriya* tradition (i.e., Epic and Puranic tradition).... is hardly an unpolluted source of history. The orthodox view is not really based on the priestly tradition, as embodied in

1 *Calcutta Review*, Feb., 1924, p. 249.

2 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 9 ff.

3 *Mirashi in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II.

4 Cf. A. I. H. T., pp. 173, ll. 1 ; 299, n. 7.

5 *The Aryans*, p. 32.

epexegetical works, but rather on the internal evidence of the Veda itself. The latter carries conviction precisely because the historical and geographical references in the hymns are introduced only incidentally and in a thoroughly ingenuous manner...The same cannot be said of *Ksatriya* tradition, which in its recorded form dates from an age (perhaps as late as 200 A.D.) when myth-making had had many centuries to work in, and which might serve dynastic ends.⁵⁵ Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are two strong points in favour of Vedic literature.

III. The third class of literature comprises Brahmanical works of the post-Bimbisarian period to which a date in a definite epoch may be assigned, e.g., the *Kautiliya Arthasastra* assignable to the period 249 B. 0. to c. 100 A.D.¹, the *Mahabhashya* of Patanali between

1 The work was known not only to Bana, the author of the *Kadambari*, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., but to the *Nandisutra* of the Jains which must have existed in the fifth century A. D, and probably also to the *Nyaya-Bhashya* of Vatsyayana, which is criticised by Dignaga and perhaps by Vasubandhu too (*LA*, 1915, p. 82 ; 1918, p. 103). According to some scholars the *Arihaiastra* literature is later than the *Dharmasastras*, and dates only from about the third century A. D. But the prevalence of the study of *Arthavidya* in a much earlier epoch is proved by the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I, and the existence of treatises on *Arthasastra* is rendered probable by the mention of technical terms like "*Pranaya*," "*Vishṭi*," etc. It is interesting to note that the *Kautiliya*, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing *Arthasastras*, does not quote the views of previous *Acharyas* or teachers in the chapter on "*Pranaya*" (Bk. V, Ch. 2) It is, therefore, not unlikely that Rudradaman I, who claims to have studied the *Arthavidya*, learnt the use of the term from the *Kautiliya* itself and not from a pre-Kautilyan treatise. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Junagadh epigraphs show a special acquaintance with the *Arthaiastira* literature. The Junagadh Inscription of Skanda Gupta, for instance, refers to the testing of officials by *upadhas*—*sarv-opadhabhischa viuddhabuddhih*, "possessed of a mind that (has been tried and) is (found to be) pure by all the tests of honesty." The verse

*Nyay-arjane-rtfyasyacha kah samarthah
syad-arjitasy-apy-atha rakshane cha
'opayitasy-api cha vriddhi-hetau
riddhasya Patra-pratipadanaya*

c. 150 B.C. and 100 A.D.),¹ etc. The value of these important works can hardly be overestimated. They form "sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology."⁵ Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisarian age is certainly inferior to that of the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*, but the very fact that such information as they contain, comes from persons assignable to a known epoch, makes it more valuable than the Epic and Puranic tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

"Who is capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and able) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased" (Fleet),

reminds us of Kaut., 1. I—

Dandanitih ; alabdha-labhartha labdhaparirakshani, rakshita-vivardhani, vriddhasya tlrthesu pratipadant cha.

"The science of government; it is a means to make acquisitions, to preserve what is acquired, to increase what is protected and to distribute among the worthy what has been increased."

Johnston (J. R. A. S., 1929, 1, January, p. 77. ff.) points out that the *Kautiliya Arthashastra* is not separated by a great interval from Asvaghosha, and is distinctly earlier than the *Jatakamala* of Aryasura (who flourished before 434 A. D., Winternitz, *Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II. 276). An early date is also suggested by the absence of any reference to the Denarius in Book II. Chs. 12 and 19. But the mention of *Chinabhumī* and *Chitrapatta* in Bk. II, Ch. 11, precludes the possibility of a date earlier than the middle of the third century B.C. The reference must be to the great country of the Far East (Cf. "China which produces silk," Kosmas Indikopleustes, McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 162), and not to any obscure tribe on the outskirts of India. China silk looms large in the pages of classical Sanskrit writers. The great silk-producing country (as well as Kambū, *Kant*, II. 13) clearly lay outside the horizon of the early Mauryas. The name 'China' applied to the famous land can hardly be anterior to the first emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty (249-210 B. C., Mogi and Redman, *The Problem of the Far East*, p. 15). A post-Chandraguptan date for the *Arthashastra* is also suggested by (a) the reference to parapets of brick instead of wooden ramparts (II. 3), in connection with the royal seat, and the (b) use of Sanskrit at the Secretariat (II. 10). The imperial title *Chakravartī* (IX. 1) is not met with in inscriptions before Kharavela. The official designations *Satnahartri* and *Sannidhatri* find mention in epigraphs of a still later age.

² For recent discussions about the date of Patanjali see *Indian Culture*, III, Iff; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Third Session, pp. 510-11.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist *Suttas*, *Vinaya* texts and the *Jatahas*. Several works of the Buddhist canon are noticed in votive inscriptions at Bharhut and Sanchi assigned to the second and first centuries B. C. Many of the reliefs found on the railings and gateways of *Stupas* of the age depict stories taken from the *Jatahas*. The texts of the Pali canon are said to have been committed to writing in the first century B.C. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisara. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories, and vouchsafe light when the light from Brahmanical sources begins to fail.

V. To the fifth class belong the sacred texts of the Jainas. Some of the works may go back to a period earlier than the second century A.D. But the canon as a whole was probably reduced to writing in the fifth or sixth century A.D.¹ It gives interesting information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisarian Age. But its comparatively late date makes its evidence not always reliable.

1 Jacobi, *PariHshta parvan*, p. vii ; S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii ; XLV, p. xl. Cf. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Eng. trans., Vol. II. p. 432.

CHAPTER I I . KURUS AND VIDEHAS .

SECTION I. THE AGE OF THE PAEIKSHITAS.

*Janah sa bhadramedhati
rashtre rajnah Parilcshitah*

—*Atharva Veda.*

We have taken as our starting point the **reign of Parikshit** whose accession, according to tradition, took place shortly after the *Biharata* War.

Was there really a king named Parikshit ? True, he is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and the *Purmas*. But the mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no sure proof of his historical existence unless we have corroborative evidence from external sources.

Parikshit appears in a famous laud of the Twentieth Book of the *Atharva Veda Samhita*¹ as a king of the Kurus (*Kauravya*) whose kingdom (*rashtra*) flowed with milk and honey. The passage runs as follows :—

" *Rajno vinvajanxnasya yo devomartyarh ati
vaikvanarasya sushttitima sunota Parilcshitah
parichchinnah Icshemamalcarot tama asanamacharan
Imlayan Icrinvan Katravyah patirvadati jayaya
Icatarat ta a harani dadhi mantham pari srutam
jayah patirh vi prichchhati rashtre rajnah Parilcshitah
abhiva svah pra jihite yavah palcvah patho bilam
janah sa bhadramedhati rashtre rajnah Parilcshitah*"

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, who is thought of by all men², of Parikshit ! Parikshit has

1. A, V., XX. 127, 7-10.

2. For the meaning of *Vaisvanara*, see *Brihaddevata*, I I . 66.

produced for us a secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

"What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit.¹"

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the *Atharva Veda* as a divine being. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognize him as a human king, a view supported by the fact that in the *Aitareya* and *Satapatha Brahmanas* the famous king Janamejaya bears the patronymic *Pdrikshita* (son of Parikshit). The *Aitareya Brahmana*,² for example, informs us that the priest Tura Kavasheya "anointed Janamejaya Parikshita with the great anointing of Indra" :

"Etena ha va Aindreua mahahhishekeya Turah Kavasheyo Janamejayam Parikshitam abhishishecha."

Referring to king Parikshit, Macdonell and Keith observe³ : "The epic makes him grandfather of Pratisravas and great-grandfather of Pratipa." Now, the epic and the *Puranas* have really two Parikshits. Regarding the parentage of one there is no unanimity. He is variously represented as the son of Avikshit, Anasva, or Kuru, and is further mentioned as an ancestor of Pratisravas and Pratipa. The other Parikshit was a descendant of Pratipa and, according to a unanimous tradition, a son

1 Bloomfield, *Atharva Veda*, pp. 197-98, with slight emendations.

2 VIII. 21.

3 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 494.

of Abhimanyu.¹ We shall call the former Parikshit I, and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic and the *Puranas* identical with the Vedic Parikshit as suggested by the authors of the *Vedic Index* ? In support of this view it may be urged that Indrota Daivapa Saunaka, priest of Janamejaya, son of the Vedic Parikshit, according to the *Satapatha Brahmana*² is represented in several *Puranas** as chaplain of the son of Parikshit I who came *before* the Bharata heroes. Indrota's son Driti was a contemporary of Abhipratarin Kakshaseni,⁴ "son of Kakshasena," and the name of Kakshasena actually appears among the sons of Parikshit I in a geneological list of the *Mahabharata*.⁵ Further, like the Vedic Parikshit, Parikshit I had according to a Puranic passage, four sons, viz. Janamejaya, Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena,⁶ and the eldest son had a quarrel with the Brahmanas.

There are, however, other facts' which point to an opposite conclusion. The Vedic Parikshit receives in the *Atharvan* laud the epithet *raja visvaja7ii?ia* (universal king) and is called "*a deva* (god) who is above mortals." In his days the designation *Kauravya* had ceased to be a mere royal patronymic and was applied to ordinary citizens in Kuril land. Kuru had become the eponymous ancestor of the entire race. And lastly, the people thrived merrily (*janah sa bhadramedhati*) in his realm. These particulars hardly apply to the shadowy Parikshit I of Epic and Puranic lists who is said to have been very near in time

1 *Mahabharata*, *Adiparva*, 94, 52 and 95, 41. Regarding Parikshit I, the *Matsya Purana* says, 50, 23 :

*Kurostu dayitah putrah Sudhanva Jahnureva cha
Parikshichcha mahatejaty pravaras charimardanah,*

2 *Vedic Index*, i, 78.

3 Pargiter, *AIHT*, 114.

4 *Vedic Index*, i, 373.

5 *Mbh* I. 94, 54.

6 *Vishnu Purana*, iv, 20. 1.

to Kuru himself.¹ On the other hand the Vedic laud corresponds wonderfully, both in content and phraseology with the famous *ahhyana* (story) of Parikshit II, son of Abhimanyu, narrated in Chapters 16 to 18 of the *Bhagavata Parva*. We are told that this Parikshit undertook a *digvijaya*, conquest of all the quarters, in the "course of which he subjugated all the sub-continents (*varshivi*). He is called *the supreme deva* who is not to be regarded as the equal of ordinary men (*na vai nrirbhir-naradevam paralchya rak sammatum arhasi*). He is further styled *samrat* (emperor) and under his protection people thrive and have nothing to fear (*vindanti bhadrtwalya cutobhayah prajah*).

Proof of the **identity of this Parikshit** (son of Abhimanyu) with his Vedic namesake is also furnished by a later passage of the same *Purana*? which mentions Tura Kavasheya as the priest of his son Janamejaya :

*Kavasheyam pñrodhaya Turam turagamedharat
samaitut prithivih sarvvañ jítva yalçshyati chadhvaraih.*

It will be remembered that the same sage appears as the priest of Janamejaya Parikshita in the *Aitareya Brahmana*.

The *Bhagavata Purana* is no doubt a late work. But its evidence does not stand alone. This will be made clear by an examination of the names of the sons of Parikshit given in these Vedic texts and the Epic respectively. The Vedic Parikshit, we are told, had four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhimasena and Srutasena.³ The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhimasena) according to Chapter 95,

1 In the *Vayu Purana*, 93, 21 and the *Harivamsa*, XXX. 9, Parikshit I seems to be identified with Kuru himself as his son (*Parikshita*) is called *Kuroh putrah*, son of Kuru.

2 Book IX. Ch. 22. Verses 25-37.

3 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 520.

verse 42 of the *Adiparva* of the *Mahabharata*, and seven sons (Janamejaya, Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhimasena) according, to Chapter 94, verses 54-55, and among these the name of *Srutasena* does not occur. Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the *Java text*} There is no king of that name immediately after Parikshit I, also in the Kuru-Pandu genealogy given in the Chellur or Cocanada grant of Virachoda.² The Epic poet and the writer of the Choda inscription, which is much older than many extant manuscripts of the *Mahabharata*, therefore, were not quite sure as to whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and *Srutasena*. On the other hand, according to the unanimous testimony of the *Mahabharata* and the *Puravas*, Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus the *Mahabharata*, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says.

Parikshit khalu Madravatim namopayeme, tvanmataram. Tasyam bhavan Janamejayah. "Parikshit married Madravati, your mother, and she gave birth to you, Janamejaya."

The *Matstja Punma*⁴ informs us that

*"Abhimanyoh Parikshittu putrah par apuranj ayah
Janamejayah Parihshitah putrah paramadharmihah"*

"Abhimanyu's son was Parikshit, the conqueror of his enemy's city. Parikshit's son was Janamejaya who was very righteous."

. This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely, Srutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena :—"Janamejayah Parihshitah

1 *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 6.

2 *Hultzsch, S././.. Vol. I, p. 57.*

3 *I. 95, 85.*

4 50,57.

*saha bhratribhih Kurushsetre dirgha-satram uptiste ; tasya. blvratastrayah Srutasena Ugrasena Bhimasena it."*¹

"Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, with his brothers, was attending a long sacrifice at Kurukslietra. His brothers were three, namely,—Srutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena."

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and the Puranic Parikshit I I. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana* as a performer of the *Asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice. The priest who performed the famous rite for him was Indrota Daivapa Baunaka. On the other hand, the *Aitareya Brahmana*, which also mentions his *Asvamedha*, names Tura Kavasheya as his priest. The statements of the *Satapatha-* and *Aitareya Brahmanas* are apparently conflicting, and can be reconciled if we surmise that either we are dealing with *tivo* different kings of the same name and parentage or the *same* Janamejaya performed two horse-sacrifices. Which Janamejaya actually did so ? Curiously enough the *Paranas* give the information which is needed. The *Matsya Purana* speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit I I, says :

*Dvir asvamedham ahritya mahavajasaneyakah
pravartayitva tarn sarvam rishim Vajasaneyaham
vivade Brahman aik sarddham abhisapto vanarh yayati?*

The quarrel with the Brahmanas, alluded to in the

1 *Mbh.* I. 3. 1. In translating Epic passages use has been made of the renderings of Ray and Dutt. See also Puranic texts cited by Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age-* p. 4n⁴. The view that Srutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena were sons of Janamejaya (Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 113 £.) is clearly opposed to the evidence of the Epic and several *Puranas* as well as that of Harisvamin. Speaking about Parikshit, son of Abhimanyu, the *Vishnu Puratta*, for example, says (iv. 21. 1) : "Yo'yath Sampratam avampatih tasyapi Janamejaya-srutasena-Ugrasena-Bhlmctsenah putras chatvaro bhavishyanti."

2 50, 63-64. Cf. N. K. Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, p. 42.
O.P., 90—3

last line, is also mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana*.¹ According to that text Janamejaya's priestly opponents were the Kasyapas. That designation hardly applies to the Gargyas who quarrelled with the son of Parikshit I² because the *Baudhayana Sruta Sutra*³ includes them in the Atigiras group. On the other hand Vaisampayana, who led the opponents of the son of Parikshit II, was undoubtedly a Kasyapa.⁴

Parikshit II has thus a better claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II represent a bardic duplication of the same original individual regarding whose exact place in the Kuru genealogy no unanimous tradition had survived. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but the names of most of the sons (in the *Vishnu* and *Brahma Puranas*⁵ the names of all the sons) are common to both, points to the same conclusion. In the case of the son and successor of each of the two Parikshits we have a strikingly similar story of a quarrel with the Brahmanas.⁶ It will further be remembered that while Tura Kavasheya is mentioned in the Puranic literature as a *Purohita* of the son of Parikshit II, Indrota Daivapa Saunaka is represented as the priest of the son of Parikshit I. But it is clear from the Vedic texts that both the royal chaplains served the same king who was separated by five or six generations from Janaka, the contemporary of Uddalaka Aruni, Yajnavalkya and Somasushma. Doubts may thus be legitimately entertained about the existence of two Parikshits each of whom had sons and successors

1 VII. 27.

2 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 114, *Vayu*, 93, 22-25.

3 Vol. III, pp. 431 ff.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 449.

5 *Vishnu*, IV, 20. 1:21.1; *Brahma*, XIII, 109.

6 *Vayu*, 93, 22-25 ; *Matsya*, 50, 63-64 etc.

with identical names, the heroes of tales of a similar character. The probability is that there was really only *one* Parikshit in the Kuru royal family, father of the patron of *both* Tura and Indrota.

Did he flourish *before* or *after* the Bharata War? The necessity felt for offering an explanation of the name Parikshit given to Abhimanyu's son at the end of the Bharata War, and the explanation itself, probably suggest that the tradition of an earlier Kuru king with the name of Parikshit had not yet come into existence when the tenth book of the *Mahabharata* was written.¹ Parikshit I was possibly invented by genealogists to account for such anachronisms as the mention of *Indrota*" *Pdikshita-samvada* as an old story by Bhishma in the twelfth book (chapter 151). The wide divergence of opinion in regard to the name of the father of the so-called Parikshit I, and his position in the list, is also to be noted in this connection. It shows the absence of a clear tradition. On the other hand there is absolute unanimity in regard to the parentage and dynastic position of the so-called Parikshit II.²

1 *Mbh*, X, 16, 3.

"While the Kuru line will become extinct (*parikshlnehu Kurushu*): a son will be born to you (= Uttara, wife of Abhimanyu). The child will, for that reason, be named Parikshit."

2 The identification of the Vedic Parikshit with the son of Abhimanyu who flourished after the Bharata War does not seem probable to Dr. N. Dutt, the author of *The Aryanisation of India*, pp. 50 ff., because, in the first place, it goes against the findings of Macdonell, Keith and Pargiter who prefer to identify the Vedic Parikshit with an ancestor of the Pandus. As to this it may be pointed out that the existence of a Parikshit (father of Janamejaya) *before* the Pandus, rests mainly on the testimony of those very genealogies which are regarded by Keith as worthless and unreliable (cf. *RPVU* 21, 618). That, the name of Janamejaya in *this* connection is an intrusion into the genealogical texts is evident from its omission from Chapter 95 of the *Mahabharata*, the *Java text*, the *Chellur grant*, etc.

Dr. Dutt next argues that the *Vishnu Purana* makes the four, brothers Janamejaya, Srutasena, etc., sons of Parikshit I. If he had only perused-a, subsequent passage (IV. 21. 1.) he would have seen that the *Purana* makes the

The Vedic hymns throw little light on the domestic life or reign-period of Parikshit. From the epic we learn that he married a Madra princess (Madravati) and ruled

four brothers sons of "Parikshit I I" as well, and while this later statement finds corroboration in the *Mahabharata*, (I. 3.1,) the earlier does not.

Dr. Dutt next says that it is always risky to attempt identification of kings or the fixing of their dates from an examination of their teacher-priests' names, But why should it be risky if the names and order of succession be genuine? The real risk lies in the rejection of such evidence without sufficient examination. It should be remembered in this connection that the identification of the Vedic Parikshita Janamejaya with his Epic namesake (descendant of Abhimanyu) does not depend mainly on trn teacher-priests' names, but on the following facts, viz, (1) absence of any cogent proof of the existence of an earlier Janamejaya Parikshita in view of the omission of his name in the *Java text*, Choda inscriptions etc., and (2) agreement of particulars about the Vedic Parikshit and Janamejaya (e.g., words describing the prosperity of the Kuru realm, the performance of two *Asvamedhas*, quarrel, with the Kasyapas), with what we know of Parikshit and Janamejaya who were descendants of Abhimanyu. The question of the chronological relation between the Vedtc Parikshit and the Vedic Janaka is entirely independent of this identification. This relation has been determined on the strength of two different lines of evidence. Materials for one have indeed been taken from the *Vainsa* lists of the Brahmanas. But the succession from Indrota to Somasushma has been reconstructed from incidental notices in the Brahmana texts themselves which no critic has represented as late.

Dr. Dutt adds that identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. This is a truism which is not remembered only by those who identify Dhritarashtra Vaichitravrya with Dhritarashtra of Kasi. It has never been suggested in the *Political History* that the Vedic and Epic Parikshits and Janamejayas are identical merely because their names are identical.

As to Dr. Dutt's contention that there could not be want of motives in later times on the part of the authors belonging to rival families and schools to associate a certain teacher-priest with a famous king of old, etc., it is not clear which particular case he has in mind in making the statement. The association of Indrota and Tura with Janamejaya, and that of Uddalaka and Yajnavalkya with Janaka is found in the *Satapatha* and *Aitareya Brahmanas* and in the *Upanishads*. Is it suggested that such association is a deliberate concoction or fabrication? But no shred of evidence has been brought forward to prove such a charge. No doubt misrepresentations are met with in the Epics and the *Puranas* (as pointed out by Pargiter and others). But it would not be reasonable to argue that the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads* are guilty of deliberate falsification because forsooth there is confusion in the *Puranas* which are undoubtedly of a later date.

Lastly the credibility of the *Vathia* lists in the Vedic texts has been assailed on the following grounds viz.,—

- (1) Silence of Commentators.

for 24 years dying at the age of sixty.¹ Little credit, however, can be given to the bardic tales that cluster round his name. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest, Janamejaya, succeeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the **realm of the Kurus** over which Parikshit ruled. The kingdom, according to epic tradition, stretched from the Sarasvati to the Ganges. In the *Digvijaya-parva* it is taken to extend from the border of the land of the Kulindas (near the sources of the Sutlej, the Jumna and the Ganges) to that of the Surasenas and the Matsyas (in the Mathura and Bairat regions respectively), and from the frontier of Rohftaka (Rohtak in the Eastern Punjab) to that of the Panchalas (of Rohilkhand). It was divided into three parts, Kuru-

(2) Discrepancy between the lists appended to the 10th and 14th books respectively of the *Satapatha Brahmana* in regard to the authorship of the work and ascription of the work to different teachers.

(3) Scant courtesy shown to an alleged teacher by his pupil.

As to (1), the *Acharyaparampara*, succession of teachers, is distinctly alluded to by the commentators. If they did not enter into a detailed explanation, it is because they considered it to be *sugamam*, *spashtam*, easily intelligible, plain.

(2) There is no *Vamsa* list at the close of the 14th book of the *Brahmana proper* excluding the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*. There are no doubt lists of teachers at the end of the *Upanishad*. It is too much to expect that, in the various lists, the entire *Brahmana* as well as the *Upanishad* should be ascribed to the same traditional authority. The *Brahmana* and *Upanishad* texts are not works of single individuals. The question of discrepancy, therefore, does not arise. Reference to different traditions regarding the authorship of a particular work, or of particular portions of a work, does not necessarily vitiate any *Acharya-Parampara* regarding which we have substantial agreement in the texts.

(3) It is too much to expect that in ancient, as in modern times, all pupils should be equally respectful to teachers. Was not Dhrishtadyumna a pupil of Dronacharya whom he killed?

1 *Mbh.* I. 49. 17-26 with commentary. We learn from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (III. 3/1.) that the Parikshita family was intimately known in the Madra country.

jai'jgala, the Kurus proper and Kurukshetra.¹ Kurnjangala, as its name implies, was probably the wild region of the Kuril realm that stretched from the Kamyaka forest on the banks of the Sarasvatī to Khandava near (*samlpatah*) the Jumna.² But in certain passages it is used in a wider sense to designate the whole country (*desa, rashtra*³). The Kurus proper were probably located in the district around Hastinapura (on the Ganges), identified with a place near Meerut.⁴ The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the *Taittirya Aranyaka*⁵ as being Khandava on the south, the Turghna on the north, and the Parinah⁶ on the west (lit. hinder section, *jaghanardha*). The *Mahabharata*⁷ gives the following description of Kurukshetra: "South of the Sarasvatī and north of the Drishadvati, he who lives in Kurukshetra really dwells in heaven. The region that lies between Taruntuka and Marantuka or Arantuka, the lakes of Rama and Machakruka⁸—this is Kurukshetra which is also called Samantapanchaka and the northern sacrificial altar (*nttara vedi*) of the grandsire (*ie.*, Brahma)." Roughly speaking, the Kuril kingdom corresponded to modern Thanesar, Delhi and the greater part of the Upper Gangetic Doab. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Aruna (which joins the Sarasvatī near Pehoa), Amsumati, Hiranvati, Apaya (Apaga

1 *Mbh.*, I. 109. 1 ; 149. 5-15 ; II. 26-32 ; III. 83. 204 ; Ptolemy, VII. i. 42.

2 *Tatah Sarasvatikule sameshu marudhanvasu
Katfiyakath nama dadriur vanam munijanapriyam.*

"Then they saw before them the forest of Kamyaka on the banks of the Sarasvatī on a level and wild plain, a favoured resort to anchorites." *Mbh.*, III.

5. 3. For the location of the Khandava forest see I. 222. 14 ; 223. 1.

3 Cf. *Mbh.* I. 109. 24 ; viii. 1. 17. xii. 37. 23.

4 Smith, *Oxford History* (1919), p. 31. cf. *Ram.* II. 68. 13 ; *Mbh.* I. 128. 29ff; 133. 11 ; Pargiter *DKA*, 5; Patanjali, II. 1. 2. *anugangam Hastinapuram.*

5 *Vedic Index* 1, pp. 169-70.

6 Cf. the Pareos of Arrian (*Indika*, iv), a tributary of the Indus..

7 111, 83. 4 ; 9 : 15 ; 25 40 ; 52 r 200 ; 204-08.

8 Machakruka, Taruntuka and Marantuka are *Yaksha dvarapalas* guarding the boundaries of Kurukshetra.

or Oghavati, a branch of the Chitang), Kausiki (a branch of the Rakshi), as well as the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati or the Rakshi.¹ Here, too, was situated Saryanavat, which the authors of the *Vedic Index* consider to have been a lake, like that known to the *Satapatha Brahmana* by the name of Anyatahplaksha.

The royal residence according to the Vedic texts was apparently Asandivat.² This city may have been identical with Nagasahvaya or Hastinapura, the capital mentioned in the Epics and the *Purvas*. But it is more probably represented by the modern Asandh near the Chitang.³

According to epic tradition the kings of Kurukshetra belonged to the **Puru-Bharata** family. The *Paurava* connection of the Kurus is suggested by the *Ijigvedic* hymn,⁴ which refers to "JKuru-sravana" (lit. glory of the Kurus) as a descendant of Trasadasyu, a famous king of the Purus.⁵ The connection of the Bharatas with the Kurulaud is also attested by Vedic evidence. A Rigvedic ode⁶ speaks of the two Bharatas, Devasravas and Devavata, as sacrificing in the land on the Drishadvati, the Apaya and the Sarasvati. Some famous *gathas* of the *Bruhmanas*⁷ and the epic tell us that Bharata Dauhshanti made offerings on the Jumna, the Ganges (*Yqmnam anu Oahgayam*) and the Sarasvati, The territory indicated in

1 For the identification and location of some of the streams see Mbh III. 83. 95, 151 ; V. 151. 78 ; Cunningham's *Arch-Rep.*, for 1878-79 quoted in JRAS, 1883, 363n ; Smith, *Oxford History*, 29.

2 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 72.

3 See the map, Smith. *Oxford History*, p. 29, An Asandi district is mentioned by Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (Bombay Gazetteer, 1.2, p. 492). But there is no reason for connecting it with the Kuru country.

4 X. 33, 4.

5 *Rigveda*, IV. 38. 1 ; VII. 19, 3.

6 Rig. iii. 23 ; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 409-10.

7 Sat. Br. xiii. 5. 4. 11 ; Ait. Br. viii. 23 ; Mbh. vii. 66, 8.

these laudatory verses is exactly the region which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukshetra.

In the opinion of Oldenberg "the countless small stocks of the *Samjiita* age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the *Brahmana* period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Purus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus ; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra."¹

Among those kings who are ' mentioned in the genealogical lists of the *Mahabharata** as ancestors and **predecessors of Parikshit**, the names of the following occur in the Vedic literature :—

1 The absorption of the Bharatas by the Kurus is suggested by such passages as *Kuravo nama Bharatah* (Mbh. XII. 349. 44). In the Ram. IV. 33. 11 Bharatas are still distinguished from the Kurus. It has been suggested by some scholars, e.g., C. V Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 268 ft.) that the Bharata of *Rigvedic* tradition is not to be identified with Dauhshanti Bharata, the traditional progenitor of the Kurupya family, but rather with Bharata, the son of Rishabha, a descendant of the first Manu called *Svayambhuva*. It should, however, be remembered that the story of Bharata, son of Rishabha, is distinctly late. The Bharata princes and people of *Rigvedic* tradition are clearly associated with the Kuru country watered by the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati and the names of their rulers, e.g., Divodasa and Sudas occur in *Puranic* lists of kings descended from the son or daughter of Manu *Vaivasvata* and not of Manu *Svayambhuva*. "The Bharata priests Vasishtha and Visvamitra Kausika are connected in early literature with the royal progeny of Manu *Vaivasvata* and his daughter, and not of Manu *Svayambhuva*. For the association of Vasishtha with the descendants of Bharata Dauhshanti see the story of Samvarana and Tapati in the *Mahabharata*, I. 94 and 171 f. Visvamitra Kausika's association with the Puru-Bharata family is, of course, well-known (Mbh. I. 94. 33). It may be argued that Bharata, ancestor of Visvamitra, who is called *Bharata-rishabha* in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, must be distinguished from the later Bharata, the son of Sakuntala, daughter of Visvamitra. But there is no real ground for believing that the story of Visvamitra's connection with the nymphs is based on sober history. The *Rigvedic* Visvamitra belonged to the family of Kusika. In the *Mahabharata* (I. 94. 33) the Kusikas are expressly mentioned as descendants of Bharata Dauhshanti.

2 *Adityarva*, Chapters 94 and 95.

Puru-ravas Aila,¹ Ayu,² Yayati Nahushya,³ Pilru,⁴ Bharata Dauhshanti Saudyumni,⁵ Ajamldha,⁶ Riksha,⁷ Samvarana,⁸ Kuru,⁹ Uchohaihsravas,¹⁰ Pratipa Pratisatvana or Pratisutvana,¹¹ BalhikaPratipiya,¹² Samtanu,¹³ and Dhritarashtra Vaichitravlyra.¹⁴

The occurrence of these *names* in the Vedic texts probably proves their historicity,¹⁵ but it is difficult to say how far the epic account of their relationship with one another or with Parikshit, and the traditional order of succession, are reliable. Some of the kings may not have been connected with the Kurus at all. Others, *e.g.*, Uchchaisravas Kaupayeya, Balhika Pratiplya and Samtanu, were undoubtedly of the same race (*Kauravya*) as Parikshit.¹⁶

Purfi-ravas Aila, the first king in the above list, is represented in epic tales as the son of a ruler who migrated from Bahli in Central Asia to Mid-India.¹⁷ It may be

1 *Rig-Veda*, X. 95; *Sat. Br.*,

XI. 5. 1.1.

2 *Rig-Veda* I. 53. 10 ; II. 14.

7, etc. /

3 R. V., I. 31. 17 ; X. 63. 1.

4 R. V, VII. 8. 4 ; 18. 13.

5 *Sat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 11-12 ; *Ait. Br.*

viii, 23.

6 R. V., IV. 44. 6.

7 R. V. VIII. 68. 15.

8 R. V., VIII. 51. 1. (*Vedic Index*,

II. 442).

9 Frequently mentioned in the Brahmana literature, *cf.* Kuru-sravana, *Rig-Veda*, X. 33.4. See, however, foot note 15 below.

10 *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana*, III. 29. 1-3.

11 *Atharva-Veda*, XX. 129. 2.

12 *Sat. Br.*, XII. 9. 3.3.

13 R. V., X. 98.

14 *Kathaka Samhita*, X. 6.

15 It should, however, be noted that no individual king named Kwru is mentioned in Vedic literature. Kuru is the name of a people in the Vedic texts.

16 *Jaiminiya Up. Br.* III. 29.1 ; *Sat. Br.*, XII. 9. 3 ; *Nirukta*, ed.by Kshemaja Srikrisbna Dasa Sresthi, p. 130 ; *Brihaddevata*, VII, 155-156 ; *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 7-8.

17 *Ram.*, VII. 103, 21-22. This Bahli lay outside the *Madhyadeia* and is associated with Karddama kings. The reference is doubtless to Balkh or Bactria in the Oxus Valley. For a discussion about its identity see *IHQ*, 1933, 37-39. The *Matsya Parana*, 12. 14 ff, distinctly mentions Ilavrita-Varsha (in Central Asia) as the realm of the parent of Puru-ravas. Mbh. (III. 90. 22-25) however seems to locate the birth place of Puru-ravas on a hill near the source of the Ganges.

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noted in this connection that the *Papanclm-sadani* refers to the Kurus —the most important branch of the Ailas according, -to. the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*—as colonists from the trans-Himalayan region known as Uttara Kuru,¹ Bharata, another king mentioned in the epic list is described as a lineal descendant of Puru-ravas and of Pfiru. But this is doubtful. He is, as we have seen, definitely associated in Brahmanic and epic *gathas* with the land on the Sarasvati, the Ganges and the Jumna, and is credited with a victory over the Satvats. The epic tradition that he was the progenitor of the Kuru royal family is in agreement with Vedic evidence which connects him and his clansmen, Devasravas and Deva-vata, with the same territory which afterwards became famous as the land of the Kurus- Uchchaisravas Kaupayeya had matrimonial relations with the royal family of the Panchalas, But Balhika Pratipiya could ill conceal his jealousy of the ruler of the Srinjayas, a people closely associated with the Panchalas in epic tales. The word Balhika in the name Balhika Pratipiya seems to be a personal designation and there is no clear evidence that it is in any way connected with the Balhika tribe mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* and later texts. It may, however, point to the northern origin of the Kurus² of the "Middle country," a theory rendered probable by the association of the Kurus with the Mahavrishas³ and the fact that a

1 Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Ksatriya Tribes*, p. 16. Note the association of the Kurus with the Mahavrishas, *Vedic Index*, I I . 279n, and with the Balhikas, Mbh. I I . 63. 2-7. In Mbh. I I I . 145. 18-19 the Uttara Kurus are apparently placed near Mount Kailasa and Badari. In other texts they are located much farther to the north. The Kurus of the *Madhya-deia* are called *Dakshina-Kurus* in Mbh. 1, 109. 10.

2, Note the association of the Pratipeyas of the Kuru Assembly with the Balhikas in Mbh. ii. 63. 2—7 : *Pratipeyah Santanava Bhinutsenah sa Balhikah,..... irinudhvam kavyain vacham samsadi Kauravanam.*

3 *Vedic Index* I I , 279n 5 f̣sat Br. (Kanva text); for Balhikas and Mahavrishas see also *Atharva Veda*, V. 22, 4-8.

section of the Kuru people dwelt beyond the Himalayas in the days of the *Aitareya Brahmana* and the *Mahabharata*.' The history of the Kuru royal line becomes more definite from the time of Samtanu who was fifth in the ascending line from Parikshit. Regarding the events of Parikshit's reign we have little reliable information. We only know that the drought that threatened the Kuru realm in the time of Samtanu had passed away and the people "throve merrily in the kingdom of Parikshit."

The date of Parikshit is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts give no direct information. In the Aihole Inscription of Ravikirti, panegyrist of Pulakesin I I, dated Saka 556 (expired) = A.D. 634-35, it is stated that at that time 3735 years had passed since the Bharata war :

*Trimsatsu tri-sahasreshu Bharata d ahavad it ah
saptdbda-sata-yulcteshu gateshvbadeshio panchasu.*¹

The date of the *Bharata* war which almost synchronised with the birth of Parikshit, is, according to this calculation, and the testimony of Aryabhata (A.D. 499), 3102 B.C. This is the starting point of the so-called *Kali-yuga* era.) But, as pointed out by Fleet², the reckoning was not founded in Vedic times. It is an invented one, devised by Hindu astronomers and chronologists for the purposed of their calculations some thirty-five centuries after the initial point which they assigned to it. As a matter of fact another school of Hindu astronomers and historians, represented by Vriddha-Grarga, Varahamihira and Kalhana, placed the heroes of the *Bharata* war 653 years after the beginning of the *Kali-yuga* and 2526 years before the Saka era, i.e., in B.C. 2449.³ This last date

1 Ep.Ind./VI, pp. 11,12.

2 JRAS, 1911, pp. 479ff., 675ff.

3 *Asan Maghasu munayah sasatiprithvhh Yudhishthire nripatau
shnd-dvika-pancha-dviyutah SakdkaUistasyd'rdjndscha'*

Brih. S., XIII. 3. Cf. 'RrtJatarangim, I. 48-56.

is as much open to doubt as the one adopted by Aryabhata and Ravikirti. The literature that embodies the Vriddha-Garga tradition cannot claim any higher antiquity or reliability than the composition of the great astronomer of Kusumapura. The chronology to which it gives preference is not accepted by the Aihole inscription of Ravikirti. A recent writer,¹ who accepts the dating of Vriddha-Garga and Varaha, cites only two late cases (*op. cit.* p. 401) to prove its currency in India, viz., the commentary on the *Bhagavatamrita* and certain modern Almanacs. His attempts to support this tradition by astronomical calculation based on certain *Mahabharata* passages are beset with difficulties. For one thing there is a good deal of uncertainty regarding the starting point of what he calls the "Puranic" or "epic" Kaliyuga. He says (p. 399) "*mod likely the Mahabharata Kaliyuga truly began from the year 245-1 B.C.* The year of the Bharata battle according to his finding is however 2449 B.C. In other words the battle was fought *five years after* the epic Kaliyuga *had already begun*. But he himself points out (p. 393) that the battle was fought, according to the *Mahabharata*, when it was the junction of (*antara*, l'eally interval between) *Kali* and *Dvapara*, and 36 years before the year of Krishna's expiry (p. 399) which was the true *beginning of the Kaliyuga*. Thus the dates assigned to the beginning of Kali do not agree. These discrepancies demonstrate the unstable character of the ground on which the chronological edifice is sought to be built. It may be remembered in this connection that Kalhana, who places Gonarda I of Kashmir and the Bharata War in 2449-8 B.C. fixes a date for Asoka much earlier than Gonarda III (1182 B.C.). This result is opposed to all genuine historical evidence and proves the unreliable

1 Mr. P. C. Sen Gupta, *Bharata Battle Traditions*, JRASB, IV, 1938, no. 3 (Sept. 1939, pp. 393-413).

character of the scheme of chronology which has for its basis a belief in 2449 B.C. as the date of the Bharata War, Some writers¹ try to reconcile the conflicting views presented by the schools of Aryabhata and Vriddha-Garga by suggesting that the *Saka-Icala* of Varahamihira is really *Sakya-kala*, i.e., the era of the Buddha's *Nirvana*. This conjecture is not only opposed to the evidence of Kalhana, but is flatly contradicted by Bhattotpala who explains *Saka-kala* of the *Brihat Samhita* passage as *Saka-nripa-kala*, era of the Saka king.² Varahamihira himself knew of no *SakaIcala* apart from the *Sakendraketula* or *Sakabhupa-kala*, i.e., the era of the Saka king.³

A third tradition is recorded by the compilers of the *Parmjas*. There is a remarkable verse, found with variants in the historical *Parana*, which places the birth of Parikshit 1050 (or 1015, 1115, 1500 etc. according to some manuscripts), years before Mahapadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha :

*Mahtipadm-abhishekat tu
yavajjanma Parikshitah
evam mrshasahasraih tu
jneyam panchamduddattam.**

1 *IHQ*, 1932, 85 ; *Mod. Rev.*, June, 1932, 650 ff.

2 The *Brihat-Samhita* by Varahamihira with the commentary of Bhattotpala, edited by Sudhakara Dvivedi, p. 281.

3 *Brihat Samhita*, VIII, 20-21.

4 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 55. From the account of Pargiter it appears that the reading *Pahcha-satottaram*, finds no support in the *Vayu* and *Brhmrhanda* texts. The variant *katam panchadasottaram* occurs only in some *Bhagavata* Mss. '*Panchadas-ottaram*' is however unknown to the *Matsya*, One *Matsya* Ms. has *katotravam*'. The reading generally accepted by the scribes seems to have been *Panchasad-uttaram*. The biggest figure (1500) is probably obtained by the wrong inclusion within the Magadh&n list of the Pradyotas of Avanti, and taking the period of Barhadratha rule to cover 1000 instead of 723 years. 1000 (for the Barhadrathas) + 152 (for the Pradyotas)+360 (for the Saisuuagas) = 1512 years,

If the reading *Panchasaduttaram* be correct, the verse would seem to point to a date in the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C. for the birth of Parikshit. It is however, doubtful if even this tradition can be regarded as of great value. In the first place the divergent readings in the different Mss. take away from the value of the chronological datum. Secondly, the *Puranas* themselves in giving details about the dynasties that are supposed to have intervened between the Bliarata war and the coronation of Mahapadma mention totals of reigns which when added together neither present a unanimous tradition nor correspond to the figure 1050, which alone finds general acceptance in the *Matsya*, the *Vayn* and the *Bi'ahmanda* manuscripts. The discrepancies may no doubt be partially explained by the well-known fact that the Puranic chroniclers often represent contemporaneous lines e.g. the Pradyotas and the Bimbisaris, as following one another in regular succession. But there is another point which deserves notice in this connection. The same passage which says that "from Mahapadma's inauguration to the birth of Parikshit, this interval is indeed 1050 years/" adds that "the interval which elapsed from the last Andhra king Pulomavi to Mahapadma was 836 years/" As most of the *Puranas* agree in assigning a period of 100 years to Mahapadma and his sons who were followed immediately by Chandragupta Maurya, the interval between Chandragupta and Pulomavi, according to the *Puranic* chronology, will be $836 - 100 = 736$ years. Now as Chandragupta could not have ascended the throne before 326 B.C., Pulomavi, according to the calculation of the *Puranas*, cannot be placed earlier than 410 A.D. But this date can hardly be reconciled with what we know about the history of the Deccan in the first half of the Mfta. century A.D. Contemporary records show, that the **territory** that had acknowledged the sway of Pulomavi

and his ancestors was at that time under the Vakatakas and other dynasties that rose on the ruins of the so-called "Andhra," or Satavahana empire. This emphasizes the need of caution in utilizing the chronological data of the Puranas.¹

An attempt has been made in recent times to support the Puranic date for Parikshit and the Bharata War, which is taken to correspond to c. 1400 B.C.,² by calculations based on the *Vamsa* lists of teachers and pupils preserved in the yedic "literature. The importance of these lists was emphasized in these very pages as early as 1923. But the data they yield have been made to square with the chronological scheme adumbrated in some of the Puranic Mss with the help of a number of assumptions for which no cogent proofs have been adduced. It has, for instance, been taken for granted that the *Vamka* list given at the end of the *Brihadarayyalca Upanishad* is virtually contemporaneous with those found in the *Vamsa Brahmana* and the *Jaiminlya Upanishad Brahmayya*, and that all the lists "must be" dated "not later than c. 550 B.C." (*op. cit.* p. 70). A few pages further on (p. 77) the date of the *Vaihsa Brahmana* is stated to be "c. 550 B.C." (the words "not later than" being omitted). The mere fact that the *Brihadarayyalca Upanishad* and other works of the *tSrut*i literature are generally regarded as Pre-Buddhist cannot be taken to prove that the entire lists of teachers and pupils appended to or inserted in all of them can claim equal antiquity. Scholars in assigning the period before 500 B.C. to the Vedic literature expressly exclude "its latest excrescences."³ Panini⁴ draws

1 See also Raychaudhuri, *The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, second edition, pp. 62ff.

2 Dr. Altekar, *Presidential Address to the Archaic Section of the Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Third Session, 1939*, pp. 68.77.

3 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, p. 27.

4 IV. 3. 105.

a distinction between Vedic works which, to him, are *Puranaprolcta* and those that he does not obviously regard as equally old. The date "c. 550 B.C." has even less justification than the vague words "not later than c. 550 B.C."

It has been stated further that the period separating the priests of Janamejaya from c. 550 B.C. is 800 years. This figure is obtained by accepting the round number 40 for the intervening generations and assigning to each generation in the *gurusishya parampara* a period of 20 years. The probative value of this mode of calculation is impaired by the fact that the actual number of teachers of the period given in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* is 45 and not 40 (p. 70), and the true average length of a spiritual generation is, according to Jaina and Buddhist evidence, about 30 and not 20 years.¹ Moreover, it should not be forgotten that if the lists which form the basis of calculation are really to be dated *not later than* c. 550 B.C./ c. 1350 B.C. (550 + 800) can only be regarded as a *terminus ad quern*. The *terminus a quo* still remains to be determined. The uncertainty regarding the date of the particular *Varhm* lists, on which the whole chronological theory rests, lays even the lower limit open to objection.

Tradition recorded in the *Katha-sarit-sagara* points to a date for the Parikshitas which is much later than that assigned to them by Puranic chroniclers and astronomers of the Gupta Age². It refers to Udayana, king of Kausambi (c. 500 B.C.), as fifth in lineal succession from Parikshit. The evidence is late but the text professes to embody tradition that goes back to Gunadliya who is known to Baria (c. 600 A.D.) and is assigned to the Satavahana period.

1 Jacobi, *Pariishtaparvan*, 2nd ed. xviii ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, Introduction, xlvif.

2 *Katha-sarit-sagara*, IX, 6-7 ff. Penzer, I. 95,

A comparatively late date, albeit not the date suggested by the *Katha-sarit-sagara*, can also be inferred from certain passages in the later Vedic texts. We shall show in the next section that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by five or six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka of the *Upanishads* and his contemporary Uddalaka Aruni. At the end of the *Katishltalri* or *Sdhlchayana Aranyaka*¹ we find a *vamm* or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that *Amyyalca* is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus :—

"Om ! Now follows the *vamm*. Adoration to the Brahman ! Adoration to the teachers ! We have learnt this text from Gunakhya Saiikhilyana, Gunakhya Sankhayana from Kahola Kaushitaki, Kahola Kaushitaki from Uddalaka Aruni."²

The passage quoted above makes it clear that Gunakhya Satikhayana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddalaka who was separated by five or six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Gunakhya, therefore, lived seven or eight generations after Parikshit. He could not have flourished much later than Asvalayana because the latter, or preferably his pupil, honours his *guru* Kahola.³ It is to be noted that we have no personal name prefixed to Asvalayana as we have in the case of Saiikhayana. This probably suggests that Vedic tradition knew only of *one* great teacher named Asvalayana. It is significant that both in Vedic and Buddhist literature' this famous scholar is associated with one and the same locality, viz., Kosala, modern Oudh. The *Prama Upanishad* tells us that Asvalayana was a *Kausalya*, i.e., an

1 *Adhaya* 15.

2 S. B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4

3 *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra*, III. 4, 4.

inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kabandhl Katyayana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalayana of Savatthi (a city in Kosala) mentioned in the *Majjhima Nihdya*¹ as a famous Vedic scholar,² and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and, hence, of Kakuda³ or Pakudha Kachchayana. The reference to Gotama's contemporary as a master of *hetubha*, i.e., *halpa* or ritual, makes it exceedingly probable that he is to be identified with the famous Asvalayana of the *Qrihya Sutrās*. Consequently the latter must have lived in the sixth century B. C. Gunakhya Saiikhayana, whose teacher Kahola is honoured by the famous *GrihyasUtra-hara*, cannot be placed later than that century. That the upper limit of Gunakhya's date is not far removed from the lower one is suggested in the first place by the reference in his *Aranyaha* to Paushkarasadi, Lauhitya and a teacher who is styled Magadhavasi. The first two figure in the *Ambattha* and *Lohichcha suttas*, among the contemporaries of the Buddha. The attitude of respect towards a Magadhan teacher in the *Aranyaha* points to an age later than that reflected in the *Srauta sutras* which mention Brahmanas hailing from the locality in question in a depreciatory tone as *Brahmabandhu Magadha-desiya*.⁴

Goldstlicker points out⁵ that Pariini used the word *Aranyaha* only in the sense of 'a man living in the forest'. It is Katyayana (fourth century B.C.) who vouchsafes in a *Vrttiha* the information that the same

1 II. 147, et seq.

2 "Tinnam Vedanamparagu sanighandu ketubhanath."

3 As to the equation *kabandhl=kakuda*, see IHQ., 1932, 603 ff. *Kabandha* in the *Atharva Veda*, X. 23 means *sroni* and *iiru* (hips and thighs). According to *Amara kakudmatl* has substantially the same meaning.

4 *Vedic Index*, II. 116. Isolated references to Paushkarasadi and others may not be of much value. What we have to consider is the cumulative effect of the references in the *Sahkhayana Aranyaka* combined with the testimony of Panini and Apastamba.

5 Panini, *His place in Sanskrit Literature*, 1914, 99.

expression is also used in the sense of treatises "read in the forest." The silence of Panini in regard to this additional meaning of the term, when contrasted with the clear statement of the later grammarian, leaves little room for doubt that *Aranyaha* in the sense of a forest-treatise was well known to writers traditionally assigned to the fourth century B.C., but notto Panini. It may be recalled in this connection that, unlike Katyayana again, Panini does not include the works of YajTiavalkya, a contemporary of Kahola, the teacher of Gunakhya, among the older (*Purtma-prokta*) *Brahmanas*.¹ Svetaketu, another contemporary of Kahola, teacher of Gunakhya, is mentioned in the *Dharmasatra* of Apastamba² as an *avara* or modern authority. The reference to *Yavanani* in the *sutras*³ of Panini and the tradition recorded in the *Kavya-Mimamsa*³ that he made his mark in the city of Pafcaliputra (founded, as we know, after the death of the Buddha c. 486 B. C, in the reign of Udayin), clearly suggest that he could not have flourished before the sage of the Sakyas. Profound as his knowledge is in regard to Vedic literature, Panini is unaware of the existence of Aranyakas as a class of forest-treatises. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that he could not have been considerably posterior to the great masters of the *Aranyahas* among whom Gunakhya Sankhayana holds an honoured place. In other words, the upper limit of the date of this teacher almost coincides with the lower. With a date for him in the sixth century B. C. all the evidence accommodates itself.

We are now left with the task of attempting to measure the distance between Gunakhya and Parikshit. Professor

1 IV. 3. 105 with commentary quoted on page 106n of Goldsticker's *Panini, Yajnavalkyadayo hi na chira hala ityakhyaneshu varta.*

2 *Dharma Sutra*, 1, 2, 5, 4-6.

3 IV. I. 49.

4 P. 55.

Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Suttas* assigns 150* years to the five *Theras* from Upali to Mahinda. Jacobi, too, informs us that the average length of a patriarchate may be estimated at about 30 years. We may, therefore, assign 240 or 270 years to the eight or nine generations from Parikshit to Gunakhya Saiikhayana, and place the former in the ninth century B.C.

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kurn throne by his eldest son **Janamejaya**. The *Mahdbharata* refers to a great snake-sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is stated that the king conquered Taxila.¹ It is clear from the *Pancliavimm Brahmana*² and the *Baudhaijana Srauta Sutra*³ that the epic account of the Kuru king's *Sarpa-satra* cannot be regarded as having any historical basis. There is hardly any doubt that the *Satm* mentioned in the Vedic texts is the prototype of the famous sacrifice described in the epic. The story seems to have undergone three stages of development. The original tale is concerned with a mythical rite performed by the serpents one of whom was named Janamejaya, who served as an *Adhvaryu* (priest). "Through this rite the serpents vanquished death." The next stage is reached in the *Baadhayana Srauta Sutra*. Janamejaya appears among the kings and princes of the serpents assembled for sacrifice in human shape at Khandavaprastha (in the Kuru country) with the object of obtaining poison. In the epic the performer of the sacrifice is identified with the Kuru king ; and the object of the sacrifice is not the acquisition of immortality for the serpents, or of poison, but the extinction of these

1 *Mbh* 1. 3. 20. For early references to Taxila, see also Panini, IV. 3. 93 ; *Vinaya Texts*, pt. II. p. 174 ; Malalasekera, *Dictionary*, I. p. 982.

2 XXV, 15 ; *Vedic Index*, I. p. 274.

3 Vol. II, p. 298 ; XVII. 18.

reptiles. It is impossible to find in the doings of these venomous creatures a reference to an historic strife.¹

The conquest of Taxila by the Kuril king may, however, be an historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the *Brahmanas*. Thus the *Aitareya Brahmana* says :² "*Janamejayah Parikshitah samantam sarvatah prithivlm jay an parlydyaivena cha medhyeneje, tadesha'bhi yajna-gatha glyate :*

*Asandlvati dhdnyadam rukmhiam haritasrajam
asvam babandha sarahgam*³ *devehhyo Janamejaya iti*"

"Janamejaya Parikshita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." Regarding this a sacrificial verse is sung :

"In Asandivat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands."⁴

In another passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana*⁵—it is stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a "*Sarvabhumi*" Le., a universal sovereign :

*"Evarhvidam hi vai mdmevamvido yajayanti tasmad
aham jayamyabhltvarim senam jayamyabhltvarya senayd
na ma divyd na manushya ishava richchhantyetihiyami sarva-
mayuh sarvabhamir bhavishyamiti."*

(Janamejaya Parikshita used to say) "Those who know thus sacrifice for me who know thus ; therefore I conquer the assailing host, I conquer with an assailing host. Me

1 *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, translated by Dr. W. Caland, p. 641; cf. Winternitz, *JBBRAS.*, 1926, 74. ff; Pnrgiter, *AIHT*, p. 285, observes that "the Nagas killed Parikshit I I , but his soa Janamejaya I I I defeated them and peace was made !"

2 VIII. 21.

3 Variant—*abadhnadasvath sarangam*—*Sat. Br.* xiii. 5. 4. 1-2.

4 Keith, *Rig-Veda Brahmanas*, 336 ; Eggeling, *Sat. Br.* V, p. 396.

5 VIII. 11.

neither the arrows of heaven nor of men reach. I shall live all my life, I shall become lord of all the earth."

The possession of Taxila in the extreme north-west implies control over Madra or the central Panjab, the homeland of Janamejaya's mother Madravatī.¹ In this connection it may be remembered that the western frontier of the Kuru country once extended as far as the Parinah or Parenos, a tributary of the Indus. Prinzes of the Paurava race ruled in the territory lying between the Jlielam and the Ravi down to the time of Alexander, while Ptolemy, the geographer, expressly mentions the Pandus as the rulers of Sakala (Sialkot) in the heart of this extensive region.

It was presumably after his victorious campaigns that Janamejaya was consecrated with the *Funar-abhisheha* and the *Aindra mahabhisheka*, performed two horse-sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaisampayana and the Brahmanas. The *Matsya* version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest ; but the *Vayit* version says he perished and the Brahmanas made his son king. The broad facts of the Puranic narrative are confirmed by the evidence of the Brahmanas. The *Satapatha Brahmana* refers to one of the horse-sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the rite for him was Indrota Daivapi Saunaka. The *Aitareya Brahmana* mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kavasheya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kasyapas, but the Bhutavras. Thereupon a family of the Kasyapas called Asita-mriga forcibly took away the conduct of the

1 The *Bhagavata Purana* (I. xvi. 2) mentions Iravatī, daughter of Uttara as the mother of Janamejaya and his brothers.

offering from the Bhfitavlras. We have here **probably** the germ of the *Pnranio* stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brahmanas. Vaisampayana, who headed the opponents of Janamejaya, undoubtedly belonged to the Kasyapa clan. An allusion to the famous quarrel occurs also in the *Kautitiya Arthasastra* (*hopaj-Janamejayo Brahmaneshu vileruntah*).

The *Gopatha Brahmana* narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of *Brahmacharya*, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is obviously mythical but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as a legendary hero in the time of the *Oopatha Brahmana*.¹

Janamejaya's capital, according to a sacrificial song (*yajTia-gatha*) quoted above, was Asandivat to which reference has already been made. The *Satopatha Brahmana* affords an interesting glimpse of life in the royal palace or sacrificial hall :

*Samanantsadam nhshanti hay an Jcasthabhritya yatha
purnan parisrutah Immbhan Janamejayasadana' iti*

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prize-winning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace (or sacrificial hall) of Janamejaya."² "Curds, stirred drink or liquor" were favourite beverages of the Kurus already in the days of Parikshit.

If the *Mahabharata* is to be believed, Janamejaya sometimes held his court at Taxila, and it was at Taxila that Vaisampayana is said to have related to him the story of

1 *Gopatha Brahmana*, ed. by R. L. Mitra and Harachandra Vidyabhushana, pp. 25 ff. (I. 2, 5). In connection with the legend referred to above we hear of a sage named Dantabala Dhaumra who is identified by some recent writers with Dantala Dhaumya of the *Jaiminlya Brahmana*. The conjecture lacks proof. In the *Baudhayana Sruta Sutra*, Vol. III, p. 449, "Dhumras, Dhumrayanas and Dhaumyas" find separate mention as *distinct* members of the Kasyapa group.

2 *Sat. Br.* XI. 5, 13. Eggeling, V. 95,

the great conflict between the Kurus and the Pandus¹ who had for their allies several peoples including the Srinjayas. No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming, but allusions to the hostility of Kurus and Srinjayas, which forms an important feature⁶ of the epic ballads, are met with in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.² Moreover Hopkins invites attention to a *gatha* in the *Ghfhmdogya Upanishad*³ which alludes to the mare which saves the Kurus :—

Yato yata uvartate tat tad gachchhati manavah
.....*Kurun ababhirahshati.*

The verse cannot fail to recall the disaster (*Kuriindm vaisasam*) referred to in the *Mahabhdrata*.⁴

It may be asserted that the Pandus are a body of Strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that, therefore, the story of *their* feuds with the Kurus must be post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is seldom conclusive, and, secondly, the Pandus are, according to Indian tradition, not a body of strangers but in fact scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges.⁵ But Pataujali⁶ calls Bhima, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus.⁷ Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pandavas as an offshoot of the Kuril race just as the Kurus themselves were an offshoot of the Bharatas.

1 *Mbh.*, XVIII. 5. 34.

2 The battle of Kuru-kshetra is very often described as a fight between the Kurus and the Srinjayas (*Mbh.*, VI. 45. 2 ; 60. 29 ; 72. 15 ; 73. 41 ; VII. 20.41 ; 149. 40 ; VIII. 47. 23 ; 57.12 ; 59. 1 ; 93.1). The unfriendly feeling between these two peoples is distinctly alluded to in the *Satapatha Brahmana* XII. 9. 3. 1 fif. ; *Vedic Index*, I I, p. 63.)

3 IV. 17. 9-10 ; *The Great Epic of India*, p. 385.

4 *Mbh.* IX. 35. 20.

5 *The Religions of India*, p. 388.

6 IV. 1. 4.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 350.

The very name of the Great Epic betrays the Bharata (Kura) connection of the principal heroes and combatants. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the *Dasa-Brahmana Jataka*¹ a king "of the stock of Yuddhitthila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya," i.e., Kauravya—belonging to the Kuru race. The polyandrous marriage of the Pandavas does not necessarily indicate that they are of non-Kuru origin. The system of *Niyoga* prevalent among the Kurus of the *Madhya-desa* was not far removed from fraternal polyandry,² while the law (*Dharma*) of marriage honoured by the Northern Kurus was admittedly lax.³

Already in the time of Asvalayana's *Grihya Sutra*⁴ Vaisampayana was known as *Mahabharatacharya*. He is also mentioned in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*⁵ and the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini.⁶ Whether the traditional reciter of the original *Mahabhamta* was actually a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition. The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the

1 *JatakaKo.* 495.

2 See also my "Political History," pp. 95, 96, *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. IX; and the *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, second edition, pp. 43-45. Also *Mbh.*, I, 103, 9-10; 105, 37-38; Winternitz in *JRAS*, 1897. 755 if; Apastamba, ii. 27. 3; Brihaspati, xxvii. It is to be noted that in spite of the alleged family custom in the Pandu line no other wife except Draupadi was shared by the Pandava brothers, and their children had no common wife. In the epic 'Kuru' and 'Pandu' no doubt often find separate mention. In a similar way historians distinguish between the related houses of 'Plantagenet,' 'York' and 'Lancaster'; 'Capet,' 'Valois,' 'Bourbon' and 'Orleans'; 'Chaulukya' and 'Vaghela.'

3 *Mbh.*, I. 122. 7.

4 III. 4.

5 1.7.5.

6 IV. 3. 104.

Malhatiharata, but they mention *ItiMsas*.¹ It is well-known that the story supposed to have been recited by Vaisampayana to Janamejaya was at first: called *ah Itihasa* and was named *Jaya*² or song of victory," i.e., victory of the Pandus, the ancestors of the king:

*Mtichyate sarvapapebhyo Bqhuna Ghandrama, yatha
Jayo nametihtiso' yam srotavyo vijigls'huna,*³ .. ' i

"By listening to this story one escapes from all kinds of sin, like the Moon from Rahu. This *Itihasa* (story, legend) is named *Jaya* (Victory) ; it should be listened to by those that desire victory."

Janamejaya'? brothers, Bhimasena, Ugrasena and Srutasena, appear in the *Satapatha Brtihmaya*⁴ and the *Stih'khayana Srauta Sutra*,⁵ as performers of the "horse-sacrifice."⁶ At the time of the *Brihad-aranyalca Upanishad* their life and end excited popular curiosity and were discussed with avidity in learned circles. It is clear that the sun of the Parikshitas had set before the time of the *TJpanishad*,¹ and it is also clear that they had been guilty of some sinful deeds which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The *Satapatha Brahmana* quotes a *gatha* which says :—

1 -4. V., XV. 6. 11-12.

2 Cf. C. V. Vaidya, *Mahabharata : A Criticism*, p. 2; and S. LeVi in *Bhnd. Com. Vol.*, pp. 99 sqq.

3 Mhh., *Adi* 62, 20 ; cf. *Udyoga*, 136, 18.

4 XIII. 5. 43.

5 XVI. 9. 7.

6 Did these three brothers take part in the sacrifices of Janamejaya ?• Such a participation is clearly suggested by Mbh. I. 3.1.

7 The question "Whither have the Parikshitas gone ?" does not imply their extinction; Pargiter himself points out that the answer "Thither where *Aivamedha* sacrificers go" suggests the opposite because such sacrifices procured great blessings. *AIHT.*, 114. The *Ramayana*, too, includes Janamejaya (II. 64. 42) in a list of kings who attained to a glorious destiny.

*Parijeshita y'ajamana asvamedhaih paro'varam
ajahuh harmapapakam punyah punyena harmana.*¹

"The righteous Parikshitas, performing horse-sacrifices, by their righteous work did away "with sinful work one after another."

It may be presumed that the breach with the 'lords Spiritual' of those days was healed in this way and for the time being priests and princes in the Kuril country lived in harmony. The *Puranas* state that Janamejaya was succeeded by **Satanika**. Satanika's son and successor was Asvamedha-datta. From Asvamedha-datta was born **Adhisima-krishina** famed in the *Vdyu* and *Matsya Puranas*. Adhisima-krishna's son was **Nichakshu**. During Nichakshu's reign the city of Hastinapura is said to have been carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his residence to Kausambi, or Kosam near Allahabad.²

The Vedic texts do not refer in clear terms to any of these successors of Janamejaya or to the city of Hastinapura which figures as the principal metropolis of the Kurus in the epic and the *Puranas*. The antiquity of the city is, however, clearly proved by the evidence of Panini.³ As to the princes the *Ilig-Veda* no doubt mentions a (Bharata) king named Asvamedha,⁴ but there

1 *sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 3. Cf. *Mbh.* XII. 152, 38. The sinful deeds of which the eldest of the Parikshitas was guilty, according to the epic, were *Brahmahatya* and *bhrunahatya* (*ibid.*, 150 Verses 3 and 9). Cf. also *Sat. Br.* XIII, 5. 4. 1.

2 *Gahgayapahrte tasmin nagare Nagasahvaye
tyaktva Nichakshu nagaram Kauhambyam sa nivatsyati.*

When the city of Nagasahvaya (Hastinapura) is carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu will abandon it and will dwell in Kausambi.

Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, P. 5.

That Hastinapura stood on the Ganges is clear from the *Ramayana* (II, 68.13), the *Mahabharata* (I, 128), and the *Mahabhashya* (*anugahgam Hastinapuram*),

3 VI.2, 101.

4 V. 27.4—6.

44 POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

is nothing to show that he is identical with Asvamedhadata. A Satanika Satrajita is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana* and the *Satapathia Brahmana* as a powerful king who defeated Dhritarashtra, a prince of Kasi, and took away his sacrificial horse. He, too, was probably a Bharata,¹ but the patronymic Satrajita probably indicates that he was different from Satanika, the son of Janamejaya. The *Pancilmvimsa Brahmana*, the *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana* and the *Ohhdndogya Upanishad* mention a Kuru king named **Abhipratarin** Kakshaseni, who was a contemporary of Girikshit Auchchamanyava, Saunaka Kapeya and Driti Aindrata. As Driti was the son and pupil of Indrata Daivapa (Daivapi) Saunaka, the priest of Janamejaya,³ Abhipratarin, son of Kakshasena, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of the great king. We have already seen that Kakshasena appears in the *Mahabharata*³ as the name of a brother of Janamejaya. Abhipratarin was thus Janamejaya's nephew. The *Aitareya Brahmana* and the *Sankhayana Sruta Sutra*⁴ refer to a prince named **Vridhdhadyumna** Abhipratarina, apparently the son of Abhipratarin. The *Aitareya Bralmana*⁵ possibly mentions his son Rathagritsa and priest Suchivriksha Gaupalayana.⁶ The *Sankhayana farauta Sutra*⁷ informs us that Vridhdhadyumna erred in a sacrifice, when a Brahmana uttered a curse that the result would be the expulsion of the Kurus from Kuru-kshetra, an event which actually came to pass.

1 Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4.19-23,

2 Vamka Brahmana ; Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 27, 373.

3 I. 94, 54.

4 XV. 16. 10-13.

5 Trivedi's translation, pp. 322-23.

6 A Gaupalayana also held the important post of the *Sthapati* of the Kurus (Baudh. Sr. Sutra, XX. 25 ; Vedic Index, 1. 128). His relationship with Suchivriksha is, however, not known.

7 XV. 16, 10-13,

DEVASTATION OF THE KURU COUNTRY 45

Sacrifices threatened to have serious repercussions on the fortunes of the royal family even in the days of Janamejaya. The performance of ritual in the approved form by proper persons seems to have excited as much interest in the Kuru country as philosophical discussions did at the court of Videha. Even in the fourth century B.C. the great Chandragupta Maurya had to attend to sacrifices in the midst of his pressing duties relating to war and judicial administration. A sacrificial error was not a trivial matter, especially in the ancient realm of the Kurus, which was the citadel of Brahmanic ritualism. To religious indiscretions were soon added natural calamities and the effect on the people was disastrous. Mention has already been made of the Puranic tradition about the destruction of Hastinapura by the erosive action of the Ganges. The *Ghhandogya Upanishad* refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by *Matachi* (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced migration of the family of Ushasti Chakrayana, who repaired to the village of an unnamed noble or wealthy man, next to a neighbourly prince and ultimately to the court of Janaka of Videha.¹

I *Chhandogya*, 1.10. 1 ; *Brihad. Upanishad*, III, 4. For earlier vicissitudes, see *Rigveda*, X. 98 (drought in the time of samtanu); *Mbh.* I 94 (story of Samvarana). The *Chhandogya Upanishad* says: *matachihateshu Kurushu atikya sahajayaya Ushastir ha Chakrayana ibhya-grame pradranaka uvasa*. "When Kuruland was devastated by hailstones or locusts, Ushasti Chakrayana repaired with his virgin wife to a magnate's village and there lived in great distress. The plight of the Brahmana and his wife offers a sad contrast to the condition of the Kauravya and his lady who "throve merrily in the realm of Parikshit." Commentators took *matachi* to mean 'thunderbolt', 'hailstone' or 'a kind of small red bird* or 'locust.' The last meaning accords with the evidence of the *Devibhagavatarn*, X, 13. 110. *Matachi yuthavattesham samudayastu nirgatah*. The Kanarese word *midiche* has the same sense (*Kind's Dictionary* ; Jacob, *Scraps from Shaddariana*. JRAS, 1911, 510; *Vedic Index*, II, 119; Bhand. *Cam. Lee*. 1918, 26-27 ; Bagchi. *IHQ*, 1933. 253).

The *PancJiavimsa Brahmana*¹ affords a clue to the royal seat of the 'Abhipratarina' branch of the Kuru family whose reign witnessed the beginning of those incidents that spelled disaster to the Kurus. We are told that Driti, apparently the priest of king Abhipratarin, son of Kakshasena, completed a sacrifice in Khandava.² The same *Brahmana*³ refers to the **Xbhipratfirirjas**. as the "mightiest of all their "relations." The passage is significant.. It suggests that the great Janamejaya was no more in the land of the living in the days of Abhipratarin and his descendants, and that the line represented by the latter far outshone the other branches of the Kuru royal family. The existence of distinct offshoots of the line is clearly implied by tradition. One of them held sway in Hastinapura and later on moved to Kausambi. This is the branch mentioned in the Puranas. Another line reigned in Ishukara.⁴ The third and the 'mightiest* branch is, as we have seen, connected with Khandava, the far-famed region where the great epic locates the stately city of Indraprastha. The famous capital which stood close to the site of modern Delhi finds prominent mention in the *Jatakas* as the seat of a line of kings claiming to belong to the "Yuddhitthila gotta" (Yudhishtira's *gotra* or clan).

The prosperity of the Abhipratarinas was short-lived. Great calamities befell the Kurus and the disintegration of the kingdom went on apace.⁵ Large sections of the people, including Brahmanas and princes, were apparently forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of one

1 XXV. 3.6.

2 XIV. 1.12.

3 II. 9. 4, Caland's. ed., p. 27,

4 SBE/ xlv.62.

5 Cf. *Jaiminiya Brahmana*, m.156; JAOS, 26. 61. "When AbhipratS-Vana was lying used up with old age his sons divided the inheritance and made a great noise about it."

branch of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kausambi is confirmed by the evidence of some of the plays attributed to Bhasa. Udayana, king of Kausambi, is described in the *Svapimvasava-datta* as a scion of the Bharata or Bharata family¹ :—

*Bharatanam fade ja to vinlto jnanavanchhuchik
tannarlidsi baladdhartum rajadharmasya desikah*

"Thou art born in the family of the Bharatas. .Thou art self-controlled, enlightened and pure. To stop her by. force is unworthy of thee, who shouldst be the model of kingly duty."

GENEALOGY OF THE PARIKSHITA FAMILY

Parikshit

Ja	name	jay	a	Kakshasena	Ugrasena	Srutasena	Bhimasena	Others
							possibly identical with the ancestor of epic heroes ace. to one tradition, Mbh.95.i. 42 ff.	
Satanika				AbhipratSrin				
:	I			I				
Asvamedhadatta				Vriddhadyumna				
Adhisima-krishna				Rathagritsa				

Nichakshu

Kings of Kausambi ' Kings of Khandava (Indapatta) ?
(Purjinic tradition),

1 Ed. Ganapati,Sastri, p. HO, Trans. V. S. Sukthankar.p. 79. C/. *Pratijna-YaugandharUyana*, "Vedakshara satnavaya-pravishto Bharato Vamsah"
" Bharatakulopabhuktaih pinaratnam,," Act II

*Bharatanam kulejato
Vatsatiamurjitahpatih, Act IV.*

SECTION II. THE AGE OF THE GREAT JANAKA.

*Sarve rajno Maithilasya Mainakasyeva parvatah
nikrishtabhuta rajano.....*

—*Mahabharata*.¹

We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus. The kingdom fell to pieces and one of the princes had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kuru people played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was **Janaka**, the great philosopher king of Videha, mentioned in the Vedic texts as the contemporary of Uddalaka Aruni and Yajnavalkya. The waning power of the Kurus and the waxing strength of the Vaidehas are shown by the fact that while Kuru princes are styled *rajan* (king) in certain *Brahmanas*,² Janaka of Videha is called *samrat* (supreme king). In the *ISatapatha Brahmana*³ the *samraj* is asserted to be of higher dignity than a *rajan*.

That the great Janaka was later than the Parikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later on that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu (if Puranic tradition is to be accepted), and certainly of Ushasta or Ushasti Chakrayana during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the notable achievements, as well as the mysterious fate, of the Parikshitas, still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of general curiosity in the royal court of Mithila. In the *Briliad-fimnyaka Upankliad*

1 III. 134. 5. As all other mountains are inferior to Mainaka so are kings inferior to the lord of Mithila.

2 Ait, VIII. 14. *Panchavimia*, XIV. 1.12, etc.

3 V, I, 1, 12-13.

Bhujyu Lahyayani tests Yajnavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, with a question, the solution of which the former is said to have previously obtained from a being of superhuman power through the medium of a Madra girl :

"Kva Parilcshita abhavan¹—whither have the Parikshitas gone ?"

Yajnavalkya answers : "Thither where the performers of the horse sacrifice abide.⁵⁵ From this it is clear that the Parikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have passed away. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of absorbing interest to men and women in different parts of the country.²

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Puranic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the *Mahabharata* says that Uddalaka, a prominent figure of Janaka's court, and his son Svetaketu, attended the *sarpa-satra* (snake sacrifice) of Janamejaya :—

Sadasya schabhavad Vyasah pi^a-sishya-sahayavan
Uddalahah PramataTcah Svetaketuscha Pihgalah³

"Vyasa, assisted by his son and disciple, TJddalaka, Pramataka, Svetaketu, Pingala.....officiated as *sadasya* (priest)."

1 *Brihad. Upanishad*, III. 3.1, E. Roer, *Brihad. Up.* P. 20 ;

2 Weber, *Ittd. Lit.* 126 ff. In the *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1936, p. 20, edited by Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar and others, appears the amazing insinuation that "Mr. Roy Choudhury has.....attempted to give Weber's thought and language (as rendered) out as his own, without any reference to Weber." A perusal of the *Bibliographical Index* (pp. 319, 328) appended to the first ed. of the *Political History*, and p. 27 of the text ; the foreword to the subsequent editions, etc., will throw interesting light on the veracity of the writer of the article in question in the *Journal of Indian History*.

3 *Mbh.. Adi.*, 53. 7.

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The *Vishnu Purana* says that Satanfka, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yajnavalkya.¹

The unreliability of the Epic and the Puranic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic texts. We learn from the *Satapatha Brahmana*² that Indrota Daivapa or Daivapi Saunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Driti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the *Jaiminiya Tjpanishad* and *Vamsa Brahmanas*. Driti's pupil was Pulusha Prachinayogya.³ The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajna. We learn from the *Chhatidogya Upanishad*⁴ that Paulushi Satyayajna was a contemporary of Budila Asvatarasvi and of Uddalaka Arum, two prominent figures of Janaka's court.⁵ Satyayajna was, therefore, certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somasushma Satyayajni Prachlnayogya is mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana*⁶ as having met Janaka. As Satyayajni certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivapi Saunaka, his contemporary Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, and the sixth chapter of the *Brihad-aranyaka Upanisliad*, Tura Kavasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was tenth in the ascending line from Saujiviputra, whereas Yajnavalkya and Uddalaka Aruni, the contemporaries of Janaka, were only fourth and fifth in

1 *Vishnu P.*, IV. 21.2.

2 XIII. 5. 4. 1.

3 *Vedic Index*, II, p. 9.

4 V. 11. 1.2.

5 Vide *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*, V. 14. 18 : "*Janako Vaideho Budilam Asvatarasvim, uvacha ;*" and III. 7. 1.

6 XI. 6. 2.1-3.

the ascending line from the same teacher. The lists are given below :—

Janamejaya Tura Kavasheya

Yajnavachas	Rajastambayana	
Kusri	Knsri	Vajasravasa ¹
Sandilya	Upavesi	
Vatsya	Aruria	
Vamakashayana	Uddalaka Aruni	) Janaka
Mahitthi	YajTtavalkya	the Great
Kautsa	Asuri	
Mandavya	Asurayana	
Mandfikayani	Prasnputra	Asurivasin
Sanjiviputra	Sanjiviputra	

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time.² Jacobi and Rhys Davids³ agree in

1 IC, III. 747.

2 It has been stated by certain recent writers that Janamejaya should be placed "only a step above Janaka." They point to the use of *Ian* in the verb *bhu* in the interrogation *Kva Parikshita abhavan* quoted above. They further identify Dantabala Dhaumra, a contemporary of Janamejaya according to a legend narrated in the *Gopatha Brahmana*, with Dantala Dhaumya of the *Jaimintya Brahmana*, who may be assigned to the period of Janaka. It is also suggested that Bhallaveya of a certain Brahmana passage is no other than Indradymna, *JIH.*, April 1936, 15 ff, etc. Apart from the fact that in the Vedic texts *lah* and *lit* are at times used alternatively to convey the same meaning (Cf. 37 *ante*), it should be noted that the question '*Kva Parikshita abhavan*' with its answer, was not framed for the first time at the court of Janaka. It is a *murdhabhishikta* (traditional)—*udaharana* attributed to superhuman agency—and, therefore, it cannot be regarded as establishing the synchronism of Janamejaya Parikshita and Janaka Vaideha. As to Dantabala it has already been pointed out, (p. 39 above), that the *Baudhayana irauta sutra* mentions Dhumras and Dhaumyas as distinct members of the Kasyapa group. Janamejaya must have passed away in the days of Driti and the Abhipratarinas. See *ante* p. 46. See also *1HQ*, Vol. VIII, 1932. 600 ff. As to Bhallaveya, serious students should remember that it is a patronymic like *Atreya*, *Bharadvaja* etc. In the absence of the personal name, it is uncritical to identify every Bhallaveya with Indradymna himself as it is unreasonable to equate every *Atreya* with *Udamaya* or every *Bharadvaja* with *Drona* or *Pindola*.

3 *Parisishtaparvam*, 2nded. xviii aqd *Buddhist Suttas*. Introduction, p. lxvii

estimating the average length of a patriarchate or generation (in lists relating to spiritual succession) at 30 years. To the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somasushma, and from Tura to Uddalaka Aruni and Janaka, we may, therefore, assign a period of 150 or 180 years.¹ It is, therefore, reasonable to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following a Puranic tradition, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B. C, we must place Janaka in the twelfth century B.C. If, on the other hand, we accept a date for Gunakhya Sankhayana, the pupil's pupil of Uddalaka according to the *Sankhayana Aranyaka*, in the sixth century B.C., we must place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., and Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of **Videha**, over which Janaka ruled seems to be mentioned for the first time in the *Samhitas* of the *Yajur Veda*.² It corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in North Bihar.³ It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadanira, usually identified with the modern Grandak which, rising in Nepal, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna.⁴ Oldenberg, however, points out⁵

1 It has recently been urged by critics that pupils are not necessarily younger in age than their preceptors. It may freely be admitted that in particular cases pupils may be of the same age with, or even older than, the *guru*. But it is idle to suggest that in a *long* list of successive *acharyas* and *Ushyas* the presence of elderly pupils must be assumed except where the *guru* is known to be the father of the pupil. Individual cases of succession of elderly *sishyas* do not invalidate the conclusion that the *average* duration of a generation is as suggested by Jacobi and Rhys Davids.

2 *Vedic Index*, I I, 298.

3 According to Pargiter *J ASB*, 1897, 89—'Videha comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rapti to Darbhanga, with Kosala on the west and Axiga on the east. On the north it approached the hills, and on the south it was bounded by the small kingdom of Vaisali.'

4 *Vedic Index* I I, 299.

5 *Buddha*, p. 398 n. Cf. Pargiter, *JASB*, 1897. 87. *Mbh.U.* 20. 27.

• • •

Mithila, the* capital of Videha, is not referred to in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the *Jatahas* and the Epics. It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepal border north of the place where the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet. It is stated in the *Suruchi* and *Gaiidharda*¹ *Jatahas* that the city covered seven leagues. At its four gates were four market towns.⁵ We have the following description of the city in the *Mahajanalca Jatalca* :⁶—

By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see,
With walls and gates and battlements, traversed by streets
on every side,
With horses, cows and chariots thronged with tanks and
gardens beautified,
Videha's far-famed capital, gay with its knights and
warrior swarms,
Clad in their robes of tiger-skins, with banners spread
and flashing arms,
Its Brahmins dressed in KaSi cloth, perfumed with
sandal, decked with gems,
Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems.⁷

2 J. 489.

4 J. 489 and 406.

6 No. 539 ; *CowelVs Jataka*, Vol, VI, p. 30.

7 Fgr another description of Mithila, see Mbh. Hi. 206,6-9.

According to the *Bamaya\ia*¹ the **royal family of Mithilfi** was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I. The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sita) and his brother Kusadhvaja, king of Saiikasya. The *Vayu*³ and the *Vishnu*³ *Pnranas* represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvaku, and give him the epithet Videha.⁴ His son was Mithi whom both the *Pnranas* identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Siradhvaja who is called the father of Sita, and is, therefore, identical with Janaka II of the *Bamayana*. Then starting from Siradhvaja the *Puranas* carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kriti, and the family is called *Janalca-vamsa*.

*Dhritestu Bahulasvo' blind Bahulasva-sutah Kritih
, tasmin santishthate vamso Janahanam mahatmanam**

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Nam! Sapya.⁶ But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithila. On the contrary, a story of the *Satapatha Bralmma* seems to indicate that the Videhan kingdom owes its origin to **Videgha Mathava** who came from the banks of the Sarasvati.⁷ We are told that the fire-god went burning along this earth from the Sarasvati towards the east, followed by Mathava and his priest, Gotama Eahilgana till he came to the river

1 1.71.3.

2 88. 7-8 ; 89. 3-4.

3 IV. 5,1.

4 *Sa sapena Vasishthasya Videhah samapadyata*—*Vayu P.* The story of Vasistha's curse on a Videhan king is known to the *Brihaddevata* (vii. 59).

5 *Vayu Purana*, 89, 23, For Janaka as a dynastic designation see also *Mbh.* I I I. 133, 17 ; *Ram.* I. 67. 8. The use of the expressions *Janakanam*, *Janakaih* etc, does not necessarily indicate that every member of the line bore the personal name Janaka. Cf. *Ikshvakunam* (*Ram.* 1.5.3), which refers to those who were *IkshvakU'VathSa-prabhavah* (I. 1. 8), *Raghnath anvayam* etc.

6 *Vedic Index*, I, 436.

7 Macdonell *Sans. Lit.* pp. 214-15; *Ved. Ind.*, I I. 298 ; *sat. Br.*, 1, 4, 1, etc. ; Oldenberg's *Buddha*, pp. 398-99 ; Pargiter, *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, p. 86 et seq,

Sadanira which flows from the northern (Himalaya) mountain, and which he did not burn over. No Brahmanas went across the stream in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by *Agni Vauvanara* (the fire that burns for all men)". At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated, and marshy,¹ but after Mathava's arrival many Brahmanas went there, and it was cultivated, for the Brahmanas had caused Agni, the Fire-god, to taste it through sacrifices. Mathava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode" he replied. Even now, the writer of the *Satapatha Brahmana* adds, this stream forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of Mithi Vaideha, the second king in the Epic and the Puranic lists, is reminiscent of Mathava Videgha.

If Mathava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithila, Nami Saptarishi cannot claim that distinction. The *Majjhima Nikaya*² and the *Nimi Jataka* mention Makhadeva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithila, and a Nimi is said to have been born to "round off the royal house, "the family of hermits." The evidence of Buddhist texts thus shows that the name Nimi was borne not by the first, but probably by some later king or kings.³

As the entire dynasty of Maithila monarchs was called *Janaka-vamsa*, *Vamso Janahanam rnahatmanam*, the family of the high-souled Janakas, in post-Vedic literature, and there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great. **Janaka** of the Vedic texts, the contemporary of

1 This is the territory which the *Mahabharata* refers to as "*Jalodbhava*" i.e., reclaimed from swamp (Mbh., II. 30. 4. Pargiter, *ibid*, 88n).

2 II. 74-83.

3 The evidence of the *Brihad-devata* (vii, 59) suggests that connection was maintained by Videhan monarchs with their old home on the banks of the Sarasvati. cf. *Parichayimfa Brahmana*, XXV. 10. 16-18 (story c' "

Aruni and Yajuavalkya. But there is one fact which seems to favour his identification with Siradhvaja of the Puranic list, i. e., the father of Sita. The father of the heroine of the *Ramayana* is a younger contemporary of Asvapati, king of the Kekayas (maternal grandfather of Bharata¹), Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Asvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddalaka Arum and Budila Asvatarasvi frequented the courts of both these princes.² But as the name Asvapati is also apparently given to Bharata's maternal uncle,³ it seems that it was possibly not a personal name but a secondary epithet or a family designation like 'Janaka.'⁴ In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sita is correct. The identification seems, however, to have been accepted by Bhavabhuti. Referring to the father of the heroine, the poet says in the *Mahavira-charita*⁵:—

*Teshamidanim dayado
vriddah Slradhvajo nripah
Yajnavalhyo muniryasmai
Brahmaparayanam jagau.*⁶

It is equally difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist

1 *Ramayana*, II. 9. 22.

2 Ved Ind., II, 69 ; Chh, Up, V. 11. 14 ; Brih. Up., III. 7.

3 *Ramayana*, VII. 113. 4.

4 Against the view that Asvapati was a family designation common to all members of the line it may, however, be urged that in the Mbh. vii 104. 7 ; 123. 5 Brihatkshatra, chief of the Kekayas, does not bear that epithet.

5 Act I, verse 14.

6 Cf. Act II, verse 43 ; *Uttara-Charita*, Act IV, verse 9. In the Mbh. III.133.4 the contemporary of Uddalaka and Kaboda seems to be called Aindradyumni. (Cf. *AIHT*. 96). In Mbh. xii. 310. 4 ; 318. 95 the contemporary of Yajnavalkya is styled Daivarati. The *katapatha Brahmana* is attributed to this Yajnavalkya (*ibid* xii, 318. 11f). Both Aindradyumni and Daivarati are patronymics and hardly afford a clue to the personal name of the king in question,

Jatakas Professor Rhys Davids¹ seems to identify him with Maha-Janaka of the *Jdtalca* No. 539. The utterance of Maha-Janaka II of that *Jataka*

'Mithila's palaces may burn
But naught of mine is burned thereby.'

indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

In the *Mahabharata*' we find the saying attributed to Janaka Manadeva' of Mithila. In the Jaina *Uttar-adhyayana*, however, the saying is attributed to Namf.³ This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishta in the *Vishnu-Purana*⁴ may point to the identification of Nami or Nemi with Maha-Janaka II whom the *Jataka* represents as the son of Arishta. If Maha-Janaka II be identical with Nami, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Napal in the Vedic texts. One may be tempted to identify the Vedic Janaka with Maha-Janaka I of the *Jataka*. But proof is lacking.

In the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the *Brihad-aranyaka JJpanishad* and the *Mahdbharata*⁵ Janaka is called *Samrat*. This shows that he was a greater personage than a mere *Bdja7i*. Although there is no clear evidence in the Vedic literature of the use of the word *Samraj* as emperor in the sense of a king of kings,

1 Bud. Ind., p. 26,

2 XII. 17. 18-19 ; 219. 50.

' *Mithilayath pradiptayam
na me dahyati kinchana.*'

' *'Api cha bhavati Maithilena gitatn
nagaratn upahitam agnin-abhivikshya
na khalu mama hi dahyate'tra kinchit
svayam idam aha kila sma bhumipalah*'

"Seeing his city burning in a fire, the king of Mithila himself sang of old,
'in this (conflagration) nothing of mine is burning'."

3 S. B. E., XLV. 37.

4 IV. 5. 13.

5 III. 133. 17.

still the *Satapatha Brahmana* distinctly says that the *Samraj* was a higher authority than a *Bajan*; "by offering the *Rajasuya* he becomes king, and by the *Vajapeya* he becomes *Samraj* ; and the office of king is the lower, and that of *Samraj* the higher."¹ In the *Asvalayana Srauta-Sutra*² Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer

But Janaka's fame rests not so much on his achievements as a king and a sacrificer, as on his patronage of culture and philosophy. The court of this monarch was thronged with Brahmanas from Kosala, the Kuru-Panchala countries and perhaps Madra, e.g., Asvala, Jaratkarava Artabhaga, Bhujyu Lahyayani, Ushasta(-i) Chakrayana, Kahoda Kaushitakeya, Gargi Vachaknavi, Uddalaka Arum and Vidagdha Sakalya. The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the *Brihad-aranyaka Tjpanishad*. The hero of these was Yajnavalkya Vajasaneya, who was a pupil of Uddalaka Aruni.³ Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pauchala Brahmanas, Oldenberg observes :⁴ "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

The *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads* throw some light on the political **condition of Northern India** during the age of the great Janaka. From those works we learn that, besides Videha, there were nine states of considerable importance, viz. :

1. Gandhara	4. Usinara	7. Panchala
2. Kekaya	5. Matsya	8. Kasi
3. Madra	6. Kuru	9. Kosala

1 *kat, Br. V. 1. 1 1Z-13: XII, 8. 3. 4; XIV. 1. 3. 8.*

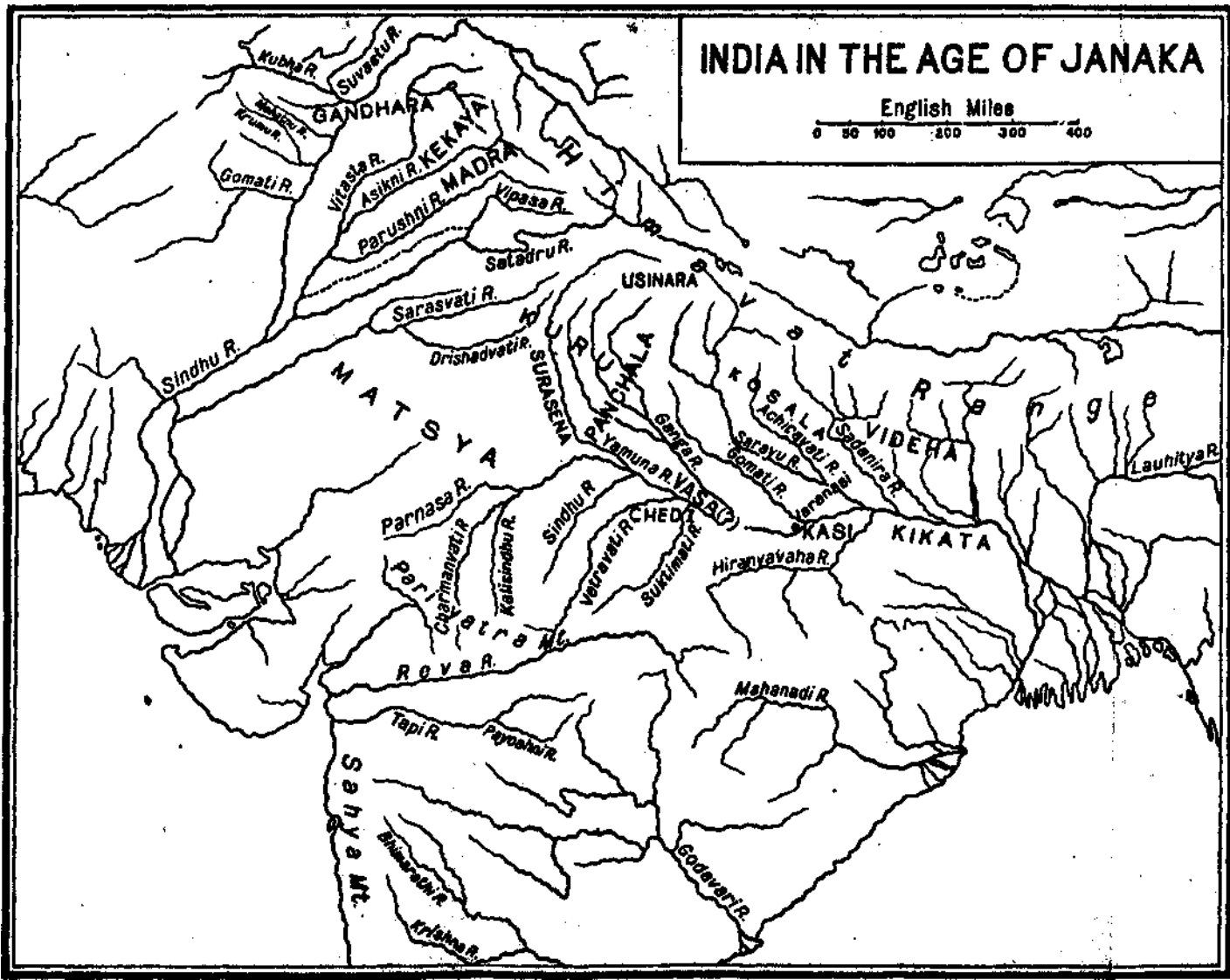
2 *X. 3. 14.*

3 *Brih. Up. VI. 5, 3.*

4 *Buddha, p. 398.*

INDIA IN THE AGE OF JANAKA

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400



The Vedio texts seldom furnish any definite clue as to the exact geographical position of these states. For the location of most of these territories we must, therefore, turn to the evidence of later literature.

The inhabitants of **Gandhara** are included by epic poets among the peoples of *Vttardpatha* or the northernmost region of India :—

Uttarapatha-janmanah hlrtayishyami tan api
*" Yaima-Kamhoja-Gaiidharah Kirata Barbaraih saha."*¹

The country lay on both sides of the Indus,² and contained two great cities, viz., Takshasila and Pushkaravati, alleged to have been founded by two heroes of epic fame :

Qandhara-vishaye siddhe, tayoh puryau mahatmanoh
Tahshasya dikshu vilchyata ramya TaJcshasUd purl
Pushharasyapi vlrasya vilchyata PibshlcaravatI?

The *visliaya* (territory) described in these lines must have embraced the Rawalpindi district of the Western Pail jab and the Peshawar district of the North-West Frontier Province. A few miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi and 2,000 leagues away from Benares,⁴ stood the famous city of Takshasila or Taxila. The remains of the great city

1 Mbh., 'xii. 207. 43.

2 *Ramayana*, VII. 113. 11 ; 114. 11 ; *Sindhori-ubhayatah parsve*. According to *Jataka* no. 406 the kingdom of Gandhara included Kasmlra. Hekataios of Miletus (B. C. 549-486) refers to a Gandaric city called Kaspapyros. Stein (*JASB*, 1899, extra no. 2, p 11) equates Kaspapyros with Kaspatyros of Herodotus and says that it must have been situated in that territory where the Indus first becomes navigable, i.e. in the ancient Gandhara. Kaspatyros was the place at which the expedition under Skylax, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus, embarked. Stein (pp. 12-13) rejects the view according to which Kaspapyros represents the Sanskrit Kasyapapura from which the name Kasmir is said to have been derived. Kasyapapura as a place-name is known to Alberuni (1.298), but he mentions it as an original designation of Multan. Kasyapa's traditional connection with Kasmir is, however, clear from *Rajataranginu* 1.27.

3 *Vayu Purana*, 88. 189-90 ; cf. *Ramayana*, VII. 114, 11.

4 *Talapatta* and *Susima Jatakas*, Nos. 96, 163.

"are situated immediately to the east and north-east of Sarai-kala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost (and oldest) of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhir-mound."¹

Pushkaravati or Pushkalavati, the Lotus City, (Prakrit *Pukalaoti*, whence the 'Peukelaotis' of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Charsadda, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar, on the Swat river.²

Gandhara is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhari in the *Rig-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*. In the *Big-Veda*³ the good wool of the sheep of these tribesmen is referred to. In the *Atharva-Veda*⁴ the Gandharis are mentioned with the Miljavats, apparently as a despised people. The *Brahmana* texts refer to Nagnajit, king of Gandhara, and his son Svarjit. The former receives Brahmanic consecration, but observations of the family on ritual are treated with contempt.⁵ In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the *Madhya-desa* (Mid-India) changed, and Gandhara became the resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instruction in the three *Vedas* and the eighteen⁶ branches of knowledge.

1 Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 14 ; AGJ, 1924, 120, 128 f,

2 Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 183-84 ; Foucher, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara*, p. 41 ; cf. V. A. Smith, JASB, 1889, 111 ; Cunningham AGI, 1924. 57 f.

3 I. 126. 7,

4 V, 22. 14. cf. Mbh. V1H. 44, 46 ; 45, 8 etc.

5 *Aitareya*, vii. 34. *hatapatha*, viii, 1, 4, 10. *Vedic Index*, i. 432

6 Cf. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary*, 76 (*Vijja-tthanani*) ; Vayu, 61, 79. *Brahmanda* 67, 82 ; *Milinda* I, 9. mentions 19 *Sippas* ; cf. IV, 3, 26.

In a significant passage of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*¹ Uddalaka Aruni, the contemporary of the Vedic Janaka, mentions Gandhara to illustrate the desirability of having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil "learns (his way) and thus remains liberated (from all worldly ties) till he attains (the Truth or Beatitude, *Moksha*)." A man who attains *Moksha* is compared to a blindfold person who reaches at last the country of Gandhara. The passage runs as follows :

"*Yatha somya purusham Gandharebhyo' bhinaddhahsham anlya tarn tato' tijane visrijet, sa yatha tatra prahva udah vadhardh va pratyah va pradhmdylta—abhinaddhaksha anlto' bhinaddhahsho visrishtah. Tasya yathabhinahanam pramuchya prabruyad etam disam Oandhara etam disam vfajeti. sa gramad gramam prichchhan panlito medhavl Qandharan evopasampadyeta, evam evehacharyavan purusho veda.*"

"O my child, in the world when a man with blindfold eyes is carried away from Gandhara and left in a lonely place, he makes the east and the north and the south and the west resound by crying 'I have been brought here blindfold, I am here, left blindfold.' Thereupon (some kind-hearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhara ; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from village to village, enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhara. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)."²

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the *Uddalaka Jatalca*³ represents Uddalaka as having journeyed to Takshasila (Takkasila) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The

1 VI, 14,

2 Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, p. 114;

3 No. 487.

Setaketu Jataka¹ says that Svetaketu, son of Uddalaka, went to Takshasila and learned all the arts. The *Satapatha Brahmana* mentions the fact that Uddalaka Aruni used to drive about amongst the people of the northern country.² It is stated in the *Kaushltaki Brahmana*³ that Brahmanas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The *Jataka* tales are full of references to the fame of Takshasila as a university town. Panini, himself a native of Gandhara, refers to the city in one of his *Sutras*.⁴ An early celebrity of Takshasila was perhaps Kautilya.⁵

The **Kekayas** were settled in the Western Pali jab between Q-andhara and the Beas. From the *Bamayana** we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipasa or Beas and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhara *Vishaya*. The *Mahabharata*⁷ associates them with the Madras (*Madrascha saha Kekayaih*). Arrian⁸ places the "Kekians" on the river Saranges, apparently a tributary of the Hydraotes or the Ravi.

The Vedic texts do not mention the name of its capital city, but the *Bamayana* informs us that the metropolis was Rajagriha or Girivraja :

"Ubhan Bharata-Satriglmau Kekayeshu parantapau
pure Bajagrihe ramye matamaha-nivesane?"

"Both Bharata and Satrugna, repressers of enemies, are staying in Kekaya in the charmiqq city of Rajagriha, the abode of (the) maternal grandfather (of the former)."

1 No. 377.

2 *Sat. Br.* XI. 4. 1. *I et seq. Udichyanvrito dhavayam chakara.*

3 VII. 6. *Vedic Index* II. 279.

4 *Sutra* iv. 3,93 ; AGI (1924), 67.

5 Tumour, *Mahawanso*, vol. I (1837), p. xxxix.

6 II. 68. 19-22 ; VII. 113-14.

7 VI. 61. 12 ; VII. 19. *I. Madra-Kekayah.*

8 *Indika* iv ; *Ind> Ant*, V. 332 : Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*. 1926, pp. 163, 196.

9 *Ram.*, II. 67. 7.

« *"Girivrajam puravararh slghram asedur anjasa"*
 "(The messengers bound for Kekaya) quickly arrived at Girivraja, the best of cities."

The journey from Ayodhya to the Kekaya capital, a distance of about 650 miles, took seven days. Videha could be reached from Ayodhya on the fourth day. The distance is about 200 miles. The slower rate is explained by Pargiter by the absence of good roads. Cunningham identifies the capital of the Kekayas with Girjak or Jalalpur on the river Jhelam.²

There was another Rajagriha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rajagriha in Po-ho or Balkh.³ In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Magadhan capital, the latter city was called "Girivraja of the Magadhas."⁴

The *Puranas*⁵ tell us that the Kekayas along with the Madrakas and the Usfnaras, were branches of the family of Anu, son of Yayati. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the *Ttig-Veda*.⁶ It appears from a hymn of the eighth *Mandala*⁷ that they dwelt in the Central Panjab, not far from the Parushni, the same territory which we find afterwards in possession of the Kekayas and the Madrakas.

The king of Kekaya in the time of the Vedic Janaka was Asvapati, a name borne also by the maternal grandfather and maternal uncle of Bharata.⁸ The *Satapatha Brahmana*⁹ and the *Ghhandogya Upanishad*¹⁰ suggest that the Kekaya monarch was a man of learning and that he instructed a number of Brahmanas, viz. Aruna Aupavesi

1 Ram., II. 68. 22.

2 Ram., I. 69. 7; II. 71. 18. AG/,
1924, 188; JASB, 1895, 250 ft.

3 Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. 1, p. 44.

4 S. B. E., XIII, p. 150.

5 *Matsya*, 48.10-20 ; *Vayu*, 99.12-23.

6 I. 108. 8, VII. 18. 14 ; VIII. 10.5.

7 74.

8 Ram., 11,9.22 ; VII. 113. 4.

9 X. 6. 1. 2.

10 V. 11. 4 *et seq**

Gautama, Satyayajna Paulushi, Mahasala Jabala, Budila, Asvataraiivi, Indradyumna Bhallaveya, Jana Sarkarakshya, Praohinasala Aupamanyava, and Uddalaka Aruni. The reference to Aruna Aupavesi who belongs to an older generation than Uddalaka, shows that Asvapati was an elder contemporary of the great philosopher-king of Videha.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviya".¹ A branch of the Kekayas seems* to have migrated to Southern India in later times and established its authority in the Mysore country.²

The **Madra** people were divided into several sections viz., the northern Madras, the eastern Madras, the southern Madras or Madras proper etc. The northern Madras known as Uttara-Madras, are referred to in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, as living beyond the Himavat range in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, possibly, as Zimmer and Macdonell conjecture, in the land of Kasmfr. The eastern Madras probably occupied some district to the east of Sialkot, not far from Trigartta or Kangra.³

The southern Madras were settled in the Central Punjab in the territory lying to the west of the river Iravati or Ravi. In later times the eastern limits extended to the Amritsar district which was included within the Madra-desa in the days of Guru Govind Singh.⁵ The ancient capital (properly *puta-bhedana*) was Sakala or Sagala-nagara (modern Sialkot). This city is mentioned in the *Mahabharata*?

1 *Ind.Ant.*, 1891, p. 375.

2 *A.H.D.*, 88, 101.

3 Panini, IV. 2.107-8 ; Cf. Association of Madras and Trigarttas, *Mbh.* VI.61 12. In 1.121. 36 the number of 'Madras' is given as *four*.

4, Cf. Moh., VIII.44..17.

5 Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 55.

6 II. 32. 14. *Tatah kakalamabhyetya Madranath putabhedanam.*

and several *Jatakas*¹ and is probably hinted at in the name 'Sakalya,' given to a Vedio teacher who graced the court of Janaka. It stood on the banks of the Apaga² in a tongue of land between two rivers styled the Sakala-dvīpa,³ apparently corresponding to a part of the Rechna Doab.

The Madrag proper are represented, in early post-Vedic works as living under a monarchical constitution. The name of the ruler of the territory in the time of Janaka is not known. It was politically not of much importance. But, like the northern realms described above, it was the home of many famous scholars and teachers of the *Brahmana* period such as Madragara Saungayani and Kapyā PataTichala,⁴ one of the teachers of the celebrated TJddalaka Aruni.⁵ The early epic knows the Madra royal house⁶ as a virtuous family. But in later times Madra earned notoriety as the seat of outlandish peoples with wicked customs.⁷

The country of the **Uiinaras** was situated in the *Madhya-desā* or Mid-India. The *Aitareya Brahmana*⁹ says "*asyam dhruvayam madhyamayam pratishtayam disi*," "in this firmly established middle region," lie the realms of the Kuru-Panchalas together with Vasas and Uslnaras. In the *Kaushltaki TJpanishad* also the Uslnaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru-Panchalas and the

1 *E. g. Kalihgabodhi Jataka*, No. 479 ; and *Kusa Jataka*, No. 531.

2 *Mbh.* VIII. 44. 10; *Cunn. AGI*, 1924, 211f. Cunningham identifies this Apaga with the Ayak rivulet which rises in the Jammu hills and joins the Chenab.

3 *Mbh.* II. 26. 5.

4 Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, 126.

5 *Brihad. Up.*, 111. 7.1.

6 Cf. Asvapati and his daughter Savitri.

7 For detailed accounts of the Madras see now H. C. Ray in *JASB*, 1922, 257 ; and Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 214. Mr. S. N. Mitra points out that the *Paramattha-Atpani* on the *Theyigatha* (p. 127) (wrongly) places Sagala-nagara in Magadha-rattha. But the *Apadana* quotations on p. 131 leave no room for doubt that Madra is the correct name of the kingdom of which sagala (Sakala) was the capital.

8 VIII. 14.

Vasas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the *Madhya-desa*, for in the *Oopatha Brahman* the Usinaras and Vasas are mentioned just before the *Udlchyas* or northerners :¹ *Kuru-Panchaleshu Ahga-Magadheshu Rasi-Kausalyeshu Salva-Matsyeshu sa Vasa-Usinaresh-Udlchyeshu*.

The *Mahabharata* speaks of 'Usinara' as sacrificing on two small streams near the Jumna.² In the *Katha-sarit-sagara* Uslnara-giri is placed near Kanakhala, the ^sanctifying place of pilgrimage at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills."³ It is, doubtless, identical with Usira-giri of the *Divyavadana** and llsira-dhvaja of the *Vinaya* Texts.⁵ Panini refers to the Usinara country in several *Sutras*⁶ Its capital was Bhoja-nagara.⁷

The *Jjig-Veda*⁵ mentions a queen named Usinaram. The *Mahabharata*, the *Anulcramani* and several *Jatahas* mention a king named Usinara and his son Sibi.⁹ We do not know the name of Janaka's Usinara contemporary. The *Kaushitaki Upanishad* tells us that Grargya Balaki, a contemporary of Ajatasatru of Kasi, and of Janaka of Videha, lived for some time in the Usinara country.

Matsya is usually taken to "include parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur," being "the kingdom of the king Virata of the *Mahabharata*, in whose court the fivePandava

1 *Gofi. Br.* I I . 9.

2 *Mbh.* III. 130. 21,

3 Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kaslnath Pandurang Parab, third edition, p. 5. Kanakhala stands near Hardwar in the Saharanpur district of the United Provinces. Cf. also *Mbh.* V. 111. 16-23.

4 P. 22.

3 Part I I , p. 39. See Hultzsch, *Ind% Ant.*, 1905, p. 179.

6 II. 4. 20 ; IV. 2. 118.

7 *Mbh.*, V. 118. 2. For Ahvara, a fortress of the Usinaras, see *Ind.Ant.* 1885, 322.

8 X. 59. 10.

9 *Mbh.*, X I I 29. 39 ; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 103 ; *Maha-Kanha Jataka*, No. 469 ; *Nitni Jataka*, No 541 ; *Maha Narada Kassapa Jataka*, No. 544, etc,

brothers resided *incognito* during the last year of their banishment."¹ But Alwar seems to have been the territory of a neighbouring people—the Salvās.² The Matsya country lay to the south of the Kurus of the Delhi region and to the west of the Silrasenas of Mathura. Southward it may have approached the river Ohambal, westward it reached the Sarasvati. The Mahabharata mentions a people called the Aparā-Matsyas whom Pargiter places on the hill tracts on the north bank of the Chambal. The Ramayana has a reference to the Virā-Matsyas in connection with the Sarasvati and the Ganges.³ The Matsya capital has been identified by Cunningham⁴ with Bairat in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks⁵ that the capital Avā Upaplavya. But according to Nilakantha, the commentator, Upaplavya was "*Viratanagara-samlpasta-nagarantaram*," a city close to the metropolis, but not identical with it.⁶

The Matsyas first appear in a passage of the *Rig-Veda*⁷ where they are ranged with the other antagonists of Sudas, the great Rigvedic conqueror. The *Satapatha Brahmana** mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated the horse-sacrifice near the

1 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

2 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1919. N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, p. ii.

3 Mbh. II. 31.2-7; III. 24-25; IV. 5.4; Ram II. 71.5. Pargiter points out (JASB, 1895, 250ff) that the Matsya Country lay southward from Khandava-prastha (Delhi region). Its position to the west of Surasena (Mathura district) is brought out clearly by the description of the journey of the Pandu princes to the court of Virata. Crossing the Jumna the heroes passed through the territory, north of the Dasarnas and south of the Panchalas and then proceeded through the countries of the Yakri-lloraas and the Surasenas to the Matsya realm. From Upaplavya, a suburb of the Matsya capital, to Hastinapura, the metropolis of the Kurus in the epic age, was less than two days' journey by chariot. Vrikasthala on the way could be reached by a traveller in the evening on the first day.

4 AGI. 1924, 387; I. A. V. 179. For a Virata-nagara in South India, see *Bomb. Gaz.* I. ii. 558.

5 JASB, 1895.252.

6 Mbh, IV. 72. 14. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1882, 327.

7 VII. 18. 6.

Sarasvati. The *Brahmana* quotes the following *gatha* (song) :—

Chaturdasa Dvaitavano raja samgramajidd-hayan

Indraya Vritraglne' badhnattasmad Dvaitavanamsara (iti).

"Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vritrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)". The *Mahabharata* mentions the lake as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvati.¹

In the *Gopatha Brahmana*² the Matsyas appear in connexion with the Salvas, in the *Kaushltahi Tjpanishad*³ in connexion with the Kuru-Panchalas, and in the *Mahabharata* in connexion with the Trigarttas⁴ of the Jalandar Doab, and the Chedis of Central India.⁵ In the *Manu-Samhita*⁶ the Matsyas together with Kuru-kshetra, the Panchalas, and the Surasenakas comprise the holy enclave of the Brahmana sages (*Brahmarshi-desa*).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country was important in the time of the great philosopher-king of Videha, is known from the *Kaushltahi Tjpanishad*.

The **Kuru** country tried to maintain its reputation as a home of Brahmanical culture in the age of Janaka. But scholars hailing from that region appear now in the role of students thirsting for philosophical knowledge rather than authorities on sacrificial ritual. This probably points to a new development in the social life of the people, a development that synchronises with the end of the period of prosperity under Parikshit and his immediate successors and the beginning of economic distress hinted at in the *Ghhandogya Upanishad*.⁷ The

1 Mbh. III. 24-25.

2 1.2.9.

3 IV. 1

4 Mbh., Bk. IV.

5 V. 74. 16.

6 11.19.

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7 1.10,1-7.

time was soon to come when they would listen even to the heterodox teaching of new faiths that grew up in Eastern India. For the present Kuru Brahmanas (*e.g.*, Ushasti Chakrayana) took an active part in discussions about *Brahman* and *atman* at the court of Videha. The intellectual life of the eastern kingdom must have been greatly stirred by the exodus of Kurus and perhaps also of the Panchalas that took place about this time. An exodus from Constantinople in a like manner enriched the life of the people of western Europe in the fifteenth century A.D.

If the Puranic list of Janamejaya's successors be accepted as historical, then it would appear that Nichakshu was probably the Kuru king of Hastinapura in the time of Janaka.

1. Janamejaya	...	1. Indrota	Daivapa	Saunaka
2. Satanika	...	2. Driti	Aindrota	(son and pupil)
3. Asva-medha-datta		3. Pulusha	Prachinayogya	(pupil)
4. Adhisima-krishna		4. Pulushi	Satyayajna	(pupil)
5. Nichakshu	...	5. Somasushma	Satyayajni	(pupil); Janaka's contemporary.

Curiously enough, it is Nichakshu who is represented in the *Puranas* as the remover of the seat of government from Hastinapura to Kausambi. We have some indication that the city of Kausambi really existed about this time.¹ The *Satapatha Brdhdmana* makes Proti Kausambeya a contemporary of Uddalaka Aruni who figured in the court of Janaka. "It is thus clear that Kausambeya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvamin in his commentary on the *Satapatha Brdhdmana* understood

1 Cf Wetter, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 123 ; *Vedic Index*. 1,193.

Kausatnbeya to mean a 'native of the town of Kausambi'.¹ It is, therefore, permissible to think that Kausambi existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichaksu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Puranic statement. According to the Puranas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps the devastation of the Kuru country by *Matachi*. It is also possible that the attitude of the Abhipratarina branch of the royal family towards sacrificial ritual had something to do with the exodus. From this time the Kurus in the homeland appear to have gradually lost their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power. But the memory of the majesty and power of the Bharata dynasty survived till the time of the *Satapatha Brahmana*?

Pafichala comprised the Bareilly, Budaun, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab in the United Provinces. It appears to have been bounded on the east by the Gumti and on the south by the Ohambal. On the west lay the Yakrillomas and the Surasenas of Mathura. Belts of dense forests separated it from the Ganges and the realm of the Kurus on the north-west. Northward it approached the jungles that cover the region near the source of the Ganges.³ There is no clear trace in the Vedic literature of the Epic and *Jataka* division of the Paichalas into northern (*Uttara*) and southern (*Dakshina*). But it knew an eastern

1 Kausambeya may no doubt also mean "a descendant of Kusamba." Even then the city can hardly be dissociated from the eponymous hero of the family, of. Kramadisvara, p. 794—*Kusambena nirvritta Kausambi-nagari*.

2 XIII. 5. 4. 11—14 ; 21—23.

Mahadadya Bharatariam na purve nafiare janah

divyam martya iva pakshabhyam nodapuh saptamanava (iti)

3 *Ri-Veda* V. 61. 17—19 ; *Mbh.* I, 138. 74 ; 150f 166 ; IV. 5. 4 ; IX. 41.

division because the *Samhit-opanisad Bralmana* makes mention of the *Prachya* (eastern) Panohalas.¹ The existence of the other two may, however, be hinted at in the expression *tryantka*, "threefold", occurring in the Vedic texts.² One of the ancient capitals of Panchala was Kampilya which has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaun and Furrukhabad.³ Another Panchala town Parivakra or Parichakra is mentioned in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.⁴ It is identified by Weber with Ekaohakra of the *Mahabharata*S

The Panchalas, as their name indicates, probably consisted of five clans—the Krivis, the Turvasa's, the Kesins, the Srinjayas and the Somakas.⁶ Each of these clans is known to be associated with one or more princes mentioned in the Vedic texts—the Krivis with Kravya Panchala, the Turvasas or Taurvasas with Sona Satrasaha, the Kesins with Kesin Dalbhya, the Srinjayas with Daivavata, Prastoka, Vitahavya, Suplan or Sahadeva Sarnjaya and Dush-tarliti, and the Somakas with Somaka Sahadevya. Of the kings only the first three are definitely associated with Panchala.

The **Krivis** appear in a *Rigvedic* hymn which also mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asikni (Chenab). But their actual habitation is nowhere clearly indicated.

1 *Ved. Ind.* I. 469. C/. also Patanjali (Kielhorn's ed. Vol. I, p. 12) and Ptolemy's *Prasiake* (vii. 1. 53) which included the towns of Adisdara (? Ahi chhatra) and Kanagora (? Kanauj).

2 *Vedic Index*, 1.187.

3 *Vedic Index* I. 149 ; Cunn. in *JASB*, 1865,178 ; *AGI*, 1924. 413.

4 XIII. 5.4. 7.

5 *Ved.Ind.,l.m.*

6 According to the *Puranas* (*Brahma P.* XIII. 94 f. Cf *Matsya*, 50. 3) 'Mudgala,' 'Srinjaya,' *Brihadishu*,' 'Yavinara' and 'Krimilasva' were the constituent elements of the Panchala *Janapada*,

They are identified with the Panchalas in the *fiatapatha Bralmana*¹ and connected with Parivakra.

*

A *gatha* of the same work² says, "When Satrasaha (king of the Panchalas) makes the *Asvamedha* offering, the **Taurvasas** arise, six thousand and six (*sic*) and thirty clad in mail."

*Satrasahe yajamaie' svamedhena Taurvasah
udirate trayastrimsah shatsahasrani vdrminam.*

This points to a very close connexion between the Panchalas and the Taurvasas. The fusion of the two folks does not seem to be improbable in view of the Puranic statement that, after Marutta, the line of Turvasu (Turvasa, Taurvasa) was merged into the Paurava line³ of which the Panchalas are represented as an offshoot. The line of rulers to which Sona belonged seems to be connected in later times with Ahichchhatra (in the Bareilly District).⁴

The **Keins**⁵ who are connected with the Panchalas in Vedic literature probably dwelt on the G-umti. The **Srinjayas**⁶ are associated with the Panchalas in post-

1 xiii, 5, 4, 7 ; *Krivaya iti ha vaipura Pahchalan achakshate. Vedic Index*, I. 198, According to Kasten Ronnow, *Acta Orientalia*, XVI, iii, 1937, p. 165. Krivis were named after a dragon-demon who was their tribal divinity.

2 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 404 ; *Sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4.16. H. K. Deb (*Vedic India and Mediterranean men*, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig) suggests the identification of the Turvasas with the Teresh, or Tursha, one of the allied peoples who fought against Merneptah, or Meneptah, Pharaoh of Egypt (c. 1234-25 B.C.). Breasted, however, identifies the Teresh with the Tyrsenians or Etruscans (*A History of Egypt*, p. 467).

3 A. I. H. T., p. 108. *Turvahoh Pauravath vathsam pravivesa pura kila* (*Vayu.99,4*).

4 *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I. p. 525.

5 *Ved. Ind.*, I. 186-187. The name Kesin Dalbhya suggests a close connexion between the Kesins and the Dalbhys whom the *Big-Veda* (V, 61. 17-19) places on the Gomati. From Mbh. IX. 41. 1-3 it is clear that this Gomati connected with the Dalbhya family or clan, could not have been far away from Naimisha and the country of the Panchalas. It must, therefore, be identified with the Gumti which flows past Nimsar near Sitapur,

6 Pargiter, *Markandeya Purana*, p. 353; Mbh., I. 138. 37; V. 48. 41. *Brahmapurana*, XIII, 94f.

Vedic tradition. In the *Mahabharata*,¹ Uttamaújās is called a Panchalya as well as a Srinjaya. The clan probably lived on the Jumna in epic times.² As to the **Somakas**, their connection with the Panchalas is known throughout the great epic.³ They occupied Kampilya and its neighbourhood.

The royal family of the Panchalas is represented in bardic tradition as an offshoot of the Bharata dynasty.⁴ Divodasa, Sudas(a) and Dm pad a are included among the kings of this line. Divodasa and Sudas also figure in the *Rig-Veda* where they are closely connected with the Bharatas.⁵ But they are not mentioned as Panchala kings. In the *Mahabharata* Drupada is also called Yajnasena and one of his sons is named Sikhandin.⁶ A Sikhandin

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• •

Yajnasena is mentioned in the *KaushitaM Brahmana*? but it is not clear whether we are to regard him as a prince, or as a priest of Kesin Dalbhya, king of the Panchalas.

The external history of the Panchalas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The *Mahabharata* preserves traditions of conflict between these two great peoples. We are told by the epic that Uttara-Panchala was wrested from the Panchalas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor.⁸ Curiously enough, the *Somanassa Jatalca*⁹ places Uttara-Panchala-nagara in Kururatta. The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and

1 Mbh. VIII. 11.31 ; 75. 9.

4

2 Mbh. iii. 90. 7. with commentary.

3 C/. Mbh., I. 185. 31 ; 193. 1 ; II. 77. 10 : *Dhristadyumnah Somakanam pravarah* ; *Saumakir Yajnasena iti*.

4 **Mbh.**, *Adi.*, 94. 33 ; *Matsya*, 50. 1-16; *Vayu*. 99. 194-210.

5 *Ved. Ind.*, I, p.363 ; **II.**, pp. 59, 454

6 Mbh., *Adi.*, 166. 24 ; *Bhishma*, 190, *et seq.*

7 VII. 4.

8 Mbh. i. 166.

9 No. 505. The union of Kuru- Panchalas is hinted at in *Jaim. Up. Br.* III 7. 6.

(Panchalas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Eesin Dalbhya or Darbhya, king of the Panchalas, was sister's son to Uchchaihsravas, king of the Eurus.¹ In the epic a Panchala princess is married to the Pandavas who are represented as scions of the Euru royal family.

Of the famous kings of the Panchalas mentioned in the Vedic literature Pravahana Jaivali is known definitely to have been Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the *Upanishads* as engaged in philosophical discussions with Aruni, Svetaketu, Silaka Salavatya, and Chaikitayana Dalbhya.² The first two teachers are known to have met the Vedic Janaka.

The kingdom of Kasi was 300 leagues in extent.³ It had its capital at Varanasi (Benares) also called Eetumati, Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahma-vaddhana, Pnpphavati, Ramma, and Molin.⁴ The walls of the city were twelve leagues round by themselves.⁵

The Kasis, i.e., the people of Easi or Easi, first appear in the *Paippalada* recension of the *Atharva-Veda*.⁶ They were closely connected with the Eosalas and the Videhas. Jala Jatukarnyais mentioned in the *Sahhhayana Srauta Sutra*⁷ as having obtained the position of *Purohita* or priest of the three peoples of Easi, Videha and Eosala in the lifetime of Svetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough, a king named Janaka is mentioned in the

1 *Ved. Ind.* [I. 84, 187, 468. Uchchaih-sravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the *Mahabharata*, I. 94. 53.

2 *Brihad. Up.*, VI. 2 ; *Chh. Uj.*, 1.8.1 ; V. 3. 1.

3 A stock phrase, *Dhajavitheta Jataka*, No. 391.

4 *Dialogues Part I I I*, p. 73. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 50-51. The name Varanasi is derived from two little rivers between which the city was situated—*Varanayastatha ch Asya madhye Varanasi puri* (*Padma, Svarga khanda*, xvii. 50).

5 *Tandulanali Jataka*, No. 5,

6 *Ved. Ind.*, I I, 116 n.

7 XVI, 29. 5,

*Sattubhastha Jdtaka*¹ as reigning in Benares. This **prince** cannot be the Janaka of the *JJpanishads*, for we **learn from** those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka,' Ajatasatru was on the throne of Kasi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajatasatru. His name does not occur in the Puraiiic lists of Kasi sovereigns,² nor does the name of Dhritarashtra, king of Kasi, who was defeated by Satanika Satrajita with the result that the Kasis down to the time of the *Satapatha Brahman* gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. A clue to the lineage of Dhritarashtra is afforded by the *MahagovhidarSiittanta*³ which represents "Dhatarattha," King of Kasi, as a Bharata prince. The *Buranas* represent the Kasi family as a branch of the house of Pururavas, the traditional ancestor of the Bharatas. Of the kings mentioned in the chronicles the names of two only (Diovdasa and his son or descendant Daivadasa Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the later Vedic texts connect them with the Naimishiyas and not with Kasi.⁴

The *Jatahas* often refer to the failure of heirs at Benares (*aputtahath rajalculam*), or the deposition of princes in favour of more competent rulers taken from other families. It is clear that tradition does not regard the Kasi monarchs as belonging to one and the same dynasty. Some of the kings hailed from Magadha.⁵ Several others were probably of Videhan origin. Many of the princes belonging to these groups had the cognomen, 'Brahmadatta*. That Brahmadatta was not the name of one individual

1 No. 402.

2 *Vayu*, 92. 21-74, ; *Vishnu*, IV. 8. 2-9.

3 *Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha*, Patt II, p, 270.

4 *Kaush. Br.* xxvi. 5.

5 *Cf. Jatakas* 378, 401, 529.

ruler, has been suggested by Mr. Haritkrishna Dev.¹ The *Matsya* and *Vayu Puranas* refer to a group of one **hundred** (L e. many) Brahmadattas •

*Satam vai Brahmadattmdm
virdncim Kuravah satam.*²

The "hundred" Brahmadattas are also mentioned in the *Mahdbhdrata*? In the *Dummedha Jataha*⁴, the name is borne both by the reigning king and his son (*Kumara*).⁵ In the *Oahgamala Jataha*⁶ king Udaya of Benares is addressed by a *Pachcheha Buddha* as "Brahtpadatta" which is distinctly stated to be a *hulanama* or family designation.

The Brahmadattas were not, however, all of the same extraction. The king-elect of the *Darlmvha Jataha* was originally a Magadhan prince. Some of the other Brahmadattas were of Videhan lineage. The *Mtitiposaha Jataha*? for instance, referring to a Brahmadatta of Kasi, has the following line :

mutto'mhi Kasirajena Vedehena yasassina ti.

In the *Sambula Jataha*⁸ prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kasi, is called Vedehaputta :

*Yo putta Kasirajassa Sotthisena ti tarn vidu
tassdham Sambula bhariya, evam janahi danava,
Vedehaputta bhaddan te vane vasati aturo.*

Ajatasatru, Janaka's contemporary on the throne of Kasi, may have been a Brahmadatta though his exact

1 The suggestion has been accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56.

2 *Matsya*, Ch. 273, 71 ; *Vayu*, Ch. 99, 454.

3 II. 8. 23.

4 No. 50 ; Vol. I, p. 126,

5 Cf. also the *Sustma Jataka* (411), the *Kumma Sapinda Jataka* (415), the *Atthana Jataka* (425), the *Lomasa Kassapa Jataka* (433), etc.

6 421.

7 No. 455.

8 No. 519.

lineage is not known. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddalaka. The *Uddalaka Jataha* tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddalaka was Brahmadatta.

Ajatasatru appears in the *Upanishads* as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gargya Balaki. In the *Kaushltaki Upanishad* he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning. The *Satapatha Brahmana*¹ mentions a person named Bhadrasena Ajatasatru who is said to have been bewitched by Uddalaka Aruni. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kasi. He may have been the son and successor of Ajatasatru.²

The kingdom of **Kosala**³ corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It seems to have extended northward to the foot of the Nepal hills. In the east it was separated from Videha by the river Sadanira, which was for a time the limit of the Aryan world in that direction. Beyond it was an extensive marshy region, not frequented by Brahmanas which, after Mathava Videgha's occupation, developed into the flourishing kingdom of Videha. The story of Mathava makes it clear that the Kosalas fell later than the peoples dwelling on the banks of the Sarasvati but earlier than the Videhas under the influence of Brahmanical civilization. In the south Kosala was bounded by the river Sarpika or Syandika⁴ and on the west probably by the Gumti which flowed past the famous Naimisha forest and apparently formed the boundary between the Kosalas and sundry peoples including the

1 V.5.5. 14.

2 S. B.E.,XLI,p,141.

3 The form Kosala is met with in the *Gopatha Brahmana (Vedic Index)*, I, 195) and later literature.

4 Ram. I I . 49.11-12 ; 50.1 ; Cf. Sundarika, *Kindred Sayings* I. 209.

2.5 POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

Panchalas.¹ In the epic Kosalas proper are distinguished from the Uttara-Kosalas, the Kosalas near the Venva (Wairiganga) and the Prak-Kosalas. The last two peoples were clearly in South India.² The Pitrva-Kosalas, apparently not identical with the Prak-Kosalas of the Deccan, dwelt between the river Sarayu and Mithila.³

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the *Ramayana* is to be believed the capital of Kosala (Kosalapura) in the time of the Janakas was Ayodhya. It stood on the banks of the Sarayu and covered twelve *yojanas*.⁴ The *Rig-Veda* mentions the river Sarayu and refers to an Aryan settlement on its banks.⁵ One of the Arya settlers bears the name of Chitraratha which occurs also in the *Ramayana*⁶ as the appellation of a contemporary of Dasaratha. A prince styled, Dasaratha is eulogised in a Rigvedic hymn/ but there is nothing to identify him with the Ikshvaku king of that name who appears in the *Ramayana* as the Kosalan contemporary of Siradhvaja Janaka. Dasaratha's eldest son, according to the epic, was Rama who married Sita, daughter of Janaka. The *Rig-Veda*⁸ mentions an *Asura* (powerful being) named Kama but does not connect him with Kosala. The *Dasaratha Jataka* makes Dasaratha and Rama kings of Varanasi and disavows Sita's connection with Janaka.

1 Ram II. 68. 13; 71. 16-18; VII. 104. 15. (Kosalan king sacrificing in the Naimisha forest on the Gumti) ; cf. Mbh. XII, 355. 2 r IX. 41. 3 (Panchalas apparently not far from Naimisha). In *Rig* V 61. 17-19, the Dalbhyas, a Pandhala people, are placed on the Gumti.

2 Mbh. 11.30. 2-3 ; 31; 12-13.

3 Mbh. II. 20. 28.

4 *Ram.*, I. 55. 7. It is in the Fyaabad District of Oudh. For the name Kosalapura see *JRam.* II. 18. 38.

5 IV. 30. 18

6 II. 32. 17.

7 I. 126. 4.

8 X., 93. 14.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's *hotri* priest, Asvala, who was very probably an ancestor of Asvalayana Kausalya¹ mentioned in the *Prasna Upanishad* as a disciple of Pippalada and a contemporary of Sukesa Bharadvaja and of Hiranya-nabha, a Kosalan prince. The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

1 *Aivalasyapaiyam Asvalayanah* (samkara's commentary on *prasna Upanishad*, 1. 1).

SECTION III. * THE LATER VAIDEHAS OF MITHILA :

NIMI AND KARALA.

The *Pur mas* give long lists of the successors of Siradhvaja Janaka¹ whom Bhavabhuti seems to identify with the contemporary of Yajnavalkya.² With one or two exceptions none of the kings in these lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the lists are reliable. The identification of any of the kings named in the bardic chronicles with the Vedic Janaka is the most knotty of all problems. We have already noted the arguments that can be urged in support of the view of Bhavabhuti. The mere fact that Siradhvaja is placed high in the Puranic lists does not necessarily prove that he actually flourished long before the extinction of the dynasty. It should be remembered in this connection that Pradyota who was in reality a contemporary of Bimbisara, king of Magadha, is placed by the Puranic chroniclers or scribes some nine generations before that ruler, and Siddhartha of the Ikshvaku list, a contemporary of Prasenajit of Kosala, is represented as the grandfather of the latter. The evidence of the *Vishnu Purana** suggests that there were at times several collateral lines of Janakas who ruled contemporaneously. The problem of Siradhvaja must, therefore, be regarded as *sub judice*. In view of the uncertainty about the identification of this king and his proper place in the

1 *Vayu*, 89. 18-23 ; *Vishnu* IV, 5. 12-13 ; 4th edition of this work pp. 67 ff.

2 *Mahavira-charita*, I, verse 14 ; II, verse 43 ; *Uttara-Ratna-Charita*, IV, verse 9.

3 VI. 67 ff, Cf, *Ratnayatta*, I. 72. 18

dynastic list, it is not easy to determine which of the Videhan kings mentioned in the *Puranic* chronicles actually came *after* the contemporary of Aruni and Yajnavalkya. The evidence of the *Jatakas*, however, suggests that a king named Nimi, at any rate, ruled after the great Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty, Pargiter¹ places all the kings of the *Puranic* lists down to Bahulasva *before* the Bharata war, and apparently identifies his son Kriti with Kritakshana of the *Mahabharata*², a contemporary of Yudhishtira. But, as there were "Janakas" even *after* Yudhishtira, and as "two *Puranas* conclude with the remark that with Kriti *ends* the race of the Janakaa,"³ the identification of Kriti, the *last* of the race, with Kritakshana does not seem to be plausible. It is more reasonable to identify Kriti of the *PurMas* with Karala Janaka who, as we shall see below, brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The only objection to this view is that Karala is represented as the son of Nimi, whereas Kriti was the son of Bahulasva. But the cognomen Nimi may have been borne by several kings and Bahulasva may have been one of them. An alternative theory would be to represent Kriti and Karala as the last members of two collateral lines of Janakas.

The Vedic texts mention besides Mathava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Nami Sapyā and Para Ahlara. Macdonell and Keith identify the latter with Para Atnara, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Nami Sapyā is mentioned in the *Panchavirhsa* or *Tandya Bralmana*⁴ as a famous sacrificer. His identification with king Nami of the *Uttar-adhyayana*

1 AIHT. p. 149.

2 II. 4. 27.

3 AIHT, pp. 96, 330.

4 XXV. 10. 17-18.

Sutra,¹ Nemi of the *Vishnu Purana*, and Nemi of the *Mahadeva Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nihaya*, and the *Kumbhalcara*² and *Nimi Jataha** is more or less problematical. In the last-mentioned work it is stated that a Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the *Kumbhalcara Jataha* and the *Uttar~adhyayana Sutra* he was a contemporary of Dummukha (Dvimukha), king of Panchala, Naggaji (Naggati) of Gandhara and of Karandu (Karakandu) of Kalinga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence. Durmukha, the Panchala king, had a priest named Brihaduktha⁴ who was the son of Vamadeva.⁵ Vamadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva.⁶ Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhlma, king of Vidarbha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhara.⁷ From this it seems very probable that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the *Kumbha,hara Jataha* and the *Uttar-adhyayana Sutra*.

The *Nimi Jataha* says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the soothsayers said, "Great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."⁵⁵

Nimi's son Kalara Janaka⁸ is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently identical with Karala Janaka of the *Mahabharata*? In the *Arthasastra* attributed to Eautilya it is stated that "Bhoja,

1 S.B.E..XLV. 87.

2 No. 408.

3 No. 541.

4 *Vedic Index*, I. 370.

5 *Ibid*, II. 71.

6 *liig-Veda*, IV. 15, 7-10 with *Anukramam*.

7 *Aitareya Brahmana*, VII. 34.

8 *Mahadeva Sutta* of the *Majjhima nihaya*, II. 82 ; *Nimi Jataha*.

9 XII. 302. 7.

known by the name of Dandakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brahmana maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations ; so also Karala, the Vaideha."¹ Karala, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with .Kalara (Karala) who, according to the *Nimi Jataka*, brought the line of Videhan kings to an end. The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy.

There is reason to believe that the Kasi people had a share in the overthrow of the Videhan monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajatasatru, king of Kasi, could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan king's fame. The passage "*yatha Ktmjo va Vaidehova Ugraputra iijyam dhanur adhijyam hritvd dvau vanavantau sapatnativijadhinau haste Icritv-opatisWbed*"² probably refers to frequent struggles between the heroes of Kasi and Videha. The *Mahabharata*³ refers to the old story (*itihasam jpwatanam*) of a great battle between Pratardana, king of Kasi according to the *Uamayana** and Janaka, King of Mithila. It is stated in the Pali commentary *Param-atthi-jotikih*⁵ that the Lichchhavis who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in North

1 The evidence of the *Arthashastra* is confirmed by that of the *Buddha-charita* of Asva-ghosha (IV. 80). "And so Karala Janaka, when he carried off the 'Brahmana's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love."

2 *Brihad, Vpanishad*, III, 8. 2. "As the Ugra's son from Kasi or from Videha strings the slackened bow and arises with two foe-piercing arrows in his hand" (Winternitz, *Ind, Lit.* I. 229 with slight emendations).

3 XII. 99. 1-2.

4 VII. 48.15.

5 Vol. h pp. 158-63.

Bihar, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kasi. This indicates a belief in later ages that cadets from the royal family of Kasi established themselves in Videha.

SECTION IV. THE DECCAN IN THE AGE OF THE
LATER VAIDEHAS.

The expression "*Dahshinapada*" occurs in the *Rig* Veda*¹ and refers to the region where the exile goes on being turned out. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the south" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. *Dahshinatya* is found in Panirii,² *Dahshinapatha* is mentioned by Baudhayana coupled with Surashtra.³ It is difficult to say what Panini or Baudhayana exactly meant by *Dahshinatya* or *Dahshinapatha*. In early Pali literature the name *Dahshinapatha* is sometimes coupled with Avanti (Malwa), and in one text it is placed on the banks of the upper Godavari. In the *Nalopahhyana* of the *Mahabharata*, *Dahshinapatha* is placed beyond Avanti and the Vindhya, and to the south of the Vidarbhas and the (Southern) Kosalas. The last-mentioned peoples lived on the banks of the Wardha and the Mahanadi. In the *Digvijaya-parva*, *Dahshinapatha* is distinguished from the Pandyan realm in the southernmost part of the Madras Presidency. In the Gupta Age it certainly stretched from the land of the Kosalas to the kingdom of Kaiichi. In later times it embraced the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India from the Setu (Adam's Bridge) to the Narmada.⁴

Whatever may have been the exact denotation of the terms discussed above in the earliest times it is certain that already in the age of the later Vaidehas, Nimi and Karala,

1 X. 61. 8. *Vedic, Index*, I. 337.

2 IV. 2. 98.

3 *Baudh, Sutra*, I. 1. 29.

4 DPPN, I, 1050 ; Mbh. II. 31. 16-17 ; III. 61. 21-23. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta ; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 341 n. The *Periplus* distinguishes Dachinabades (Dakshinapatha) from Damirica (Tamil land).

the Aryans had crossed the Vindhya and established several kingdoms in the territory that stretched from the Reva or the Narmada to the Godavari. One of these realms was **Vidarbha**. It comprised modern Berar, the Varadatta of the *Afshar-i-Akbari*, and a considerable portion of the Central Provinces lying between the Wardha (Varada) and the Wainganga. In the north it reached the Payoshni, a tributary of the Tapti.¹ Vidarbha was certainly a famous kingdom in the time of Nimi. We have already seen that the *Kumbhakdra Jatalca* and the *Uttar-adhyayana* make him a contemporary of Nagnajit, king of Gandhara, who is known from the *Aitareya Brdharma*² to have flourished about the same time as Bhima, king of Vidarbha :

*Etamu haiva prochatuh Parvata-Naradau Somakdya
Salhdevyfiya Sahadevaya Sarnjayaya Babhrave Daiva-
vridhaya Bhilmaya Vaidarbhaya Nagnajite Qndndhraya?*

"This Parvata and Narada proclaimed to Somaka Sahadevya, Sahadeva Sarnjaya, Babhru Daivavridha, Bhima Vaidarbha (i.e. of Vidarbha) and Nagnajit of Oandhara."

Vidarbha, therefore, existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. From the Puranic account of the Yadu family it appears that the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage.³ The country is mentioned in the *Jaiminlya Brdharma*.⁴ It was famous for its *Machalcis*, perhaps a species of dog, which killed tigers⁵—"Vidarbhesu macalas sdrameyd apllm Sardulan rnarayanti." The *Prama Upanisad*⁶ mention a sage of

1 Mbh. III. 61. 22-23 ; 120. 31.

2 VII. 34.

3 *Matsya Purana*, 44. 36 ; *Vayu Purana*, 95, 35-36.

4 II, 440 : *Ved. Ittd.*, II. 297.

5 *JAOS*, 19, 100.

6 I. 1; II. 1.

Vidarbha named Bhargava as a contemporary of Iśvalayana. Another 'sage called Vidarbhi Kaundinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad*.¹ The name Kaundinya is apparently derived from the city of Kundina, the capital of Vidarbha,² represented by the modern Kaundinya-pura on the banks of Wardha in the Chandur taluk of Amraoti.³ The association of Vidarbha with Kundina clearly suggests that Vidarbha of the Vedic texts lay in the Deccan, and not in some hitherto unknown region outside its boundaries as contended by a recent writer.⁴

If the evidence of the *KumbhaJara JataJca* has any value, then Nimi, king of Videha, mentioned in the work, Nagnajit, king of Gandhara, and Bhlma, king of Vidarbha, must be considered to have been contemporaries of Karandu of Kalinga. It follows from this that the kingdom of Kalinga, too, was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the *Brahmana* period. The evidence of the *Jdtalca* is confirmed by that of the *Uttar-adhyayana Sutra*. The *Mahagovinda Suttanta*? makes Satabhu, king of Kalinga, a contemporary of Eenu, king of Mithila and of Dhatarattha or Dhritarashtra, king of Kasi, mentioned in the *satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.⁶ There can thus be no doubt that Kalinga existed as an independent

1 *Vedic Index*, II . 297.

2 Mbh., III. 73.1-2; V. 157. 14; *Harivathia*, *Vishnuparva*, 59-60.

3 *Gaz*, *Antrati*, Vol. A. p. 406.

4 *Indian Culture*, July, 1936, p. 12. Curiously enough, the same writer who characterises the provisional acceptance of the uncontradicted testimony of the *Puranas* as a 'lexicon' in locating tribes mentioned in Vedic literature as unhistorical, has no hesitation in identifying the Satvats of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* with the Yadavas and in placing the Mathura region and adjoining districts (*ibid*, 15). He has not referred to any Vedic text which supports his conjecture regarding the identity of the satvats and their association with the particular city named by him.

5 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II . 270.

6 XIII. 5. 4,22.

kingdom in the time of which the Brahmanas speak. It is mentioned both by Panini¹ and Baudhayana.² The latter regards it as an impure country but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans.³ According to epic tradition it comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitarani⁴ in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory. The southern boundary of the *Janapada* was not well-defined. It reached Yellamanchili and Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam district and at times even Pishtapura or Pithapuram, north-east of the Godavari, but not the river itself which flowed through the Andhra country. Pargiter says that Kalinga as a settled kingdom appears to have consisted properly of the plain between the Eastern Ghats (*Mahendra* range) and the sea. But its kings seem to have exercised suzerainty over the jungle tribes which inhabited the hills far inland, for the Amarakantaka range, in which the Narmada rises, is said to be in the western part of Kalinga. That large tracts of the country were covered with forests appears from references to *Kalihgaranya* in Pali texts. The windows of the capital city in the days of Kalidasa looked out on the sea, and the deep roar of the waves drowned the sound of trumpets.⁵ In the days of Yuan Chwang Kalinga occupied a much smaller area. It is distinguished from Wu-t'u (Orissa) and Kung-yit-t'o (Korigoda in the Ganjam district) in the north, and An-to-lo (Andhra or Vengi) in the south, and seems to have embraced parts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. We learn from the Jatakas that an

1 IV. I. 170.

2 I. i. 30-31,

3 There was a considerable Brahmana population in Kalinga in the days of Asoka(c/. Edict XIII).

4 Mbh., III. 1144.

5 Ind. Ant, 1923, 67; Bp. Ind. XII. 2; JASB, 1897, 98 ff; Kurma P. II, 39.9; Padma, Svarga-Khanda, VI. 22/ Vayu, 77. 413; Malalasekera, DPPN, 584; Raghuvantia, vi. 56.

ancient capital of Kalinga was Dantapura-nagara.¹ The *Mahabhamta* mentions Rajapura as the metropolis,² The *Mahavastu*,³ refers to another city named Simhapura. The Jaina writers mention a fourth town called Kamchanapura.⁴

The *Mahagovinda Suttanta* refers to another southern realm, namely, **Asaaka**. or Asmaka on the God(h)avari,⁵ which existed in the time of the monarchs Renu and Dhata-ratfcha (Dlirita-rashtra). It was ruled by king Brahmadata who held his Court at Potana.

The *Aitareya Brahmana* alludes⁶ to princes of the south who are called **Bhojas** and whose subjects are called

1 Cf. *Ep. Ind* ; XIV, p. 361, *Danta-puravasakat*; Dantakura, Mbh., V, 48, 76. Dandagula (Pliny, M'Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 144). The name of the city probably survives in that of the fort of Dantavakra near Chicacole in the Ganjam district. Many other Kalinga capitals stood in the same district, e, g., Simhapura (Singupuram) near Chicacole, Dubreuil, A. H. D., p. 94, Kalihga-nagara (Mukhaliftgam on the Vamsadhara, *Ep. Ind.*, IV. 187; Kalinga-patam is preferred in *Ind. Ant.*, 1887, 132; JBORS, 1929, pp. 623 f. But the arguments adduced are not all plausible).

Z XII. 4.3.

3 Senart's edition, p 432.

4 *Ind, Ant.*, 1891, p. 375. The *Bhumikhanda* of the *Padmapurana* (47.9) mentions Sripura as a city in Kalinga.

5 *Sutta Nipata*, 977, SBE, X, pt, ii, 184. Cf. Asmagi (*Bomb. Gas.* I. I.p.532 ; *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, 145) of classical writers. Asmaka is also mentioned by Pgnini, IV. I. 173. As the name signifies 'the stony region", it can hardly refer to Asvaka, the land of the Assakenoi in the north-west, which the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, connects with the Sanskrit *aiva*, and Iranian *aspa*, horsfc. The Commentator Bhattasvamin identifies Asmaka with Maharashtra. The capital was Po tali or Potana (*Chullakalihga Jataka* No. 301 ; *Assaka J.* (£67) ; D. 2. 235 ; *PariHshtaparvan*, I. 92. *nagare Potanabhidhe. Bomb Gap.* I. 1. 535 ; Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, 74; Mbh. 1. 177. 47; cf. pedana of Liiders' List, 616, and N. G. Majumder's List, 658 (*Monuments*, p. 365—*Visakhasa Pada(in)yasa*). Dr. Sukthankar points out that the Paudanya of printed editions of the *Mahabharata* is a late corruption. The older Mss. name as potana or Podana. This name reminds one of Bodhan in the ! f i | l dominions which lies to the south of the confluence of the Manjira and-nieGodavarl. The city of Podana is said to have been founded by a prince of the Ikshvaku family, who is the eponymous hero of the land of Asmaka. The neighbouring people of Mulaka also claimed Ikshvaku descent (*Vayu*, 88. 177-178).

6 VIII. 14.

0, P. 90—12

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Satvats : "daksImasyam disi ye he clha Satvatam rajano Bliaujyayaiva te'bhishichyante Bhoj-etye-nan-abhi8hikt(in<' achahshata—" "in the southern region whatever kings there are of the Satvats, they are anointed for *Bhaujya* ; '0 Bhoja' they style them when consecrated (in accordance with the action of the deities)." In the *fiatapatha Bralmana* ¹ the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an *Asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice are referred to. These Satvats must have been living near Bharata's realm, i.e., near the Ganges and the Yamuna.² But in the time of the *Aitareya Bralmana* they probably moved farther to the south. They are placed in the southern region (*dakshina dis*) beyond the "fixed middle region"—the land of the Kurus, Panchalas and some neighbouring tribes. The Panchala realm, according to epic testimony, extended as far south as the Chambal.³ The Satvat people of the "southern regiop" mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, therefore, in all probability, lived beyond that river. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brahmanic statements, accords with Puranic evidence. It is stated in the *Puranas* that the Satvat(a)s and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family which dwelt at Mathura on the banks of the Yamuna.⁴ We are further told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha.⁶ We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and the last-iiienfioned territory. A place called Bhojakata, is included

1 XIII. 5. 4. 21.

2 *ibid*, XIII, 5. 4. 11.

3. Mbh., I. 138. 74; *Dakshinanchai Pahchalan yavach Chartnanvati nad.*

4 *Matsya*, 43. 48 ; 44, 46-48 ; *Vayu*, 94. 52 ; 95, 18 / 96. 1-2 ; *Vishnu* IV. 13.1-6.

5 *Mat.*, 44. 36 ; *Vayu*, 93, 35-36,

within Vidarbha both by the *Mahabhwata*¹ and the *Marivamsa*.* The Chammak grant of the Vakataka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojafcata territory included the Ilichpur district in Berar, a part of ancient Vidarbha.³ As pointed out by Dr. Smith, the name of Bhojakata, 'castle of the Bhojas/ implies that the province was named after a stronghold formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Asoka.⁴ Kalidasa in his *Baghuvamsa*⁵ calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja.⁶

But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The *Aitareya Brahmana* refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled **Daqdaka**. A passage in the *Kautillya Arthasastra*⁷ runs thus :—

"*Dandahyo nama Bhojah kamat Brahman a-lcany am abhimanyammicbs sabandhw-rashtro vinanma*"—a Bhoja known as Dandakya, or king of Dandaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brahmana girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the *Sarabhabha Jataka*⁸ that the kingdom of Dandaki (Dandaka) had its capital at Kumbhavatl. According to the *Ramayana*⁹ the name of the metropolis was Madhumanta, while the *Mahavastu*¹⁰ places it at G-ovardhana (Nasik).

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were, in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the treatises called Brahmanas, many kingdoms in the south, both

'1 V. 157. 15-16.

2 *Vishnu parva*, 60. 32.

3 *JRAS.* 1914, p. 329.

4 In *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, 262-26J, Bhojakata is identified with Bhat-kuli in the Amraoti district.

5 V. 39-40.

6 Cf. also Mbh., V. 48. 74 ; 157.17 ; *Harivamsa*, *Vishnu parva*, 47, 5.

7 *Ed.* 1919, p. 11.

8 No. 522.

9 VII. 92. 18.

10 *Senart's Edition*, p. 363.

Aryan and non-Aryan, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Dandaka, as well as Asmaja and Kalinga. With the exception of *tyem* organised states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (*dasyu*) tribes such as the Andhras, Savaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mutibas.¹

In the opinion of Dr. Smith the **Andhras** were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna. Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godavari and Krishna valleys.² Dr. Bhandarkar points out that the *Serivanij Jataka* places Andhapura, *i.e.*, the *pura* or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavaha which he identifies with the modern Tel or Telingiri.³ But if "Seri" or *Sri-rajya*⁴ refers to the Ganga kingdom of Mysore, Telavaha may have been another name of the Tungabhadra-Krishna, and Andhapura identical with Bezvada or some neighbouring city.⁵ The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava ruler Sivaskanda-varman prove that the Andhra country (*Andhrapatha*) embraced the lower valley of the Krishna and had its centre at Dhannakada *i.e.*, Bezvada, or some neighbouring city on the south bank of the

1 *Ait. B.* . 18.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, pp. 276-78.

3 *Ind. Ant.* 1918. p. 71. There is also a river called "Ter" in South India. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII. 29.

4 *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions.* §8. 'Seri' may also refer to Sri Vijaya or Sri Vishaya (Sumatra ?). -

5 The name Telavaha, oil-carrier, reminds one of the passages '*vikhyata Krishna-verna (=Krishna) taila-snehopalabdha saralatva*' (*IA*, VIII. 17, cf. *Ep.* XII. 153.)—"with a smoothness caused by sesame oil of the famous (river) Krishna,

Krishna.¹ Yuan Chwang applies the natee An-to-lo (fAndhra) to the district round Ping-ki-lo (Venglpura) near Ellore. In later times the *Andhra-Khmida* extended ivom the Godavari to the borders of Kalifiga (*arabhya Gautamanaditam aKalihgam*) and included fHthapuri (Pithapuram)².

The **Savaras** and the Pulindas are described in the *Matsya* and the *Vayu Puranas* as *Dalcshina-patha-vasinah*, inhabitants of the Deccan, together with the Vaidarbhas and the Dandakas :

Tesham pare janapada Dakshiiia-patha-vasinah
* * * *

*Karashascha saha-Ishllca Atavydh Savaras tatha
Pnlinda Vindhya-Pnshika (?) Vaidarbha Dandahaih saha*
Abhlrah saha cha-Ishlkah Atavyah Savarascha ye
Pnlinda Vindhya-Mulilca Vaidarbha Dandahaik saha.*⁴

The *Mahahharata* also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Savaras in the Deccan :

*Dalcshina-patha-janmanah sarve naravar-Andhralcah
Guhah Pidindah Savaras Qlmchnka Madvalcaik (?) saha*⁵

The precise position and extent of the country of the Savaras in the Brahmana period cannot be shown. They are usually identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the

1 Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. VI. 85) identified the city with Amaravati, Burgess suggested Dharanikota which lies about 18 miles to the westward from Bezvada, on the right bank of the Krishna. Fergusson, Sewell and Watters prefer Bezvada itself (Yuan Chwang, II. 216). In the days of the great Chinese pilgrim *An-to-lo* (Andhra) had its capital at *Ping-ki-lo* or *Vehglpura* in the Krishna district.

2 Watters ; II. / 4, xx, 93 ; Ep, Ind. IV. 357.

3 *Matsya*. 114. 46-48.

4 *Vayu*, 45, 126.

5 *Mbh.*, XII. 207. 42.

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Savaralu, or Sauras of the Vizagapatam Hills, and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory.¹

The capital of the **Pulindas** (Pulinda-nagara) probably lay to the south-east of the Dasarnas² who dwelt on the river Dasan (Dhasan) in Bundelkhand.⁸

The location of the territory of the **Mutibas**, another *Dasyu* tribe mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana* along with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Savaras, is not so certain. Pliny refers to a tribe called "Modubae," and places them along with other peoples between the "Modogalingae," who inhabited a very large island in the Ganges and the *Andwa* (Andhras).⁴ The Modubae are associated with the Molindae and the Uberae, perhaps corresponding to the Pulindas and the Savaras of the *Aitareya Brahmana*. In the *Sahkhayano Sruta Sutra*⁵ the Mufcibas are called Milvipa or Muchi'^a. It is not altogether improbable that the last name is connected with that of the river Musi in the Deccan on which Hyderabad now stands.⁶

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1879, p. 282 ; Cunn. *AGI*, new ed., pp. 583, 586 ; *The Imp. Gas. The Indian Empire*. I, 384. Savaras are also found in the south-east portion of the district of Raipur (JASB, 1890, 289), in Sambalpur and Ganjam (*ibid* 1891, 33), the western part of the Cuttack district as well as the north-western portion of Vizagapatam (*ibid* 1897, 321).

2 *Mbh.*, II. 5-10.

3 JASB. 1895, 253 ; Kalidasa places them in the Vidisa or Bhilsa region (*Meghaduta*, 24-25).

4 M'Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 139-140.

5 XV. 26.6,

6 cf. Musbikas, Pargiter, *Markandeya Pur ana*, p. 366.

CHAPTER III. MAHAJANAPADAS AND KINGSHIP

SECTION I. THE SIXTEEN MAHAJANAPADAS.

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political conditions of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy, probably early in the sixth century B. C., to the rise of Kosala under Mahakosala, the father-in-law of Bimbisara, about the middle of that century. But we learn from the Buddhist *Ahuttara Nilcaya* that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the "*Solasa Mahajanapada*"¹ These states were :—

1. Kasi	9. Kuru
2. Kosala	10. Panchala
3. Anga	11. Machchha (Matsya)
4. Magadha	12. Surasena
5. Vajji (Vriji)	13. Assaka (Asmaka)
6. Malla	14. Avanti
7. Chetiya (Chedi)	15. Gandhara
8. Varhsha (Vatsa)	16. Kamboja

These *Mahajanapadas* flourished together during a period posterior to Karala-Janaka but anterior to Mahakosala, because one of them, Vajji, apparently rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely, Kasi, lost its independence before the time of Mahakosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan empire in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina *Bhagavati Sutra*² gives a slightly different list of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* :

1 P. T. S. I, 213 ; IV, 252, 256, 260. The *Mahavastu* (I. 34) gives a similar list, but omits Gandhara and Kamboja, substituting in their place sibi and Dasrma in the Punjab (or Rajputana) and Central India respectively. A less complete list is found in the *Jana-vasabha-suttanta*.

2 *Saya* xv *Uddessa I* (Hoernle, the *Uvasagadasao*, II, Appendix) ; W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie Der Inder*, 225.

1. Anga	9. Padha (Pandya or Paundra)
2. Banga (Vanga)	10. Ladha (Lata or Radha)
3. Magaha (Magadha)	11. Bajji (Vajji)
4. Malaya	12. Moll (Malla)
5. Malava (ka)	13. Kasi (Kasi)
6. Achchha	14. Kosala
7. Vachchha (Vatsa)	15. Avaha
8. Kochchha (Kachchha ?)	16. Sambhuttara (Sumhottara ?)

It will be seen that Anga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kasi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Malava of the *Bhagavatī* is probably identical with Avanti of the *Ahuttam*. Moll is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the *Bhagavatī* are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the *Bhagavatī* clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist *Anguttara*.¹ We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka.

Of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* Kasi was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kasi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several *Jatahas* bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The *Outtūa Jataha*² says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues³ whereas

1 Mr. E.J. Thomas suggests (*History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 6) that the Jaina author who makes no mention of the northern Kambojas and Gandhās but includes several south Indian peoples in his list* "wrote in South India and compiled his list from countries that he knew." If the writer was really ignorant of the northern peoples his Malavas could not have been in the Panjab and must be located in Central India. In that case his account can hardly be assigned to a very early date.

2 No. 243.

3 " *Dvadasa-yojanikam sakala-Baranasi-nagaratn "Sambhava Jataka*, No. 915 ; *Sarcbha-tiga*, 483 ; *Bhuridatta J.*, 543.

Mithila and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.¹ Several Kasi monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of the chief king of all kings (*sabbarajunam aggaraja*), and lord of the whole of India (*sakala-Jambudipa*)}. The *Mahavagga* also mentions the fact that Kasi was in former times a great and prosperous realm, possessed of immense resources :

"*Bhrdappubbam bhikkhave Baranasiyam Brahmadatto nama Kasiraja ahosi addho mahaddhano mahabhogo mabadbalo mahavahano mahavijito paripuiiikosa-kotthagattho*"

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kasi, and represent Asvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their *Tirthahkara* Parsva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahavira, i.e., in or about 777 B.C.

Already in the *Brahman a* period a king of Kasi, named Dhritarashtra, attempted to offer a horse-sacrifice, but was vanquished by Satanika Satrajita with the result that the Kasis down to the time of the *fiatapatha BraJmana*, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.⁴ Some of the other Kasi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the *Brahachatta Jataka*⁵ a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Savatthi and took the king prisoner. The *Koaambli Jataka** the *Kimala Jataka*,⁷ and the "*Mahavagga*"⁸ refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala

1 *SuruchiJ.*, 489 ; *Vidhurapandita J.*, 545.

2 *Bhaddasala Jataka*, 465; *Dhonasahha Jataka*, 353.

3 *Mahavagga*, X. 2. 3; *Vinaya Pitakam*, I, 342.

4 *Sat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4.19.

5 No. 336.

6 No. 428.

7 No. 536.

8 *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 294-99.

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by the Brahmadattas of Kasi.¹ The *Assaka Jataka*² refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka on the G-odavari, as a city of the kingdom of Kasi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kasi. In the *Sona-Nanda Jataka*³ Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Anga and Magadha. In the *Mahabharata*⁴ Pratardana, king of Kasi, is said to have crushed the power of the Vitahavyas or Haihayas.⁵ In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the *Jatakas* and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many *Jatakas* and the *Mahavagga* clearly proves that Kasi was at one time a great, almost an imperial power, stronger than many of its neighbours including Kosala.

We learn from the *Bhojjaniya Jataka*⁶ that "all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares.⁷ Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediaeval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

1 The reference in the *Mahabharata* (I. 105. 47. ff; 106.2,13; 113.43; 114. 3f;126, 16; 127, 24) to Kasi princesses, the mothers of Dhritarashtra and Pandu, as Kausalya, possibly points to the traditional union of the two realms of Kasi and Kosala in the period when the epic was compiled. The expression Kasi-Kausalya already occurs in the *Gopatha Brahmana* (*Vedic Index*. I. 195).

2 NO. 207.

3 No. 532.

4 XIII. 30.

5 Dr. Bhandarkar points out that several KSi monarchs, who figure in the *Jatakas*, are also mentioned in the *Puranas*, e.g., Vissasena of *Jataka* No. 268 Udaya of *Jataka* No. 458, and Bhallatiya of *Jataka* No. 504 are mentioned in the *Puranas* as Vishvak-sena, Udayak-sena and Bhallata. *Matsya*, 49.57 *et seq.* *Vayu*. 99.180 *et seq.*; *Vishnu*, IV. 19. 13.

6 No. 23.

7 *Jataka*, 181,

The kingdom of Kosala, as we have seen, was bounded on the west by the Gumti, on the south by the Sarpika or Syandika (Sai) river,¹ on the east by the Sadamra which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepal hills. It included the territory of the Kalamas of Kesaputta,² possibly on the Gumti, and that of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Tarai. In the *Sittā Nipata*³ the Buddha says, "Just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala."⁴ They are Adichchas* by family, Sakiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures." The *Majjhima Nīcaya*⁶ too, mentions the Buddha as a Kosalan :

"Bhagava pi Kosalako aham pi Kosalako,"

The political subjection of the Sakyas to the king of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. is clear from the evidence of the *AggaTtTia Huttanta*⁷ and the introductory portion of the *Bloaddannla Jititaha*.*

Kosala proper contained three great cities, namely, Ayodhya, Saketa and Savatthi or Sravasti, besides a number of minor towns like Setavya⁹ and Ukkattha.¹⁰ Ayodhya (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayu now

1 Ram, I I . 49.11-12 ; 50. 1 ; V I I . 104. 15.

2 *Ahguttara Nikaya*, I. 188 (PTS) ; /C. I I . 808. In the *Qig-Veda*, V, 61, the DjtIbhyas, a family or clan closely connected with the Kesins (who possibly gave their name to Kesaputta), are placed on the Gumti.

3 S. B. E., X, Part I I , 68-69.

4 *Kosalesu niketino*. As pointed out by Rhys Davids and Stede, *Niketin* means 'having an abode,' 'being housed,' 'living in,' cf. J. I I I , 432—*dutnasakha-niketinl*.

5 Belonging to the Aditya (Solar) race (cf. Luders, Ins., 929 i).

6 11.124.

7 *Dlgha Nikaya*, I I I (P.T.S.), 83 ; *Dialogues* I I L 80.

8 No. 465 ; Fausboll, IV. 145.

9 *Payasi Suttanta*,

10 *Ambattha Sutta*.

included in the Fyzabad district. Saketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhya, but Professor Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like Lorida and Westminster.¹ Savatthi is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Achiravati or Rapti called Sahet-Mahet, which is situated on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.²

In the *liamayana* and in the; *Pitrana*s the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvaku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Kusinara,³ at Mithila⁴ and at Visala or Vaisali.⁶ A prince named Ikshvaku is mentioned in a passage of the *Big-Veda*.⁶ In the *Atharva-Veda*⁷ either this king, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero. The *Paraiias* give lists of kings of the *Aikshvaka* dynasty from Ikshvaku himself to Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisara. The names of many of these kings are found in the Vedic literature. For example :—

Mandhatri Yuvanastva⁸ is mentioned in the *Gopatha Brahmana*.⁹ Purukutsa¹⁰ is referred to in the *Rig-Veda*.¹¹

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

2 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 1924, p. 469 ; Smith, E. H. I, 3rd ed. p. 159. The royal palace at Savasthi overlooked the Achiravati (DPPN.II. 170n).

3 The *Kuha Jataka*, No, 531. The *Mahavastu* (III. 1) places ah Ikshvaku king in Benares—*Abhushi Raja Ikshvaku VaranasyTith mahabalo*.

4 *Vdyu* P., 89, 3.

5 *Ramayana*, 1. 47. IM 2.

6 X.60. 4.

7 XIV. 39. 9.

8 *Vayu*, 88. 67.

9 I. 2. 10 *et seq*.

10 *Vayu*, 88. 72.

11 I, 63. 7; 112. 7. 14 ; 174. 2, VI. 20. 10.

In the *Satapatha Brahmana*¹ he is styled an Aikshvaka.² Trasadasyu,³ too, finds mention in the *Rig-Veda*.⁴ Tryaruna⁵ is also mentioned in the same *Veda*? In the *Panchavimki Brahmana*⁷ he is called an Aikshvaka. Trisaiiku⁸ is referred to in the *Taittiriya Upanishad**

Harischandra¹⁰ figures in the *Aitareya Brahmana*^u and is styled Aikshvaka. Rohita, the son of Harischandra¹² is also alluded to in the same *Brahmana*.¹³ Bhagiratha¹⁴ figures prominently in the *Jaiminlya Upanishad Brahmana* under the slightly different name of Bhageratha¹⁵ and is called Aikshvaka and 'ElcaraV (sole ruler). Under the name of Bhajeratha he is probably referred to in the *Rig-Veda*¹⁶ itself. Ambarlsha¹⁷ is mentioned in the same *Veda*TM Rituparna¹⁹ finds mention in a Brahmaria-like passage of the *Baudhayana Sranta Sutra*.²⁰ Dasaratha and Rama²¹ bear names that are known to the *Rig-Veda*.²² But these personages and a few others mentioned above are not connected in the Vedic texts with the Ikshvaku family or with Kosala.

Hiranyanabha Kausalya,²³ is mentioned in the *Rasna Upanishad*, as a *rajaputra* or prince.²⁴ He is undoubtedly

1 xiii. 5.4.5.

2 Cf. reference to the *Pig-Veda*, IV, 42. 8 in this connection.

3 *Vayu*, 88. 74.

4 IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3, etc.

5 *Vayu*, 88, 77.

6 V. 27.

7 XIII. 3. 12.

8 *Vayu*, 88. 109.

9 I. 10. 1.

10 *Vayu*, 88. 117.

11 VII. 13. 16.

12 *Vayu*, 88. 119.

13 VII. 14.

14 *Vayu*, 88. 167.

15 IV. 6. Iff.

16 x. 60. 2.

17 *Vayu*, 88. 171.

18 I. 100. 17.

19 *Vayu*, 88. 173.

20 XVIII. 12 (Vol. II, p. 357).

21 *Vayu*, 88. 183-184.

22 I. 126. 4 ; X. 93. 14.

23 *Vayu*, 88. 207.

24 VI. 1. In the Jaim. Up. Br. II. 6. he (cf.

s9.

13) or

his son (&at. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 4). is styled a *maharaja*. Too much significance should not be attached to the designation *rajaputra* (as distinguished from *raja*). In the Mbh. V. 165. 18, Brihadvala is a *raja* of Kosala (Kausalya). In a later passage of the epic (XI. 25.10) the same ruler is referred to as *Kosalanatnadhipitim rajaputram Brihadbala*,

connected with Para Atnara (Ahlara), the Kosala-Videhan king, mentioned in a *gatha* (song) occurring in the *Satapatha Brahmana*¹ and the *Sahhhayana Srauta Sutra*? as well as a passage of *Jaiminlya Upanishad Brahmana*³ The *gatha* as quoted in the *Satapatha Brahmana* gives to Para the patronymic 'Hairanyanabha/ while the *Srauta Sutra* identifies Para with Hiranyanabha himself. It is difficult to say whether the original *gatha* extolling the deeds of Para Atnara (Ahlara) gave to that conqueror the name 'Hiranyanabha' or the patronymic 'Hairanyanabha.' The *Satapatha Brahmana* is the older of the two works mentioning the prince's exploits and is, therefore, more likely to preserve the original text than the *sutra*. According to the *Prasna Upanishad*, Hiranyanabha, the father, was a contemporary of Sukesha Bharadvaja,⁴ who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Asvalayana.⁵ If it be true, as seems probable, that Asvalayana of Kosala is identical with Assalayana of Savatthi mentioned in the *Majjhima Nihaya*⁶ as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B. C. Consequently Hiranyanabha, and his son, Hairanyanabha too, must have flourished in that century.

Some of the later princes of the Puranic list, *e. g.*, Sakya, Suddhodana, Siddhartha, Rahula and Prasenajit, are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The exact relations of Hiranyanabha (and Hairanyanabha) with Prasenajit, who also flourished in the sixth century B. C, are not known. The Puranic chroniclers make Hiranyanabha an ancestor of Prasenajit, but are not sure about his position in the dynastic list.⁷ Further they refer to

1 XIII. 5. 4. 4. *Atnarasya Parah putro'Svath tnedhyamabandhayat
Hairanyatiabha Kausalyo disah purna amamhata (iti).*

2 XVI. 9. 13.

3 II. 6.

4 VI. 1.

5 *Prasna*, I. 1.

6 II. 147 *etaeq.*

7 AIHT., 173.

Prasenajit as the son and successor of Rahula, and grandson of Siddhartha (Buddha). This is absurd, because Prasenajit was of the same age as the Buddha and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvaku line. The Tibetans represent him as the son of Brahmadatta.¹ It is clear that no unanimous tradition about the parentage of Prasenajit and the position of Hiranyanabha in the family tree has been preserved. Hiranyanabha, or preferably his son, performed an *Asvamedha* sacrifice and was apparently a great conqueror. Is this ruler identical with the "Great Kosalan" (Mahakosala) of Buddhist tradition? If he really flourished in the sixth century B.C., he may have been identical with 'Mahakosala,' of Buddhist texts.

Pargiter admits that several Puranic passages make Hiranyanabha (and therefore also his son) one of the "future" kings after the Bharata battle.² He was the only prince of antiquity who is styled in the Vedic literature both a Kausalya and a Vaideha. That description admirably fits Mahakosala whose daughter, the mother of Ajatasatru according to Buddhist tradition, is called Kosaladevi as well as Vedehi (Vaidehi).

A word may be added here regarding the value of the Puranic lists. No doubt they contain names of some real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects, defects which are apt to be forgotten by writers who make these the basis of early Indian chronology.

(1) Ikshvakuids of different branches and perhaps princes of other tribes e.g., Trasadasyu, king of the Pilrus,³ Rituparna, king of Saphala,⁴ Sudhodana of

1 *Essay on Gunadhya*, p. 773.

2 AIHT, 173.

3 *Big-Veda*, IV. 38. 1 ; VII. 19. 3.

4 *Baud. krautra Sutra*, XVIII. 12 (Vol. II, p. 357) ; *Apas. Sr. Sutra*, XXI. 20. 3. Rituparna is, however, not distinctly called an Aikshvaka/ But from the rarity of the name it is possible to surmise that the epic and Puranic king of that designation is meant.

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Kapilavastu and Praeenajit, kinj of Sravasti, have been mixed up in such a way as to **leave** the impression **that** they formed a continuous line of monarohs who **ruled** in regular succession.

(2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, *e.g.*, Prasenajit, king of Sravasti, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhartha and Rahula, though he was actually a contemporary of Siddhartha, *i.e.*, the Buddha, and belonged to a separate line of the Ikshvakuids.

(3) Certain individuals have been omitted, *e.g.*, Vedhas (father, or ancestor of Harischandra), Para Atnara (unless he is identical with Hiranyanabha), and Mahakosala.

(4) Names in the list include Sakya, the designation of a clan, and Siddhartha (Buddha) who never ruled.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Puranic chronicles who actually ruled over Kosala. Some of the earlier princes *e.g.*, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Harischandra, Rohita, Rituparna and a few others, are omitted from the list of the kings of Ayodhya given in the *Ramayana*.¹ We gather from the Vedic literature that many, if not all, of these monarchs ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or princes in the Pnranic list who **are** known from the Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some outlying part of it, are Hiranyanabha,² Prasenajit and Suddhodana.

¹ 1.70.

² In the *Sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4, 4-5, Hairanyanabha is described as *Kausalya-raja*, but not as an Aikshvaka. On the other hand Purukutsa Daurgaha is styled *Aikshvaka-raja* but not as *Kausalya*, as if a distinction between *Kausalyas* and *Aikshvakas* is meant. The two terms need not refer to kings of the same dynasty ruling over exactly the same territory. As a matter of fact Trasadasyu is known to be a king of the Pur us. An Ikshvakuid styled Varshna, Connected with the Vrishnis (?), is mentioned *injaitn. Up. Br.* 1. 5. 4,

The Buddhist works mention a few other sovereigns of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Puranic accounts. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhya, others at Saketa, and the rest at Sravasti. Of the princes of Ayodhya, the *Ghata Jataka*¹ mentions Kalasena. A Kosalaraja reigning in Saketa is mentioned in the *Nandiyamiga Jataka*.² Vaiika, Mahakosala and many others³ had their capital at Savatthi or Sravasti. Ayodhya seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sakefca the next. The last capital was Sravasti. Ayodhya had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in the Buddha's time,⁴ but Saketa and Sravasti were included among the six great cities of India.⁵

The chronology of ancient Kosala is in a state of utmost confusion. If the *Puranas* are to be believed, a prince named Divakara occupied the throne of Ayodhya in the time of Adhisima-krishna, great-great-grandson of Parikshit. But, as has already been pointed out above, the princes who are mentioned as his successors did not form a continuous line of rulers who reigned over the same territory in regular succession. It is, therefore, a hopeless task to measure the distance separating him from the Buddha and his contemporary with the help of the traditional dynastic lists alone. It is also not known when the older capitals were abandoned in favour of Sravasti. But it must have been some time before the accession of Prasenajit, the contemporary of the Buddha, of Bimbisara, and of Udayana of Kausambi, supposed to be a descendant of Adhisima-krishna.

1 No. 454.

2 No. 385.

3 *E.g.*, the Kosalaraja of J. 75 ; Chatta (336); Sabbamitta (512) ; and Prasenajit.

4 *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

5 *Maha-paHnibbana Sutter*, S.B.E., XI, p. 99,

We learn from the *Mahavgga*¹ that during the period of the earlier Brahtnadattas of Kasi, Kosala was a poor and tiny state with slender resources : *Dtghlti ntimā Kosalaraja ahosi daliddo appadhano appadhogo appabalo apfiavahano appavijito aparipuniui-kosa-kotthagaro*.

In the sixth and fifth centuries B. C, however, Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kasi, and afterwards with-Magadha for the mastery of the upper Ganges valley. The history of these struggles is reserved for treatment in later sections. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

Anga was the country to the east of Magadha and west of the chieftains who dwelt in the Rajmahal Hills (*Parvatavasinah*). It was separated from Magadha (including Modagiri or Monghyr) by the river Champa, probably the modern Chandan.² The Anga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The *Vidhura Pandita Jataka*³ describes Rajagriha as a city of Anga. The *Santiparva* of the *Mahabharata*⁴ refers to an Anga king who sacrificed on Mount Vishnupada (probably at Gaya). The *Sabhaparva*⁵ mentions Anga and Vanga as forming one *Vishaya* or kingdom. The *Katha-sarit-sagara* says⁶ that Vitankapur,

1 S. B. E..XVII, p. 294.

2 According to Pargiter (JASB, 1897, 95) Aftga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, and also extended northwards up the river Kausiki 'or Kosl and included the western portion of the district of Purnea. For it was on that river that Kasyapa Vibhandaka had his hermitage. His son Rishyasriftga was beguiled by courtesans of Anga into a boat-and brought down the river to the capital. In Mbh. ii. 30. 20-22, however, Modagiri (Monghyr) and Kausiki-Kachchha had rulers who are distinguished from Karri a whose realm (Anga) clearly lay between the Magadhas and the Rajas styled *Parvatavasin*.

3 No. 545.

4 29, 35, JASB, 1897,94.

5 44. 9 ; cf V I. 18. 28. Ahgas and Prachyas.

6 25. 35; 26.115; 82. 3-16,

a city of the Angas, was situated on the shore of the sea. The imperial glory of Anga is doubtless reflected in the songs of the *Aitareya Brahmana*¹ which describe the 'world-conquest' (*Samantam sarvatah prithivlm jayan*) of one of its ancient kings in the course of which girls of aristocratic families (*ajhya-duhitri*) were brought as prizes from different climes.

Champa, the famous capital of Anga, stood at the confluence of the river of the same name² and the Ganges.³ Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhagalpur two villages, Champanagara and Champapura, which most probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas* and the *Harivamm* that the ancient name of Champa was Malini :⁴

*Ghampasya ta purl Champa
ya Malmy-abhavat pura.*

In the *Jatalca* stories the city is also called Kala-Champa. The *Maha-Janaha Jatalca*⁵ informs us that Champa was sixty leagues from Mithila. The same *Jatalca* refers to its gate, watch-tower, and Avails. Down to the time of Gautama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rajagriha, Sravasti, Saketa, Kausambi, and Benares.⁶ Champa was noted for its wealth and commerce, and traders sailed from it to Suvarna-bhumi in the Trans-Gangetic region for trading purposes.⁷ Hindu

1 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 22.

2 *Jataka* 506.

3 *Mbh.* iii, 84, 163 ; 307, 26 (*Gahgayah Sutavishayam Champamanu yayaupurlin*) ; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II. 181 ; *Dasakumara Charita*, II. 2.

4 *Matsya*, 48. 97 ; *Vayu*, 99. 105-06 ; *Hariv.*, 31. 49 ; *Mbh.*, XII. 5. 6-7 ; XIII. 42. 16.

5 No. 539.

6 *Maha-parinibbana Sutta*.

7 *Jataka*, 539, Fausboll's Ed., VI, p. 34.

emigrants to southern Annam and Cochin China are supposed to have named their settlement after this famous Indian city.¹ Other important cities in Anga were Assapura (Asvapiira) and Bhaddiya (Bhadrika).²

The earliest appearance of Anga is in the *Atharva-Veda*³ in connection with the Gandharis, Miljavats, and Magadhas. The *Bamayana* tells an absurd story about the origin of this *Janapada*. It is related in that epic that Madana or Anaiiga, the god of love, having incurred the displeasure of the God Siva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (*ahga*)" has since been known by the name of Anga.⁴ The *Mahabharata* and the *Purmas* attribute the foundation of the kingdom to a prince named Anga.⁵ The tradition may claim some antiquity as Anga Vairochana is included in the list of anointed kings in the *Aitareya Bralmana*⁶ The consecration of this ruler with the Aryan ritual styled the *Aindra mahabhishelca* causes some surprise as the *Bodhayana Dharma Sutra* groups the Angas with peoples

1 *Ind. Ant.*, VI. 229, Itsing, 58. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 35. Nundolal Dey, *Notes on Ancient Ahga*, JASB, 1914. For the Hindu colonisation of Champa, see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, pp. 137 ff, and R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*. The oldest Sanskrit inscription (that of Vo-can) dates, according to some scholars, from about the third century A. D. The inscription mentions a king of the family of Srt Mara-raja,

2 Malalasekera, *DPPN*, 16; *Dhammapada Cot\$pietary*, *Harvard Oriental Series*, 29. 59. Cf. Bhaddiya (Bhadrika or Bhadraka of Jaina writers). It is possibly represented by Bhadariya, 8 miles south of Bhagalpur (JASB, 1914, 337).

3 V. 22. 14.

4 JASB, 1914, p. 317; *Ram.*, I. 23. 14.

5 *Mbh.*, 1. 104. 53-54 ; *Matsya* p. 48. 19-

6 VIII. 22 ; cf. Pargiter, JASB, 1897, 97. In connection with the gifts of the Anga King mention is made of a place called Avachatnuka :

Dasanagasahasrani dattvatreyo' vachatnuka

irantah parikutan praispad danen- Angasya Brahmanah.

The epithet 'Vairochana' given to the Anga King reminds one of 'Vairochani' of the *Matsya P.*, 48, 58.

of mixed origin, and the *Mahabharata* brands an Anga prince who, by the way, is distinguished from **Karna**, and is described as skilful in handling elephants, as a *MlecJir clilm* or outlandish barbarian. In the *Matsya Purana* the father of the eponymous hero of the Angas is styled *Danavarshabhah* (chief among demons).¹

About the dynastic history of Anga our information is meagre. The *Mahagovinda Suttanta* refers to king Dhatarattha of Anga.² The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Graggara who gave her name to a famous lake in Champa. The *Piminas*³ give lists of the early kings of this country. One of these rulers, Dadhivahana, is known to Jaina tradition. The *Puranas* and the *Harivaihia*⁴ represent him as the son and immediate successor of Anga. Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B. C. His daughter Chandana or Chandrabala was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Malmvira had attained the *Eevaliship*.⁵ Satanika, king of the Vatsas of Kausambi, near Allahabad, is said to have attacked Champa, the capital of Dadhivahana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandana fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order.

Between the Vatsas and the realm of Anga lived the Magadhas, then a comparatively weak people. A great straggle was going on between this kingdom and its great

1 *Bodh. Dh. S.* 1.1. 29 ; *Mbh.* VIII. 22.18-19 ; *Mat. P.* 48. 60. Note also the connection of Angas with *Nishadas* in *Vayu*, 62, 107-23. The *Purana* describes the royal family as *Atrivamsasamutpanna*. In the *Aitareya Brahmana*, however, an *Streya* appears as the *priest* of the Anga King. For a discussion of the origin of the Angas and other kindred tribes, see. S. Levi *pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde*, I. A. Juillet-septembre, 1923.

2 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. 270.

3 *Matsya*, 48.91-108 ; *Vayu*, 99.100-112.

4 32.43.

5 *JASB*, 1914, pp. 320-21. For the story of Chandanavala see also *Ind. Culture*, II. pp. 682 ff.

eastern neighbour.¹ The *Vidhura Pandita Jataka*² describes Rajagriha, the Magadhan capital, as a city of Anga while the *Mahabharata* refers to a sacrifice which an Anga king probably performed at Gaya. These details may indicate that Aiiga succeeded in annexing Magadha. Its frontier thus approached the Vatsa Kingdom whose monarch's alarm may have been responsible for an attack on Champa. The Anga king preferred to have friendly relations with Kausambi, possibly because he was threatened by the reviving power of Magadha. Sri Harsha speaks of a ruler of Aiiga named Dridhavarman who gave his daughter in marriage to Udayana, son and successor of Satanika³ and secured his help in regaining his throne.

The success of Anga did not last long. About the middle of the sixth century B. C. Bimbisara Srenika, the Crown Prince of Magadha, is said to have killed Brahmadatta, the last independent ruler of Ancient Aiiga. He took Champa, the capital, and resided there as his father's Viceory.* Henceforth Anga becomes an integral part of the growing empire of Magadha.

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gaya districts of South Bihar. It seems to have been bounded on the north and the west by the rivers Ganges and the Sona, on the south by spurs of the Vindhyan range, and on the east by the river Champa which emptied itself into the Ganges near the Anga capital.⁵ Its earliest capital was Girivraja, the mountain-girt

1 *Champeyya Jataka*.

2 Cowell, VI. 133.

3 *Priyadarhika*, Act IV.

4 Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 163a (account" based on the Tibetan *Dulva*), JASB, 1914, 321.

5 *Mbh.* II. 20. 29 ; *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta* {*Dialogues* ii. 94) and DPPN, I, 331 which show that the Vriji frontier commenced from the northern bank of the Ganges as Ukkavela or Ukkachela, was included within the limits of that state ; *Champeyya Jataka* (506) ; *Fleet*, CII. 227 ; DPPN, 403. In the epic period the eastern boundary of Magadha proper may not have extended as far as the Champa river as Modagiri (Monghyr) finds mention as a separate state.

city,¹ or old Rajagriha, near Rajgir among the hills in the neighbourhood of Gaya. The *Mahavagga*² calls it "Giribbaja of the Magadhas" to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, e.g., Girivraja in Kekaya. The *Mahabharati* refers to it not only as Girivraja, but as Rajagriha,³ Barhadratha-pura⁴ and Magadha-pura,⁵ and says that it was an almost impregnable city, *puram dwadharsham samantatah*, being protected by five hills, viz. Vaihara, the grand *vock* (*Vipnlah .sailo*), Varaha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka⁶ with their compact bodies (*mlcshantlvabhisamhatya samhatahga Girivrajam*). From the *Bamayava* we learn that the city had another name, Vasumatl.⁷ The *Life of Einen Tsang* mentions still another name, Kusagra-pura.⁸ Indian Buddhist writers give a seventh name, Bimbasara-puri.⁹

In a passage of the *Rig-Veda*¹⁰ mention is made of a territory called Kikata ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yaska¹¹ declares that Kikata is the name

1 Broadley in JASB. 1872, 299. Girivraja was at one time identified with Giryek on the Panchana river about 36 miles north-east of Gaya, 6 miles east of Rajgir (Pargiter in JASB, 1897, 86).

2 S. B. E. XIII. 150.

3 Mbh. I. 113. 27 ; 204. 17 ; II, 21. 34 ; III. 84, 104.

4 II. 24. 44.

5 *Gorathath giritnasadya dadrisur Magadham puram*, II. 20. 30; 21. 13.

6 The names given in the Pali texts (DPPN, II. 721) are Pandava, Gijjhakuta, Vebhara, Isigili and Vepulla (or Vankaka). The Pali evidence may suggest that *Vipula* in the *Mbh.* verse is a name, and not an epithet. In that case Dr. J. Wenger suggests *Chaitykapanohakah* (five goodly *Chaityakas*) for *Qhaityakapanchama*. (with *Chaityaka* as the fifth). For a note by Keith see IHQ, 1939, 163-64,

7 I. 32. 8.

8 P. 113. Apparently named after an early Magadhan prince (*Vayu*, 99, 224 ; *AIHT*, 149).

9 Law, *Buddhaghosha*, 87 n.

10 III. 53.14.

11 *Nirukta*, VI, 32.

of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kikata is given as a synonym of Magadha.¹

Like Yaska the author of the *Brihad-dharma Pitrana* apparently regarded Kikata as an impure country which, however, included a few holy spots :—

*Kikate nama dese' sti Kaka-harnahhyako nripah
prajanam hitalcrinnityam Brahma-dveshalcarastatha
tatra dese Oaya nama pnnyadeso' sti visrutah
nadi cha Karnada nama pitrlnam svargadayinl²
Kihate cha mrityo' pyesha pupabhttau na samsayah**

It is clear from these verses that Kikata included the Gay a district, but the greater part of it was looked upon as an unholy region (*papabhumi*, doubtless corresponding to the *avarya-nivasa* of Yaska). Kaka-karna of line 1, may be the same as Kaka-varna of the Saisunaga family.

The name Magadha first appears in the *Atharva-Veda*⁴ where fever is wished away to the Gandharis, Mfijavats, Angas, and Magadhas. The bards of Mfgadha are, however, mentioned as early as the *Yajur-Veda** They are usually spoken of in the early Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the *Vratya* book of the *Atharva Samhita** the *Vratya* i.e., the Indian living outside the pale of Brahmanism, is brought into very special relation to *the pumschall*

1 *Klkateshu Gay a punya punyath Rajagriham vanam*

Chyavanasyasramath punyath nadl puny a punahpuna.

Of. *Vayu*, 108. 73 ; 105. 23. *Bhagavata Purana*, I. 3. 24 : *Buddho uamnanjana-sutah Kikateshu bhavishyati* : *ibid vii. 10.19*; *Srldhara "Klkateshu madhye Gaya-pradHe'." Abhidhana-chintamani, "Kikata Magadhahvayah."* For an epigraphic reference to Kikata see *Ep. Ind.* II. 222, where a prince of that name is connected with the Maurya family, Seejilso 'Kekateyaka' (*Monuments of Sanchi* I. 302)

2 *Madhya-Khandam*, XXVI. 20. 22.

3 XXVI, 47 ; cf. *Vayu* p. 78. 22 ; *Padma Patalakhandam*, XI. 45.

4 V. 22. 14.

5 *Vaj. Sam* XXX. 5; *Vedic Index*, II. 116. For the connection of the Magadhas with Magadha, see *Vayu* p. 62.147.

6 XV. ii. 5—*Sraddhapumtehant Mitro Magadho...etc* ; *Griffith* II. 186

(harlot) and the *Magadha*. "In the eastern region (*Prachyath disi*)" faith is his harlot, *Mitra* his *Magadha* (bard or panegyrist).¹ In the *Srauta Sutras* the equipment characteristic of the *Vratya* is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brahmanical community, to the so-called Brahmanas living in *Magadha*, *Brahmabandhu Magadha-deslya*? The Brahmanas of *Magadha* are here spoken of in a disparaging tone as *Brahmabandhu*.³ In the *Savkhayana Aranyaha*, however, the views of a *Magadha-vast* Brahmaria are quoted with respect. The Vedic dislike of the *Magadhas* in early times was due, according to Oldenberg⁴ to the fact that the *Magadhas* were not wholly Brahmanised. Pargitor suggests⁵ that in *Magadha* the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of *Pramaganda* no king of *Magadha* appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature. The earliest dynasty of *Magadha* according to the *Mahabharata*⁶ and the *Purelyas* is that founded by *Brihadratha*, the son of *Vasu Chaidya-Uparichara*, and the father of *Jarasandha*. *Ramayana*⁷ makes *Vasu* himself the founder of *Girivraja* or *Vasumati*. A *Brihadratha* is mentioned twice in the *Rig-Veda*? but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of *Jarasandha*. The *Puranas* give lists of the "Brihadratha kings" from *Jarasandha's* son *Sahadeva* to *Ripunjaya*, and apparently make *Senajit*, seventh in descent from *Sahadeva*, the

1 Cf. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 112.

2 *Vedic Index*, II, 116,

3 Note also the expression *rajanah kshatra-bandhavah* applied to *Magadhan kings* in the *Puranas* (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p, 22).

4 *Buddha*, 400 n.

5 *JASB*, 1897, 111 ; *J.R. A. S.*, 1908 pp. 851-53. *Bodh. Dh. Sutra*, I, i. 29 refers to *Angas* and *Magadhas* as *sahkirna-yonayah*, "of mixed origin".

6 1.63.30.

7 1.32,7.

8 1. 36. 18; X. 49.6.

contemporary of Adhisima-krishna of the Parikshita family and Divakara of the Ikshvaku line. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Puranic chronology and order of succession of the princes as authentic.¹ Brihadrathas and certain princes of Central India are said to have passed away when Pulika (Punika) placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti,² i.e., the Ujjain territory. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and as the Puranic passage, "*Brihadratheshvati-teshu Viti-hotreshv-Avantishn*", 'when the Brihadrathas, Viti-hotras and Avantis (or the Vti-hotras in Avanti) passed away,' suggests that the events alluded to here were synchronous, it is reasonable to conclude that the Brihadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth century B.C.

Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rajagriha named Samudra-vijaya and his son Gaya.³ Gaya is said to have reached perfection which had been taught by the

1 C/. *supra*, pp. 80 f, 104, discussion about later Vaideha and Kosalan kings. The number of 'the future Brihadrathas' is given as 16, 22 or 32, and the period of their rule, 723 or 1000 years (DKA, 17, 68). The last King Ripunjaya or Arinjaya (*ibid* 17 n 96) reminds one of Arindama of the Pali texts (*DPPN*, ii. 402).

2 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 18; c/., IHQ, 1930, p. 683. There is no reason to believe with the late authors of the *Katha-sarit-sagara* and certain corrupt passages of the *Puranas*, (IHQ. 1930, pp.679,691), that there was a Pradyota of Magadha distinct from Mahasena of Avanti who is called Pradyota by several earlier writers, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical. The use of the expression 'Avantishu' (DKA, 18) in the Puranic passage which refers to the dynastic revolution brought about by Pulika, the identity of the names of the Puranic family of Pradyota with those of the Avanti line of Mahasena, and the mention, in reference to Pradyota of the *Puranas*, of epithets like '*pranatasamanta*' and '**nayavarjita**' which remind one irresistibly of Chanda Pradyota Mahasena of Avanti as described in Buddhist literature, leave little room for doubt that the Pradyota of the *Puranas* and Pradyota of Avanti cannot be regarded as distinct entities.

3 S. B. E. XLV. 86. A King named Gaya is mentioned in *Mbh*, vii, 64, But foe is described there as a son of Amurtarayas,

Jinas. But little reliance can be placed on uncorroborated assertions of this character.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the less corrupt texts of the Puranas, was the Saisunaga line which is said to have been founded by a king named Sisunaga. Bimbisara, the contemporary of the Buddha, is assigned to this family. Asvaghosha, an earlier authority,¹ refers however, in his *Buddha-charita*,² to Srenya i.e., Bimbisara, as a scion, not of the Saisunaga dynasty, but of the **Haryaftka-kula**, and the *Mahavamsa* makes 'Susunaga* i.e., Sisunaga, the founder of a distinct line of rulers which succeeded that of Bimbisara. The *Puranas* themselves relate that Sisunaga "will take away the glory of the Pradyotas" whom we know from other sources to be contemporaries of the Bimbisarids :—

*Ashta-trimsachchhatani bhavyah
Pradyotdh pancha te sutah
hatva tesham yasah kritsnam
Sisunago bhavishyati.*³

If this statement be true, then Sisunaga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chanda Pradyota Mahasena, who was, judged by the evidence of the Pali texts, which is *confirmed* in important details by the ancient Sanskrit poets and dramatists,⁴ a contemporary of Bimbisara and his son. It follows that Sisunaga, according to the last-mentioned authorities, must be *later than* those kings. But we have seen above that the Puranas make Sisunaga *an ancestor* of Bimbisara and the progenitor of *his* family. This part of the Puranic

1 Asvaghosha was a contemporary of Kanishka (C. 100 A. D.) (Winternitz, *Ind. Lit.* I I . 257). On the other hand the Puranic chronicles pre-suppose Gupta rule in the Ganges Valley (*DKA*, 53). C. 320 A. D.

2 XL 2.

3 *Vayu Parana*, 99, 314.

4 *Indian culture*, VI, 411,

account is not corroborated by independent external evidence.¹ The inclusion of Varanasi and Vaisali within Sisunaga's dominions² proves that he came after Bimbisara and Ajatasatru who were the first to establish Magadhan rule in those regions. The *Malalahhamvatthii*, a Pali work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, tells us that Sisunaga had a royal residence at Vaisali which ultimately became his capital.³ "That monarch (Sisunaga) not unmindful of his mother's origin⁴ re-established the city of Vesali (Vaisali), and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rajagriha lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered. The last statement indicates that Sisunaga came after the palmy days of Rajagriha, i.e., the period of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. It may be argued that the Puranas make Gririvraja, and not Vaisali, the abode of Sisunaga (*Vdrdnasyam siitam sthapyā iraywhyati Girivrajam*); and as Udayin, son of Ajatasatru was the first to transfer the capital from that stronghold to the newly founded city of Pataliputra, Sisunaga's residence in the older capital points to a date earlier than that of the founder of the more famous metropolis. But the fact that Kalsoka, son and successor of Sisunaga, is known to have ruled in Pataliputra shows that he came *after* Udayin,

1 We may go even further and characterise certain statements of the Puranic bards as self-contradictory. Thus (a) Prodyota is said to have been anointed when the Vitihotras *had passed away*, (b) Sisunaga destroyed the prestige of the Pradyotas and became king, *and yet* (c) contemporaneously with *these Saisunaga kings* 20 Vitihotras (and other lines) are said to have endured *the same time*.

ete sarve bhavishyanti

ekakalam mahlkshitah (DKA 24).

2 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 21 ; S. B. E., XI, p. xvi.

3 If the *Dvatrimiat-Puttalika* is to be believed, Vaisali continued to be graced by the presence of the king till the time of the Nandas.

4 Sisunaga, according to the *Mahavamsatika* (Tumour, *Mahawamsa*, xxxvii), was the son of a Lichchhavi *raja* of Vaisali. He was conceived by a *nagara-sobhint* and brought up by an officer of state.

the founder of that city. The **further fact of removal of capital in** his reign too—which must be regarded as a second transfer¹—shows that his predecessor had reverted to the older stronghold apparently as a place of refuge. The event alluded to in the words "*Srayishyati*" *Girivrajam* need not necessarily imply that Girivraja continued to be the capital uninterruptedly till the days of Sisunaga.

The origin of the Haryatika line, to which Bimbisara belonged according to AsVaghosa, is wrapped up in obscurity. There is no cogent reason why this dynastic designation should be connected with Ilaryanga of Champa mentioned in the *Harivamiti*² and the Puranas. *Haryahkahula* may simply be an expression like "*aidilcara-lauehhana idma vaihm*" of a Mandasor Inscription, pointing to the distinctive mark or emblem of the family.³ Bimbisara was not the founder of the line. The *Mahammsa* states that he was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old.⁴ He avenged a defeat of his father⁵ by the Arigas and launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Asoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga.

1 SBE, XI, p. xvi.

2 31, 49 ; *Vayu*, 99, 108 ; J. C. Ghosh in ABORI, 1938(xix), pp. i. 82.

3 Hari has the sense of 'yellow', 'horse', 'lion', 'snake', etc.

4 Geiger's translation, p. 12. This disposes of the view of Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar (*Carm. Lee*, 1918) who makes Bimbisara the founder of his dynasty and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis.

5 Tumour, N. L. Dey and others mention Bhatiya or Bhattiya as the name of **the** father. The Tibetans, on the other hand, call him *Mahapadma*. Tumour, *Mahawamha*, I. p. 10; J.A. S. B., 1872, 1298 ; 1914, 321 ; *Essay on Gunadhya*, p. 173. The *Puranas* name Hemajit, Kshemajit, Kshetroja or Kshatrauja as **the** father of Bimbisara. If the Puranic account is correct Bhatiya or Bhatjiya **may have** been a secondary name or epithet comparable to the names 'Seniya' and 'Kuniya' of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru respectively. But it is not safe to rely on an uncorroborated statement of the *Puranas*, particularly when there is hardly **any** unanimity with **regard to the form of the name**.

The **Vajji** (Vriji) territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west the river Gandak possibly separated it from the Mallas and perhaps also the Kosalas. Eastwards, it may have approached the forests that skirted the river Kosi and the Mahananda. It is said to have included eight confederate clans (*atthahula*), of whom the old *Videhas*, the *Lichchhavis*, the *Jnatrikas* and the *Vrijis* proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted that in a passage of the *Sutmlciitahga*, the *Ugras*, the *Bhogas*, the *Aikshvalcas* and the *Kauravas* are associated with the *Jnatris* and the *Lichchhavis* as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly.¹ The *Ahguttara Nikaya*,² too, refers to the close connection of the *Ugras* with *Vaisali*, the capital of the *Vrijian* confederation.

The old territory of the **Videhas** had, as already stated in an earlier section, its capital at Mithila which has been identified with Janakpur within the Nepal border. The *Ramayana* clearly distinguishes it from the region round *Vaisali*.³ But in Buddhist and Jaina texts the distinction is not always maintained and *Videha* is used in a wide sense to include the last-mentioned area.⁴

The **Lichchhavi** capital was definitely at *Vaisali* which is represented by modern *Besarh* (to the east of the *Gandak*) in the *Muzaffarpur* district of *Bihar*. It is

1 S. B. E., XLV, 339. Cf. Hoernle, *Uvasaga-dasao*, I I . p, 138, fn. 304.

2 I. 26 ; III. 49 ; IV. 208.

3 *Ram.* I. 47-48.

4 The *Acharahga Sutra* (II. 15, § 17; S. B. E., XXII, Intro.) for instance places the *Sathnivesa* of *Kundagrama* near *Vaisali* in *Videha*. The mothers of *Mahavira* and *Ajatasatru* are called *Videha-datta* and *Vedehl* (*Vaidehl*) respectively.

probably identical with the charming city called Visala in the epic.¹

Visalam nagarim ramyaih divyam svargopamam tada.

We learn from the introductory portion of the *Ekapanna Jatalca*² that a triple wall encompassed the town, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The Lichchhavi territory may have extended northwards as far as Nepal where we find them in the seventh century A.D.

The **Jnatrikas** were the clan of Siddhartha and his son Mahavira, the *Jina*. They had their seats at Kundapura or Kundagrama and Kollaga, suburbs of Vaisali. In the *Maha-parinibbana Suttanta** however, the abode of the "Nadikas" (identified by Jacobi with the Natikas or Jnatrikas)⁴ is distinguished from Kotigama (Kundagrama?). Though dwelling in suburban areas Mahavira and his fellow clansmen were known as "Vesali," i.e., inhabitants of Vaisali.⁵

The **Vrijis** proper are already mentioned by Panini.⁶ Kautilya⁷ distinguishes them from the 'Lichchhivikas'. Yuan Chwang⁸ too, draws a distinction between the *Fu-li-chih* (Vriji) country and *Fei-she-li* (Vaisali). It seems that Vriji was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of its constituent clans. But the Vrijis, like the Lichchhavis, are often associated with the city of Vaisali (including its suburbs) which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, but

1 *Ram. Adi*, 45. 10.

2 No. 149.

6 IV. 2. 131.

7 *Arthashastra*, Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378.

8 Watters, II, 81. Cf. also *DPPN*, II. 814 ; *Gradual sayings*, III. 62 ; IV. 10.

3 Ch. 2.

4 S. B. E, XXII, Intro.

5 Hoernle *Uvasaga-detsao*, I I, p. 4 n,

Accordindg to Smith (Watters, I I. 340) the Vriji country is roughly equivalent to the northern part of the Darbhanga district and the adjacent Nepalese Tarai.

also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.¹ A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill² mentions the city proper as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining peoples of the confederacy viz. the **Ugras**, **Bhogas**, **Kauravas**, and **Aikshvakas**, resided in suburbs, and in villages or towns like Hatthigama, Bhoganagara etc.³

We have seen that during the Brahmana period Videlui (Mithila) had a monarchical constitution. The *llamayava*⁴, and the *Punwas*⁶ state that *Visala*, too, was at first ruled by "kings." The founder of the Vaisalika dynasty is said to have been *Visala*, a son of *Ikshvaku* according to the *Ramayanii*) a descendant of *Nabhaga* the brother of *Ikshvaku*, according to the *Punmas*. *Visala* is said to have given his name to the city. After him came *Hemachandra*, *Suchandra*, *Dhumrasva*, *Srinjaya*, *Sahadeva*, *Kusasva*, *Somadatta*, *Kakutstha* and *Sumati*. We do not know how many of these Vaisalika "kings" (*nripas*) can be accepted as historical and

1 Cf. *Majjhima Nikaya*, II, 101 : *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, (*Samyutta Nikaya*), by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 257.—"A certain brother of the Vajjian clan was once staying near Vesall in a certain forest tract".

2 *Life of Buddha*, p. 62.

3 For the *Ugras* and *Bhogas* see Hoernle, *Uvasaga-dasao*, II, p. 139 (§ 210) ; *Brih. Up.* III. 8. 2 ; S. 13. E., XLV, 71n. In the *Ahuttara Nikaya*, 1. 26 (*Nipata* I. 14. 6), the **Ugrat** are associated with *Vaisali* (*Ugga gahapati Vesaliko*), and in IV. 212 with *Hatthigama*. A city of *Ugga* is mentioned in the *Dhattna-pada commentary*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 30, 184. Hoernle refers (*Uvasaga-dasao*, II, App. III, 57) to a place called *Bhoganagara*, or 'City of the **Bhogas**'. The *Maha-parinibbana Suttanta* mentions *Bhandgama*, *Hatthigama*, *Ambagama*, *Jambugama* and *Bhoganagara* on the way from *Vaisali* to *PSva* (*Digha*, II, 122-26). Cf. also *Sutta Nipata*, 194. The association of a body of **Kauravat** with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. *Kuru Brahmanas*, e. g., *Ushasti Chakrayana* had begun to settle in the capital of *Videha* long before the rise of Buddhism. For the **Aikthv&kat** of *Vaisali*, see *Ram*, 1.47, 11.

4 1.47. **IK 11**

5 *Vayu*, 86. 16-22 ; *Vishnu*, IV. 1. 18.

as having actually ruled as *monarchs* in North Bihar. A king named Sahadeva Sarnjaya is mentioned in the *Slatapatha Brahmana*.¹ In the *Aitareya Brahmana*² he is mentioned with Somaka Sahadevyā. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaisali in the Vedic literature. The *Mahabharata* speaks of a Sahadeva (son of Srinijaya) as sacrificing on the Jumna,³ and not on the Gandak. The presence of Ikshvakuids as a constituent element of the Vriji confederacy, which had its metropolis at Vaisali, is, however, as already stated, suggested by the *Sutrahritahga*.

The Vriji confederation must have been organised after the decline and fall of the royal houses of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the developments in the ancient cities of Greece where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics. The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury : "In some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king ; in other cases if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority ; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta ; of its survival as a mere magistracy, in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

1 II. 4. 4. 3-4.

2 VII. 34. 9.

3 *Mbh.* III. 90. 7, with commentary.

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic in Mithila has already been stated. Regarding the change at Visala we know nothing.

Several scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vrijian confederacy (*Vajjirattavasi hi pasattha*)¹, were of foreign origin. According to Smith they had Tibetan affinities. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead, *vk.*, exposing them to be devoured by wild beasts.² Pandit S. C. Vidyabhushana held that the name Lichchhavi (Nichchhivi of Manu) was derived from the Persian city of Nisibis.³ The inadequacy of the evidence on which these surmises rest has been demonstrated by several writers.⁴ Early Indian tradition is unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we read in the *Maha-parinibbana Suttanta*: "And the Lichchhavis of Vesali heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinara. And the Lichchhavis of Vesali sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying: 'The

1 DPPN, II, 814.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 233 ff. In the case of Tibet we have only three courts as against the seven tribunals of the Lichchhavis (*viz.* those of the *Vinichchhaya ntahamattas*) (inquiring magistrates), the *yoharikas* (jurist-judges), *Suttadharas* (masters of the sacred code), the *Atthakulakas*, (the eight clans, possibly a federal court), the *Sgttapati* (general), the *Uparaja* (Viceroy or Vice-Consul), and the *raja* (the ruling chief) who made their decisions according to the *paveni potthaka* (Book of Precedents). Further, we know very little about the relative antiquity of the Tibetan procedure as explained by S. C. Das which might very well have been suggested by the system expounded in the *Atthakatha*. This fact should be remembered in instituting a comparison between Tibetan and Vajjian practices. Regarding the disposal of the dead attention may be invited to the ancient practices of the "Indus" people (Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, I. cb. VI.) and the epic story in *Mbh.* IV.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, 143, ff; 1908, p. 78, There is very little in Vidyabhushana's surmise except a fancied resemblance between the names Nichchhivi and Nisibis. Inscriptions of the Achaemenids are silent about any Persian settlement in Eastern India in the sixth or fifth century B. C. The Lichchhavi people were more interested in Yaksha *Chaityas* and the teaching of Mahavira and the Buddha than in the deities and prophets of Iran.

4 *Modern Review*, 1919, p. 50; Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes*, 26ff,

Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One.⁵⁵ In the Jaina *Kalpa Sutra* Trisala, sister to Chetaka of Vesali, is styled *Kshatriydni*.¹

Manu concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis are *Rajanyas* or *Kshatriyas*?

*Jhallo Mallascha rdjanyaḍ vratyaṇ Nichchhivireva cha
Nataḥcha Kanḡaichaiva Khaso Drdvila, eva cha,*

It may be argued that the Lichchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas when they were admitted into the fold of Brahmanism like the Dravidians referred to in Manu's *sloka* and the Gurjara-Pratiharas of mediaeval times. But unlike the Pratiharas and Dravidas, the Lichchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards the orthodox form of Hinduism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brahmanical creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. Manu testifies to their heterodoxy when he brands them as the children of the *Vrdtya Rajanyas*. The great mediaeval Rajput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rama, Lakshmana, Yadu, Arjuna and others. A body of foreigners who did not observe ceremonies enjoined in the Brahmanic code, could hardly have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Lichchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of *Vrdtya* when they neglected Brahmanic rites and showed a predilection for heretical doctrines. The *Rdmadyana*, as we have seen, represents

1 S. B. E.. XXII, pp. xii, 227.

2 X. 22.

the Vaisalika rulers as Ikshvakuids. The Pali commentary *Paramatthajotilca*¹ traces their origin to Benares. The comparison of the Lichchhavis to the "Tavatimsa gods" hardly accords with the theory that represents them as kinsmen of snub-nosed peoples who lived beyond the Himalayas.² "Let those of the brethren" we are told by a personage of great eminence "who have never seen the *Tavatimsa* gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as a company of *Tavatimsa* gods."

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was well established in the days of Mahavira and Gautama, in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and was already on the wane in the next century.

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abhaya, Otthaddha (Mahali), generals Siha and Ajita, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta.³ In the introductory portion of the *Ekapmni*⁴ and *Ghulla Kalihga*⁵ *Jatalcas* it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707.⁶ There was a like number of vice-roys, generals, and treasurers. Too much importance should not be attached to these figures which are merely traditional and may simply point to the large number of

1 Vol. I, pp. 158-65.

2 S. B. E., XI, p. 32 ; DPPN, II, 779.

3 *Ahuttara Nikaya*, Nipata III, 74 (P. T. S., Part I, p. 220 f.) ; *Mahali Sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 198, Part III, p. 17. *Mahavagga*, S. B. E., XVII, p. 108 ; *Majjhima N.*, I. 234 ; 68 ; II. 252 ; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, 295. For a detailed account of the Lichchhavis, see now Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India*.

4 149.

5 301,

6 Another tradition puts the number at 68,000 (DPPN, II. 781 n). The *Dhammapada Commentary* (Harvard Oriental Series, 30, 168) informs us that the *rajas* ruled by turns.

*malmllakas*¹ or elders in the clan. The real power of administration especially in regard to foreign affairs seems to have been vested in a smaller body of nine *Omarajas* or archons. The Jaina *Kalpasatra*² refers to the **nine Lichchhavis** as having formed a league with nine Mallakis and eighteen archons of Kasi-Kosala.³ We learn from the *Nirayavala Sutra* that an important leader of this alliance was Chetaka whose sister Trisala or Videha-datta was the mother of Mahavira, and whose daughter Chellana or Vaidehi was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kunika-Ajatasatru.

The league was aimed against Magadha. Tradition says that even in the time of the famous Bimbisara the Vaisalians were audacious enough to invade their

1 Cf. the Vajji Mahallaka referred to in *Digha*, II. 74 ; *Ahuttara*, IV. 19.

2 § 128.

3 *Nava Mallai (Mallati) nava Lechchhal (Lechchhatl) Kasi Kosalaga*, (variant *Kosalaka*) *attharasa vi ganarayano* .

The *Kalpasutra* of Bhadrabahu, ed. by Hermann Jacobi, 1879, *Jinacarīi* p. 65 (§ 128) ; *Nirayalīyā Sntam* (Dr. S. Warren), 1879, § 26 ; *SBE*, XXII, 1884, p. 266.

Dr. Barua is inclined to identify the nine Lichchhavis and the nine Mallakis with the eighteen *ganarajas* who belonged to Kasi and Kosala. He refers in this connection to the *Kalpadrūmakalikavyākhyā* which represents the Mallakis as *adhipas* (or overlords) of Kasi-*desa*, and the "Lechchhakas" as *adhipas* of Kosala-*desa*, and further describes them as *samantas* or vassals of Chetaka, maternal uncle of Mahavira (*Indian Culture*, Vol II, p. 810). It is news to students of Indian history that in the days of Mahavira the kingdoms of Kasi and Kosala acknowledged the supremacy of the Mallas and Lichchhavis respectively, and formed part of an empire over which Chetaka presided. Even Dr. Barua hesitates to accept this interpretation of the late Jaina commentator in its entirety and suggests that the nine Mallas and the nine Lichchhavis ... derived their family prestige from their original connection with the dynasty of Kasi and Kosala. The *Paramattha-jōtika* (Khuddaka-pāṭha commentary), however, connects the Lichchhavis not with the dynasty of Kosala but with that of Kasi. The divergent testimony of these late commentators shows that they can hardly, be regarded as preserving genuine tradition. There is no suggestion in any early Buddhist or Jaina text that either the Lichchhavis or the Mallas actually ruled over any *grama* or *nigama* in Kasi-Kosala (see *Indian Culture*, II, 808). The *ganarajas* of Kasi-Kosala apparently refer to the Kalamas, Sakyas and other clans in the Kosalan empire.

neighbours across the Ganges.¹ In the reign of Ajatasatru the tables were turned, and the great confederacy of Vaisali was utterly destroyed.²

The **Malla** territory, ancient *Malla-rattha*, the *Malla-rashtra* of the *Mahabharata*,³ was split up into two main parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusavati or Kusinara and Pava.⁴ The river Kakuttha, the Oacouthes of the classical writers, identified with the modern Kuku, probably formed the dividing line.⁵ The division of the people is also known to the great epic⁶ which draws a distinction between the Mallas proper and the Dakshina or Southern Mallas. There is no agreement among scholars regarding the exact site of **Kusinara**. In the *Maha-parinibbana Suttanta* it is stated that the *Scila* Grove of the Mallas, the *Upavattana* (outskirt or suburb)⁷ of Kusinara, lay near the river Hiranyavati. Smith identifies the stream with the Gandak and says that Kusinagara (Kusinara) was situated in Nepal, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Kapti with the Gandak.⁸ He, however, admits that the discovery in the large *stapa* behind the *Nirvana* temple near Kasia on the Ohota Gandak, in the east of the Gorakhpur district, of an inscribed copper-plate bearing the words "[*parini*]rva^a-chaitye tamrapatta iti,"⁹ supports the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains iieai* Kasia represent Kusi-nagara.

1 *Si-yu-ki*, Bk. IX.

2 *DPPN*, I I, 781-82.

3 VI. 9. 34.

4 *Kusa Jataka*, No. 531 ; *Maha-parinibbana Suttanta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I I, pp. 136 ff, 161-62.

5 *AGI* (1924), 714.

6 *Mbh.* II. 30. 3 and 12.

7 *JRAS*, 1906, 659 ; *Dtgha*, I I. 137.

8 *EHI*, third ed., p. 159 n.

9 *AS*/, A. R., WII-12, 17 ff, *JRAS*, 1913, 152. Kasia is a village that lies about 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur (*AGI*, 493).

Pava was identified by Cunningham¹ with the village named Padaraona, 12 miles to the N.N.E. of Kasia, and separated from it by the Badhi Nala' (identified with the ancient Kakuttha). Carlleyle, however, proposes to identify Pava with Fazilpur, 10 miles S.E. of Kasia and separated from it by the Kuku.² In the *Sahgiti Suttanta* we have a reference to the Mote Hall of the Pava Mallas named Ubbhataka.³

The Mallas together with the Lichchhavis are classed by Manu as *Vratya* Kshatriyas. They, too, like their eastern neighbours were among ardent champions of Buddhism.

Like Videha, Malla had at first a monarchical constitution. The *Kusa Jataka* mentions a Malla king named Okkaka (Ikshvaku). The name probably suggests that like the Sakyas⁴ the Malla princes also claimed to belong to the Ikshvaku family. And this is confirmed by the fact that in the *Maha-paritiibbana Suttanta* they are sometimes called Vasetthas, *ie.*, "belonging to the Vasishtha *gotra*." ⁵ The *Mahasudassana Sutta* mentions another king named Mahasudassana.⁶ These rulers, Okkaka and Mahasudassana, may or may not have been historical individuals. But the tales that cluster round their names imply that Mallarattha was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahabharata* ⁷ which refers to an overlord (*adhipa*) of the Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled

1 AGJ, 1924, 498.

2 Kukuttha ; AGI, 1924, 714.

3 DPPN, II. 194.

4 Cf. *Dialogues*, Part I, pp. 114-15.

5 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181. Vasishtha figures in the *Ramayana* as *thepurohita* of the Ikshvakuids.

6 S. B. E., XI, p. 248.

7 11,30. 3.

Kusavati. Other important cities were Anupiya and Uruvelakappa.¹

Before Bimbisara's time the monarchy had been replaced by republics² and the chief metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattle and daub town," a "branch township" surrounded by jungles.³ It was then styled Kusinara.

The relations of the Mallas with the Lichchhavis were sometimes hostile and on other occasions friendly. The introductory story of the *Bhaddasala Jatalca*⁴ contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian, Commander-in-chief of the king of Kosala, and 500 elders of the Lichchhavis. The Jaina *Kalpasutra*, however, refers to "nine Mallakis" as having combined with the Lichchhavis, and the seigniors of Kasi-Kosala against Kunika-Ajatasatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus, *parltahKmun*, and lay near the Jumna.⁵ It was closely connected with the Matsyas beyond the Chambal, the Kasis of Benares, and the Karushas in the valley of the Sona,⁶ and

1 Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes*, p. 149. *Dialogues*, Pt. III (1921), 7 ; *Gradual Sayings*, IV. 293. Anupiya stood on the banks of the river Anoma which lay thirty leagues to the east of Kapilavastu. It was here that the future Buddha cut off his hair and put on the robes of the ascetics. (DPPN, I, 81, 102).

2 C/. S. B. E., XI, p. 102 ; Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, 1919, p. 378.

3 *Kudda-nagaraka*, *ujjahgala-nagaraka*, *sakha-nagaraka*.

4 No. 465.

5 Pargiter, *JASB*, 1895, 253 fif; *Mbh*; I. 63. 2-58 ; IV. i. 11.

Santi ramya janapada

bahvannah paritah Kurun

Panchalah-Chedi-Matsyakcha

Surasenh Patachcharah •

Daiarna Navarashtrascha

Mallah Salva Yugandharah.

6 *Mbh*. V. 22, 25 ; 74. 16 ; 198. 2 ; VI. 47. 4 ; 54. 8.

is distinguished from the Dasarnas who lived on the banks of the Dhasan; * In ancient times it corresponded roughly to the eastern part of modern Bundelkhand. and some adjoining tracts.² In the mediaeval period, however, the southern frontiers of Chedi extended to the banks of the Narmada (*Mekala-suta*) :—

*Nadlnam Mekala-suta nripanaw, Banavigraha
havlharh cha Suranaidas Chedi-mandala-mandanam*

• • • • •

We learn from the *Chetiya Jataka*⁴ that the metropolis was Sotthivati-nagara. The *Mahabharata* gives its Sanskrit name Suktimati, or Sukti-sahvaya.⁶ The Great Epic mentions also a river called Suktimati which flowed by the capital of *Baja* Uparichara of the *Ohedi-vishaya* (district).⁶ Pargiter identifies the stream with the Ken, and places the city of Suktimati in the neighbourhood of Banda.⁷ Other towns of note were Sahajati⁸, and Tripuri,⁹ the mediaeval capital of the *Janapada*.

1 Princesses of Dasarna were given in marriage to Bhlma of Vidarbha and Virabahu or Subahu of Chedi (*Mbh.* III. 69. 14.15),

2 Pargiter (JASB, 1895, 253) places Chedi along the south bank of the Jumna from the Chambal on the north-west as far as Karwi on the south-east ; its limits southwards may have been, according to him, the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand.

3 Attributed to Rajasekhara in Jahlana's *Suktimukt avail*, Ep. Ind. IV. 280. Konow, *Karpuramanjari*, p. 182.

4 No. 422.

5 III. 20. 50 ; XIV. 83. 2 ; N. L. Dey, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. vii of *Geographical Dictionary*.

6 1.63.35.

7 JASB, 1895, 255, *Markandeya P.*, p. 359.-

8 Anguttara, III. 355 (P.T.S.). *Ayasma Mahachundo Chetisu vihdrati Sahajatiyam*. Sahajati lay on the trade route along the river Ganges (*Buddhist India*, p. 103). Cf. the legend on a seal-die of terra-cotta found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad (*Arch. Expi. Ind.*, 1909-10, by Marshall. JRAS, 1911, 128 f.)~ *Sahijitiye nigamaia*, in letters of about the third century B.C. see also JBORS, XIX, 1933, 293.

9 Tripuri stood close to the Nerbudda not far from modern Jubbulpore. In the *Haimakosha* it is called Chedinagari (JASB, 1895, 249). The city finds mention in the *Mbh.* III. 253. 10, along with Kosala, and its people, the Traipuras, are referred in VI. 87. 9, together with the Mekalas and the Kurubiadas.

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the *Big-Veda*. Their king Kasu Chaidya is praised in a *Dmiastuti* (praise of gift) occurring at the end of one hymn.¹ Rapson proposes to identify him with 'Vasu' of the Epics.

The *Chetiya Jatalca* gives a legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings, taking their descent from Mahasammata and Mandhata. Upachara, a King of the line, had five sons who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttarapanchala and Daddarapura.² Thi3 monarch is probably identical with Uparichara Vasn, the Paurava king of Chedi, mentioned in the *Mahabharata*? whose five sons also founded five lines of kings.⁴ But epic tradition associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kausambi, Mahodaya (Kanauj) and Girivraja.⁵

The *MahMharata* speaks also of other Chedi kings like Damaghosha, his son Sisupala Sunitha, and *his* sons Dhrishtaketu and Sarabha who reigned about the time of the Bharata war. But the *Jatalca* and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

We learn from the *Vedabbha Jatalca*⁶ that the road from Kasi to Chedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders.

1 VIII. 5. 37-39.

2 Hatthipura may be identified with Hatthinipura or Hastinapura in the Kuru country, Assapura with the city of that name in Anga, and Sihapura with the town of Lala from which Vijaya went to Ceylon. There was another Simhapura in the Western Punjab (Watters I. 248). Uttarapanchala s Ahichchhatra in Rohilkhand. Daddarapura was apparently in the Himalayan region. (DPPN, I. 1054).

3 1.63.1-2.

4 1.63.30.

5 *Ramayana*, I. 32. 6-9 ; *Mahabharata*, 1. 63, 30-33.

6 No. 48.

Vamia or **Vatsa** was the country south of the **Ganges**¹ of which Kausambi, modern Kosam, on the Jumna, near Allahabad, was the capital.² Oldenberg³ is inclined to identify the Vamsas with the Vatsas of the *Aitareya Brahmana*. But the conjecture lacks proof. The *Śatapatha Brahmana* mentions a teacher named Proti Kausambeya⁴ whom Harisvamin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town of Kausambi.⁵ Epic tradition attributes the foundation of this famous city to a Chedi prince.⁶ The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kasi.⁷ It is stated in the *Paranas* that when the city of Hastinapura was washed away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kausambi. We have already seen that the Puranic tradition about the Bharata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kausambi is confirmed by two plays attributed to Bhasa. Udayana, king of Kausambi, is described in the *Svapnamsavadatta* and the *Pmtijna Yaitgandharayaya*⁸ as a scion of the *Bharata-kula*.

The *Purdnas* give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka, and cite the following genealogical verse :—

1 Ram. II. 52. 101.

2 Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, *Priyadarstka*, lxxvi; the *Brihat Katha-Sloka-Samgraha* (4. 14, cf. 8, 21) explicitly states that Kausambi was on the Kalindi or Jumna. Malalasekera, DPPN, 694. The reference in one text to the position of the city on the Ganges is possibly due to its proximity to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna in ancient times, or to a copyist's error.

3 *Buddha*, 393 n.

4 *Sat. Br.*, XII. 2, 2. 13.

5 See p. 70. *ante*.

6 Ram., I, 32. 3-6; Mbh. 1.63.31.

7 *Harivamsa*, 29. 73 ; Mbh., XII. 49. 80.

8 *Svapna*, ed. Ganapati Sastri, p. 140 ; *Pratijitia*, pp. 61, 121.

*Bralma-kshatrasya¹ yo yonir
vamno devarshi-satkritah
Kshemakam pvapya rajanailt
Haiutitham prdpsyati vai kalan.*

"The family honoured by gods and sages (or divine sages), from which sprang Brahmanas and Kshatriyas (or those who combined the Brahmana and Kshatriya status) will verily, on reaching Kshemaka, come to an end (or be interrupted) in the Kali Age."

The criticism that has been offered in this work in regard to the Ikshvaku and Magadhan lists of kings applies with equal force to the Paurava-Bharata line. Here, too, we find mention of princes (*e.g.*, Arjuna and Abhimanyu) who can hardly be regarded as crowned *nripas* or monarchs. It is also by no means improbable that, as in the case of the Ikshvakus and the royal houses of Magadha and Avanti, contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals described as lineal descendants. There is, moreover, no unanimity in regard to the names of even the immediate predecessors of Uclayana, the most famous among the later kings of the family. These facts should be remembered in determining the chronology and order of succession of the Bharata dynasty of Kausambi. The earliest king of the line about whom we know anything definite is Satanika II of the Puranic lists. His father's name was Vasudana according to the *Puranas*, and Sahasranika according to Bhasa.² Satanika himself was also styled Parantapa.² He married a princess of Videha as his son is called

1 Cf. *Brahma-Kshatriyanath kula* of the inscriptions of the Sena kings who claimed descent from the Lunar Race to which the Bharatas, including, the Kurus belonged,

2 *Buddhist India*, p. 3.

Vaidehiputra.¹ He is said to have attacked Champa, the capital of Anga, during the reign of Dadhivahana.² His son and successor was the famous (Jdayana, the contemporary of the Buddha and of Pradyota of Avanti and therefore of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru of Magadha.

The *Bhagga*(*Bhargha*) state of Sumsumaragiri, 'Crocodile Hill', was a dependency of Vatsa.³ The *MahUbharata*⁴ and the *Harivamsa*⁵ testify to the close connection of these two territories and their proximity to the principality of a Nishada chieftain, while the *Apadana* seems to associate Bhargha with Karusha.⁶ The evidence points to the location of Sumsumaragiri between the Jumna and the lower, valley of the Sona.

The **Kuru** realm was according to the *Maha-Sutasoma Jataha*⁷ three hundred leagues in extent. The reigning dynasty according to the Pali texts belonged to the Yuddhitthila *gotta*, i. e., the family of Yudhishtira.⁸ The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, i. e., Indraprastha or Indrapat near modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues.⁹ We hear also of another city called Hatthinlpura,¹⁰ doubtless, the Hastinapura of the epic, and a number of *nigamas* or smaller towns and villages besides

1 *Svapna-vasavadatta*. Act VI. p. 129.

2 *JASB*, 1914, p. 321.

3 *Jataka*, No. 353 ; Carmichael Lee. 1918, p. 63.

4 11.30.10-11.

Vatsabhumicha Kaunteyo vijigye balavan balat

Bharganamadhipanchaiva Nishadadhipatim tatha,

"The mighty son of Kunti (i. e. Bhishmasena) conquered by force the Vatsa country and the lord of the Bhargas and then the chieftain of the Nishadas."

5 29. 73. *Pratardanasya putrau dvau*

Vatsa-Bhargau babhuvatu

"Pratardana had two sons, Vatsa and Bharga."

6 **DPPN**, II. 343

7 No. 537.

8 *Dhumakari Jataka*, No. 413 ; *Dasa Brahmana Jataka*, No. 495.

9 *Jataka* Nos. 537, 545.

10 *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits I DPPN*, 11. 1319

the capital, such as Thullakotthita, Kammasadamma, Kundi and Varavata.¹

The *Jatahas* mention the Kara kings and princes styled Dhananjaya Koravya,² Koravya,³ and Sutasoma.⁴ We cannot, however, vouch for their historical existence in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina *Uttaradliya Sutra* mentions a king named Ishukara ruling at the town called Ishukara in the Kuru country.⁵ It seems probable that after the removal of the elder branch of the royal family to Kausambi and the decline of the Abhipratarnas, the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukara were apparently the most important. "Kings" are mentioned as late as the time of the Buddha when one of them paid a visit to Ratthapala, son of a Kuru magnate, who had become a disciple of the Sikya Sage.⁶ Later on, the little principalities gave place to a *Sahya* or republican confederation.⁷

Paiichala, as already stated, comprised Rohilkhand and a part of the Central Doab. The *Mahabharata*, the *Jatahas* and the *Divyavadana** refer to the division of this country into two parts, viz, Uttara or Northern Paiichala and Dakshina or Southern Panchala. The Bhagirathi (Ganges) formed the dividing line.⁹ According to the

i The epic (*Mbh* V. 31. 19 ; 72, 15 etc.) has a reference to four villages, viz., Avisthala, Vrikasthala, Makandl, Varanavata.

2 *Kurudhamma Jataka*, No. 276 ; *Dhumakari Jataka*, No. 413 ; *Sambhava Jataka*, No. 515 ; *Vidhura Pandita Jataka*, No. 545. Dhananjaya is, as is well-known, a name of Arjuna.

3 *Dasa Brahmana Jataka*, No. 495 ; *Maha-Sutasowa Jataka*, No. 537.

4 *Maha-Sutasotna Jataka*. Cf. the *Mahabharata*, 1. 95. 75 where **Sutasoma** appears as the name of a son of Bhlma,

5 S. B. E..XLV. 62.

6 *DPPN*, II. 706 f.

7 *Artha'sastra*, 1919, 378.

8 P. 435.

9 *Mbh.*, I. 138. 70. For divisions in Vedic times see 70 f ante.

Great Epic, Northern Panchala had its capital at Ahiohchhatra or Chhatravati, the modern Ramnagar near Aonla in the Bareilly District, while Southern Panchala had its capital at Kampilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal.¹ A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Panchalas for the possession of Northern (Uttara) Panchala. Sometimes Uttara Panchala was included in Kururattha (-rashtra)² and had its capital at Hastinapura,³ at other times it formed a part of Karapilla-rattha (Kampilya-rashtra).⁴ Sometimes kings of Kampilya-rashtra held court at Uttara Panchala-nagara, at other times kings of Uttara Panchala-rashtra held court at Kampilya.'

The history of Panchala from the death of Pravahana Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisara of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may perhaps be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha), the contemporary of Nimi,⁶ who is probably to be identified with the penultimate sovereign of Mithila.⁷ In the *Kumbham Jataka* it is stated that Durmukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Panchala-rattha (-rashtra) ; his capital was not Ahiohchhatra but Kampilla (Kampilya)-nagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karandn, king of Kalinga, Naggaji (Nagnajit), king of Gandhara, and Nimi, king of Videha. The *Aitareya Brahmana** credits him with extensive conquests and names Brihaduktha as his priest :—

1 *Mbh.*, I. 138. 73-74.

2 *Sotnassajataka*, No. 505 ; *Mahabharata*, I. 138.

3 *Divyavadana*, p. 435.

4 *Brahmadatta Jataka*, No. 323 ' *Jayaddisa Jataka*, Ho. 513 and *Gandatindujataka*, No. 520.

5 *Kutnbhakara Jataka*, No. 408.

6 *Jataka*, No. 408.

7 *Jataka*, No. 541.

8 VIII.23.

"*Etarh ha va Aindram Mahabhishekam Brihaduktiba Uishir Durmukhaya PaTichalaya provacha ,tasmadu Durmukhah Pancludo Raja sati vidyaya samantam sarvatah Pfithivim jayan parly aya*"

"This great anointing of Indra Brihaduktha, the seer, proclaimed to Durmukha, the Pauchala. Therefore, Durmukha Panchala, being a king, by this knowledge, went round the earth completely, conquering on every side."¹

A great Panchala king named Chulani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the *Maha-Ummagga Jataka*,² the *Uttar-arthyayana Sutra*? the *Svapna-vasavadatta** and the *Ramayana*.* In the last-mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (*kanyah*) of Kusanabha who were made hump-backed (*kubja*) by the Wind-god. In the *Jataka*, Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithila. In the *Uttar-adhyayana* Brahmadatta is styled a universal monarch. The story of this king is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Ramayanic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Panchalas with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) whose name (city of the hump-backed maiden) is accounted for by the curse to which the story refers.⁶

1 Keith, *Fig.-Veda Brahmanas*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25.

2 546.

3 S.B.E., XLV. 57-61,

4 Act V.

5 I. 32.

6 Cf. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I. 341-42. The point seems to be missed by Ratilal Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, 43 n. The name Kanyakubja or Kanyakubja is already met with in the *Mahabharata* A. 175. 3 ; V. 119. 4. Kanyakubja occurs in the *Mahabhashya* IV. 1. 2. (233), along with Ahichchatrl. Kannakujja appears in Pali texts (DPPN. I. 498).

The *Uttar-adhyayana Sutra* mentions a king of Kampilya named Sanjaya who gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas.¹ We do not know what happened after Sanjaya renounced his throne. But there is reason to believe that the Panchalas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a *Sahgha* form of government of the *Raja-mb'd-opajlvin* type.²

Matsya was the extensive territory between the hills near the Chambal and the forests that skirted the Sarasvati of which the centre was Virata-nagara or Bairat in the modern Jaipur State. The early history of the kingdom has already been related. Its vicissitudes during the period which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisara of Magadha are not known.³ It is not included by the *Kautiliya Arthashastra* among those states which had a *Sahgha* or non-monarchical form of government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The *Mahabharata** refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over the Ohedis as well as the Matsyas. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Asoka have been found at Bairat.

A family of Matsyas settled in the Vizagapatam region in mediaeval times.⁵ We are told that Jayatsena, the lord of Utkala, gave to Satyamartanda of the Matsya family in marriage his daughter Prabhavati, and appointed him to

1 S.B.E...XLV. 80-82.

2 *Arthashastra*, 1919, p. 378. The Elders of this type of corporations or confederations took the title of *Raja*. One of these *rajas* was apparently the maternal grandfather of Visakha Panchallputra, a disciple of the Buddha (DPPN, II.108).

3 66 ff *ante*.

4 V. 74. 16-; cf. VI. 47, 67 ; 52. 9.

5 Dibbida plates, *Ep. Ind.*, V. 108,

rule over the Oddavadi country. After twenty-three generations came Arjuna who ruled in 1269 A.D.

The **oCtrasena** country had its capital at Mathura which, like Kausambi, stood on the Jumna. Neither the country nor its metropolis finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But Greek writers refer to the Souraseni and their cities Methora (Mathura) and Cleisobora. Buddhist theologians make complaint about the absence of amenities in Mathura. They were apparently not much interested in its kettledrums,¹ or in the *satakas* (garments) and *karshapanas* (coins) about which Patanjali speaks in the *Mahabhashya*.² A highroad connected the city with a place called Verauja which was linked up with Sravasti and the caravan route that passed from Taxila to Benares through Soreyya, Sankassa (Sankasya), Kannakujja (Kanyakubja or Kanauj), and Payaga-Patitthana (Allahabad).³

In the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* the ruling family of Mathura is styled the **Yadu** or Yadava family. The Yadavas were divided into various septs, namely, the Vitihotras, **Satvatas**, etc.⁴ The Satvatas were subdivided into several branches, e.g., the Daivavridhas, Andhakas, Maha-bhojas and Vrishnis.⁵

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*. He is closely associated with Turvasa and, in one place, Druhyu, Anu and Puru.⁶ This association is also implied by the epic and Puranic legends which state that Yadu and Turvasu were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Puru were their step-brothers.

1 *Gradual Sayings*, II. 78 ; III. 188.

2 I. 2. 48 (Kielhorn I. 19).

3 *Gradual Sayings*, II. p. 66 ; DPPN. II. 438, 930, 1311.

4 *Matsya*, 43-44 ; *Vayu*, 94-96.

5 *Vishnu*, IV. 13. 1 ; *Vayu*, 96, 1-2.

6 I. 108, 8,

We learn from the *Rig-Veda*¹ that Yadu and Turvasa came from a distant land, and the former is brought into very special relation to the **Partus** or Persians.² The Satvatas or **Satvats** also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the *Satapakha Brahmana** the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an *Aivamedha* sacrifice, are referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Sarasvati, the Jumna and the Ganges.⁴ The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Puranic tradition which places them in the Mathura district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats seems to have migrated farther to the south, for in the *Aitareya Brahmana*⁵ the Satvats are described as a southern people who lived beyond the Kuru-Panchala area, i.e., beyond the river Chambal, and were ruled by **Bhoja** kings. In

1 1.36. 18 ; VI. 45. 1.

2 VIII. 6. 46. Epigraphic evidence points to a close connection between Western Asia and India from about the middle of the second millennium B. C. Rig-Vedic Gods like Surya (Shurias), Marut (Maruttash), Indra, Mitra, Varuna, the Nasatyas, and even Daksha (*dakash*, star, CAH. I. 553) figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni.

3 XIII. 5. 4. 21 *Satantkah samantasu medhyam Satrajito hayam
adatta yajnam Kaslnath Bharatah Satvatatniva.*

The *Mbh.* vii. 66. 7 (*ma sattvani vijlajahi*) seems to miss the import of the Brahmanic *gatha*.

4 *Sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 11. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 23 ; *Mbh.*, VII. 66. 8.

*Ashtasaptatim Bharato Dauhshantir Yamunatnanu
Gangayain Vritraghne' badhnat panchapanchasatam hayam
Mahakarma (variant mahadadya) Bharatasya napurve napare janah
divyath tnartya iva hastyabhyath (variant bahubhyath)
nodapuh pancha manava (iti),*

*So'ivatnedhasateneshtva Yamunamanu viryavan
trisatasvan Sarasvatyath Gahgamanu chatuhsatan..*

5 VIII. 14.3.

the Puranas also we find that a branch of the Satvats was styled Bhoja¹ :—

"B1iajina- Bhajamana- divy- Andhaka- Devavidha- Mahabhoja-Vyishni-sarhjnah Satvatasya putra babhuvuh..... Mahabhojastvati dharmdtma tasyanvaye Bhoja-Martikavata babhuvuh."

It is further stated that several southern states, Mahishmati, **Vidarbha**, etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage.² Not Only the Bhojas, but the Devavidha branch of the Satvatas finds mention in the Vedic literature. Babhrn Daivavrdha³ is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana* as a contemporary of Bhima, king of Vidarbha, and of Nagnajit, king of Grandhara. The Andhakas and **Vrishnis** are referred to" in the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini.⁶ In the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*⁶ the Vrishnis are described as a *Sahgha*, i. e., a republican corporation. The *Mahabharata*, too, refers to the Vrishnis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a *Sahgha*,⁷ and Vasudeva, the Vrishni prince, as *Sahgha-mulchya* (Elder or Seigneur of the confederacy). The name of the Vrishni corporation (*gana*) has also been preserved by a unique coin.⁸ It is stated in the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* that Kamsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathura by overpowering the Yadavas, and that Krishna-Vasudeva, a scion

1 *Vishnu*. IV. 13. 1-6. In *Mbh.* VIII. 7. 8 the Satvata-Bhojas are located in Anarta (Gujrat).

2 *Mat*, 43. 10-29 ; 44. 36 / *Vayu*, 94. 26 ; 95. 35.

3 *Vayu*, 96. 15 ; *Vishnu*, 13. 3-5.

4 VII. 34.

5 IV. 1. 114 ; VI. 2. 34,

6 P. 12.

7 XII. 81.25.

8 Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 119 ; Allan, CCAI, pp, clvf, 281.

of the Vrishni family, killed him. The slaying of Kamsa by Krishna is referred to by Patanjali and the *Gliata Jataka*.¹ The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Krishna-Vasudeva's family with Mathura (Uttara Madhura).³

1 No. 454.

2 The city is so called to distinguish it from Madura in South India. The question of the historical existence of Krishna-Vasudeva has been discussed in my *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, 1st ed., pp. 26-35; 2nd ed., pp. 51 ff. and my *Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., 1923, p. 312.

Several scholars reject the identification of Krishna of the *Mahabharata* and the *Paranzs* with the historical Krishna of the *Chhandogya Upanishad* (III. 17). But we should remember that—

(a) Both the Krishnas have the metronymic *Devaklputra*, son of Devaki, which is rare in early times.

(b) The teacher of the Upanishadic Krishna belonged to a family (Angirasa) closely associated with the Bhojas (*Pig-Veda*, III. 53. 7), the kindreds of the Epic Krishna [*Mbh.*, I. 14. 32-34].

(c) The Upanishadic Krishna and his Guru Ghora Angirasa were worshippers of *Surya* (the Sun-god). We are told in the *Santiparva* (335. 19) that the *Satvata-vidhi* taught by the Epic Krishna was *prak-Surya-mukha-nihshrita*.

(d) An Siigirasa was the Guru of the Upanishadic Krishna. *Angirasi Sruti* is quoted as "*Srutnamuttama srutih*" by the Epic Krishna (*Mbh.*, VIII. 69. 85).

(e) The Upanishadic Krishna is taught the worship of the Sun, the noblest of all lights (*gyotir-uttamamiti*), high above all darkness (*tamasaspari*). This has its parallel in the *Gita* (XIII. 18—*gyotishamapi tajjyotis tamasah param uchyate* ;

(f) The Upanishadic Krishna is taught to value, not any material reward (*dakshina*) but rather the virtues of *tapodanau arjjavam ahithsa satyavachanam*. The *Gita* also eulogises action performed not for the material fruit thereof. Stress is laid in *Gita* XVI. 1-2 on the virtues enumerated in the Upanishads.

The *Puranas* no doubt represent Sandipani, and not Ghora, as the great teacher of Krishna. But it is to be remembered that according to the *Vishnu Purana* (V. 21. 19) Krishna went to the sage Sandipani to learn lessons in the science of arms (*astraSiksha*) :

*Tatah Sandipanim Kaiyam Avantipuravasinaam
astrarthath jagmaturvirau Baladeva-Janardanaau,*

The *Harivatsa*, too, informs us (*Vishnuparva*, 33.4 ff.) that the residence of Krishna, who was already a *srutidhara*, with his Guru Sandipani was due to his desire of receiving lessons in the science of the bow (*dhanurvedachikishartham*). The *Veda* that he learnt from this teacher is not termed *akhila Veda*, or *Trayl*, but *simvlylsahga-Vedam*, the *Veda* with its auxiliary treatises. The only *Veda* that is expressly mentioned is the *Dhanurveda* (and not the *Trayl*) together with its four divisions (*chatushpada*), etc. The compilers of the *Bhagavata* and *Brahma Vaivarta Puranas* (*Bhag.* X. 45.31 ff. ; *BV*, *Janmakhand*a, 101-102) introduce

The final overthrow of the Vrishnis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brahmanas.¹ It is interesting to note that the Vrishnis and the Andhakas are branded as *Vratyas* i.e. deviators from orthodoxy in the *Drona parva* of the *Mahabharata*.² It is a remarkable fact that the Vrishni-Andhakas and other *Vrdtya* clans, e.g., the Lichchhavis and Mallas, are found in historical times on the southern and eastern fringe of the "*Dhruva Madhyama dis*" occupied by the Kuru-Pauchalas and two other folks. It is not improbable that they represent an earlier swarm of Aryans who were pushed southwards and eastwards by the Pfiru-Bharatas, the progenitors of the Kuru-Paljchalas. It may be remembered that the *Satapatha Brdhmava* actually refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats—the progenitors of the Vrishni-Andhakas. And the Great Epic refers to the **exodus of the Yadavas from Mathura** owing to pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha, and probably also from the Kurus.³

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta, king of the Silrasenas, in the time of Maha-Kachchana,⁴ one of the

details about the study of *all the Vedas, Upanishads, treatises on law, philosophy, polity, etc.*, which are not found in the relevant passage of the *Vishnu Purana*, which, according to critics like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, represents an earlier and more reliable tradition. Residence with Sandipani, therefore, does not conflict with the view that Krishna accepted the discipleship of Ghora for purposes of religious and philosophical studies (see *EHVS*, 2nd ed., pp. 73-74). Sandipani already knew him to be a *Srutidhara* (versed in the *Sruti* or the *Vedas*; *Hartvamia, Vishnuparva*, 33, 6),

Real discrepancies in regard to certain names are sometimes met with in Vedic and epic versions of several legends e.g. the story of Sunahsepa. But even these are not regarded as adequate grounds for doubting the identity of the leading character of the Vedic *Akhyana* with that of the corresponding epic tale.

1 *Mahabharata, Maushata parva*, I. 15-22 ; 2. 10; *Arthashastra*, 1919 p. 12 ; *Jataka* Eng. trans. IV. pp. 55-56, V, p. 138. Fausboll, IV. 87f ; V. 267.

2 141. 15.

3 *Of. Bahu-Kuruchara Mathura*, Patanjali, IV. I. 1; *GEL*, p. 395 n.

4 M. 2. 83, DPPN, II. 438.

chief disciples of Sakyamuni, through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mat-hnra region. The name of the king suggests relationship with the royal house of Avanti. A king named Kuvinda is mentioned in the *Kavya-Mlmamsa*.¹ The Silrasenas continued to be a notable people down to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

Assaka (*Asmaha*) was situated on the banks of the Godavari.² Its capital, Potali, Potana or Podana³ is possibly to be identified with Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions. This accords with its position between Mulaka (district round Paithan) and Kalinga⁴ to which Pali texts bear witness. In the *Sona-Nanda Jataka* we find Assaka associated with Avanti. This may suggest that Assaka included at that time Mulaka and some neighbouring districts and thus its territory approached the southern frontier of Avanti.⁵

In the *Vayu Purana*⁶ Asmaka and Mulaka appear as scions of the Ikshvaku family, and the *Mahabharata* speaks of the royal sage Asmaka (*Asmalco nama rajarshi*) as having founded the city of Podana. This probably indicates that the Asmaka and Mulaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvaku chiefs, just

1 3rd ed. p,50. He prohibited the use of harsh conjunct consonants.

2 *Sutta Nipata*, 977.

3 *Chulla-Kalihga Jataka*, No. 301 ; D. 2. 235; Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, 74 ; *Mbh.* I. 177. 47. As pointed out by Dr. Sukthankar the older mss. give the name as Potana or Podana and not Paudanya. This agrees with the evidence of the *Mahagovinda Suttanta* (*Assakanancha Potanatn*) and the *Parisishta parvan* (I. 92)—*nagare Potanabhidhe*.

4 *Sutta Nipata*, 977 ; *Jataka* no. 301.

5 Cf. Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lee*. 1918. pp. 53-54. It appears from the *Mahagovinda Suttanta* that at one time Avanti extended southwards as far as the Narmada valley and included the city of Mahishmati which stood on the banks of the famous river.

6 88,177-178 ; *Mbh.* I. 177. 47.

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as Vidarbha and Dandaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The *Mahagovinda Sntmta* mentions Brahmadatta, king of the Assakas, as a contemporary of Sattabhu, king of Kalinga, Vessabhu, king of Avanti, Bharata, king of Sovira, Renu, king of Videha, Dhatarattha, king of Afiga and Dhatarattha, king of Kasi.¹

We learn from the *Assaka Jataha*² that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kasi, and that its prince, Assaka, was presumably a vassal of the Kasi monarch. The *Chidla Kalinga Jataha* mentions a king of Assaka named Aruna and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of Kalinga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to the Ujjain region, together with a part of the Narmada valley from Mandhatato Maheshwar, and certain adjoining districts. Late Jaina writers include within its boundaries Tumbavana or Tumain in the Guna district of the Gwalior state about 50 miles to the north-west of Eran.³ The *Janapada* was divided into two parts by the Vindhya : the northern part drained by the Sipra and other streams had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part washed by the Narmada had its centre at Mahissati or

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, p. 270. The last-mentioned prince is known to the *6at. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 22.

2 No. 207.

3 *lha iva Jambudvipe' pag Bhartardha Vibhushanam*
Avantiriti deko 'sti svargadeitya riddhibhih
tatra Tumbavanamiti vidyate sannivesanam.

Pariishtaparvan, XII. 2-3.

For the position of Tumbavana, see *Ep Ind.* XXVI, 115ff.

Mahismati¹ usually identified with the rooky island of **Mandhata**.²

Buddhist and Jain writers mention several other cities of Avanti, viz , Kuraraghara ("osprey's haunt"), **Makka-rakata**, and Sudarsanapura.³ The *Mahagovinda Stdtanta* mentions Mahissati as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The *Mahabharata*, however, distinguishes between the kingdoms of **Avanti** and Mahishmati, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmada.⁴

The *Puranas* attribute the foundation of Mahishmati, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The *Aitareya Brahmana* also associates the Satvafcs and the Bhojas, branches of the Yadu family according to the *Puranas*, with the southern realms.⁵

The *Puranas* style the fir3t dynasty of Mahishmati as Haihaya.⁶ This family is already known to the *KautUiya Arthasastra*⁷ and figures in the *Shodasa-rajika* and other episodes of the epic. The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nagas who must have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmada region.⁸ The *Matsya Purana*

1 In J. V. 133 (DPPN. I. 1050) Avanti is placed in Dakshinapatha. This rdly reconcilable with the view that only the southern part is meant by the expression *Avanti Dakshinapatha* (Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lee.* 54)

2 Pargiter in *Mark p. Fleet* in JRAS, 1910, 444f. There is one difficulty in the way of accepting this fication. Mandhata lay to the south of the PSriyatra Mts. (W. Vindhya), whereas Mahismati lay "between the Vindhya and the Riksha—to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Riksha, according to the commentator Nllakantha (*Harivathsa*, II. 38.7-19). For identification with Mahesvara, once the residence of the Holkar family, see *Ind. Ant.* 1875. 346ff. For Mandhata, see *ibid.* 1876, 53.

3 Luders Ins. No. 469 ; *Gradual Sayings*, V. 31 ; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Ksatriya Tribes*, p. 158; DPPN, I. 193; *Kathakosa*, 18.

4 *Narmadamabhitah*, *Mbh.*, 11.31.10.

5 *Matsya*, 43-44; *Vayu*, 95-96; *Ait. Br.* VIII. 14.

6 *Matsya*, 43. 8-29; *Vayu*, 94, 5-26.

7 *Arthasastra*, p. 11; *Mbh.* vii. 68. 6 etc; *Saundara Nanda*, VIII. 45.

8 *Of.* Nagpur ; and *Ind. Ant.* 1884. 85 ; *Bomb. Gaz.* I. 2.313 etc,

mentions five branches of the Haihayas, namely Vitihofras Bhojas, Avantis, Kundikeras or Tundikeras and the Talarighas.¹ When the Vitihotras and Avantis (or the Vltihotras in Avanti) passed away, an *amatya*, minister or governor, named Pulika (Punika), is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota in the very sight of the *Kslmtriyas*,² In the fourth century B.C., 4-vanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of **Gandhara** included within its boundaries the vale of Kasmira and the ancient metropolis of Takshasila, which lay 2,000 leagues from Benares,³ but nevertheless attracted students and enquirers from the most distant provinces.

The Puranas represent the Gandhara princes as the descendants of Druhyu.⁴ This king and his people are mentioned several times in the *Ijig-Veda* and apparently belonged to the north-west,⁵ a fact that accords with the Puranic tradition. Mention has already been made of the early king, Nagnajit who is reported to have been a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha, Durmukha, king of Pajchala, Bhima, king of Vidarbha,⁶ and "Karakandii,"

1 43. 48-49.

2 We need not infer from this statement that the family of Punika sprang from one of the lower orders of society (*e. g.*, cowherds). The point in the Puranic account is that the dynastic change was brought about by an *atnatya*, a civil functionary (not a *senapati* like Pushyamitra), and that the army (*Kshatriyas*) looked on, *i.e.*, treated the matter with indifference or silent approval. In the time of Megasthenes soldiers (*kshatriya*, *khattiya-kula*) and councillors (*amatyas*, *amachcha-kula*) were distinct orders of society (*c.f.* also Fick, Ch. VI). The Tibetans style Pradyota's father Anantanemi. *Essay on Ounadhy*, p. 173.

3 *Jataka* no. 406; *Talapatta Jataka*, No. 96; *Sushna Jataka*, No. 163.

4 *Matsya*, 48. 6 ; *Vayu*, 99. 9,

5 *Vedic Index*, I. 385.

6 *Kumbhakara Jataka* ; *Ait. Br.*, VII. 34 ; *Sat. Br.* VIII. 1. 4. 10 ; *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*. A Nagnajit also appears in the *Mahabharata* as the Gandharian contemporary of Krishna (V. 48. 75). But the same epic mentions Sakuni as the King of Gandhara in the time of Krishna and the Pandavas,

king of Kaliinga. Jaina writers tell us that those princes adopted the faith of the Jainas.¹ As . Parsva (777 B.C. ?) was probably the first historical Jina, Nagnajit, if he really became a convert to his doctrines, should have to be placed between 777 B.C. and *cir.* 544 B.C., the date of Pukkusati, the Gandharian contemporary of Bimbisara; The conversion to Jainism, however, does not accord with the story related in the *Jataka* about his own elevation and that of his confreres to the status of *Pachcheka Boddhan*, or with the interest which the king or his Son Svarjit² evinced in Brahmanic ritual. It is, however, to be noted that 'the views of the family in such matters were not treated with respect. The rival claims of different sects need not be taken too seriously. The only fact that emerges is that tradition knew the family to be interested in religious matters and holding views that did not strictly conform to traditional Brahmanism.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhara was occupied by Pukkusati (Pushkarasarin) who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisara of Magadha, and waged war on Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated.³ He is also said to have been threatened in his own kingdom by the Pandavas who occupied a part of the Panjab as late as the time of Ptolemy. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C. Gandhara was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Bahistan inscription of Darius, *cir.* 520-518 B.C., the Gandharians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenidan or Achaemenian Empire.⁴

1 S.B. E., XLV. 87,

2 *sat.Br.* VIII. 1. 4. 10. *Vedic litdex*, t. 432

3- *Buddhist India*, p. 28 ; *DPPN*, II. 215 ; *Essay on 'Ajñadhya*, p. 176.

4 See "*Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the 'Achaemenian Inscriptions*" by Herbert Disinger, *Tibetian*, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI: *Old Persian Inscriptions*, by Sukumar Sen ; *Camb. Hist. Ind.* I M4y MS.-

Kamboja is constantly associated with Gandhara in literature and inscriptions.¹ Like Gandhara it is included in the *Uttarapatlia*, i.e., the Far North of India.² It should, therefore, be clearly distinguished from "Kambuja" in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula (i.e., Cambodia),³ and must be located in some part of North-West India close to Gandhara. The *Mahabharata* connects the Kambojas with a place called Rajapura.⁴—"Karaa Rajapwarh gatva Kamboja tiirjita-stvaya"⁵ The association of the Kambojas with the Gandharas enables us to identify this Rajapura with the territory of that name mentioned by Yuan Chwang⁶ which lay to the south or south-east

1 *Mbh.*, XII. 207. 43 ; *Ahuttara N.*, P. T. S., I. 213 ; 4. 252, 256, 261 ; Rock Edict V of Asoka. Quite in keeping with the association with Gandhara, famous for its good wool (*Rig.* V. 1. 126. 7), is the love of Kambojas for blankets (*Kambala*) to which Yaska (II. 2) bears testimony.

2 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII. 207. 43. *Rajatarahgini*, IV. 163-165. The chronicle does not place Kamboja to the north of Kashmir. It simply places the territory in the Uttarapatha, and clearly distinguishes it from the land of the Tukharas, apparently lying further to the north.

3 For the Hindu colony of "Kambuja" see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 100 ff. ; B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* ; R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*.

4 *Mbh.*, VII. 4. 5.

5 "Karna having gone to (gatvd) Rajapura" vanquished the Kambojas. The passage can hardly imply that Karna marched to Kamboja "via Rajapura." It is also futile to suggest that Rajapura had anything to do with Rajagriha in Bactria (as is done by a writer in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the. Sixth Oriental Conference*, Patna, p. 109). The *Ram.* I. 6. 22; the *Mbh.* VII. 119. 14. 26. and the *Mudrarakshasa*, II. clearly distinguishes Kamboja from Balbika (Bactria).

6 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 284. Cunningham (AGI, 1924, p. 148) identifies Rajapura with the chiefship of Rajaori to the south of Kashmir. The fact that the *Mahabharata* (II. 27) makes separate mention of Kamboja and Abhisara (with which the Rajaori region is identified) need not mean that the two were absolutely distinct entities in all ages. Does not the Great Epic (II. 30. 24.25) distinguish between Suhma and Tamralipti, and does not the *Dasakumdra-charita* with equal emphasis place Damalipta in Suhma ? The truth is that Rajaori formed only a part of Kamboja which included other areas as well. The ruling family of Rajaori (Rajaori) in later times were the Khasas (Stein in JASB 1899. Extra No. 2, 28).

of Punch. The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kafiristan. Elphinstone found in that district tribes like the 'Caumojee,' 'Camoze,' and 'Camojee*' whose names remind us of the Kambojas.¹

Kamboja may have been a home of Brahmanic learning in the later Vedic period. The *Vamsa Brahmana* actually mentions a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava.² The presence of Aryas (Ayyo) in Kamboja is recognised in the *Majjhima Nikaya*? But already in the time of Yaska the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect.⁴ We have further changes in later ages. And in *Bhuridatta Jataka*⁵ the Kambojas are credited with savage (Non-Aryan) customs :

*ete hi dhamma anariyarupa
Kambojakanam vitatha bahunnan ti.*⁶

*These are your savage customs 'which I hate,
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.'*⁷

This description of the Kambojas agrees wonderfully with Yuan Ohwang's account of Rajapura and the adjoin-'
ing countries. "From Lampa to Rajapura the inhabitants
are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude
'violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper,

1 Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul*, Vol. II, pp. 375-377; *Bomb.Gaz.* 1.1, 498n; *JRAS.*, 1843,140 ; *JASB.*1874 260n ; Wilson,*Vishnup.*,III. 292. With the expression *assanam ayatanam*, 'land of horses,' used by Pali texts in reference to the Kambojas (*DPPN*, I. 526. cf. *Mbh.* vi. 90. 3) may be compared the names *Aspasioi* and *Assakenoi* given by classical writers to the sturdy tribes living in the Alishang and Swat valleys in the days of Alexander (*Camb. Hist. Ind.* 352n).

2 *Vedic Index*, I. 127, 138 ; *Yaska*, I I . 2.

3 II. 149.

4 I I . 2; *JRAS*, 1911, 801 f.

5 No. 543.

6 *Jataka*, VI. 208.

7 *Cowell's Jataka*, VI.110.

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but are inferior peoples of frontier, (i.e., barbarian) stocks."¹

The Kambojas in the Epic period had their metropolis probably at Rajapura. Dvaraka, mentioned by Rhys Davids as the capital in the early Buddhist period, was not really situated in this country, though it was connected with it by a road.² A real city of the Kambojas was apparently Nandi-nagara mentioned in Liders' Inscriptions 176, and 472.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But, as has already been pointed out, they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava who was probably connected with this territory. In the *Mahabharata* the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchical constitution.³ The Epic makes mention of their kings Ohandravarman and Sudakshina. In later times the monarchy gave place to a *Sahgha* form of government. The *KautUlya Arthashastra** speaks of the Kambojas as a "*varta-sastr-opajivin*" *Sahgha*, that is to say, a confederation of agriculturists, herdsmen, traders and warriors. Corporations of Kambojas (*Kambojanancha ye ganah*) are also mentioned in the *Mahabharata*.⁵

1 Watters I. 284 ; for the Kambojas see also S. Levi; "*Pre-Aryen et Pri-Dravidien dans l'Inde*," J. A., 1923.

2 DPPN, I. 526 ; c/. Law : "*The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, pp;B0-83.

3 C/. I. 67. 32 ; II. 4. 22 ; V. 165. 1-3 ; VII. 90. 59, etc.

4 P.378.

5 VII. 89. 38.

SECTION II. AN EPIC ACCOUNT OF THE.
MAHAJANAPADAS.

An • interesting account of the characteristics of the peoples, of most of the *Mahajanapadas* described above is to be found in the *Karya farva* of the *Mahabharata*.¹

The Kurus, Panchalas, Matsyas, Kosalas, Kasis, **Magadhas**, Ohedis and Sfirasenas receive praise. Patriots hailing from Aiiga include their country in this list :

*Kuravah saha Pauchalah Saha Matsyah sa-Naimishah²
Kosalah Kasya⁹ hgascha Kalinga Mdgadhdstatha
Ghedayascha.mahdbhdgd dharmam jananti mfoatam
Br <i Imam Pauchalah Kauraveyastn dharmam
Satyam Matsyah Surasendscha yajnam.*

"The Kauravas with the Panchalas, the Salvass, the Matsyas, the Naimishas, the Kosalas, the Kasis, the Angas, the Kalingas, the Magadhas, and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal Law of Righteousness is. The Panchalas observe the Vedic code, the Kauravas the law of righteousness, the Matsyas truth, and the Surasenas sacrificial rites."

The Magadhas comprehend hints, the Kosalas understand from what they see,—the Kurus and Panchalas gather the sense from half-expressed words, while the Salvass need full instruction.

*Ihgitajnascha Magadhah prekshitajnakha Kosalah.
arddholdah Kuru-PaTichaldh Salvah kritsnminasasanah.*

1 *Mahabharata*, VIII. 40. 29 ; 45. 14-16 ; 28 ; 34 ; 40.

2 The Naimishas occupied Nimsar, 20 miles from Sitapur, on the left bank of the Gumti river (Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India*, 91).

The Angas had their detractors and come in for a good deal of condemnation along with the Madras and the Gandharas :

*Aturanam parity agah sadara-suta-vikrayah
Ahgeshn vartate Karna yesham adhipatir bliavan.*

"The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karna, prevalent among the Angas. whose overlord thou art."

*Madraheslm cha samsrishtam
sanclmm Qandharakeshu cha,
raja-yajaha-yajye cha
nashtarh dattam havir bhavet.*

"Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Grandharakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest."

The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude, mainly of poets of the western part of the *Madhyadem* towards most of the *Mahajanapadas* of Northern India.

SECTION III. THE FALL OF KASI AND THE
ASCENDANCY OF KOSALA.

Kosalo nama muditah sphlto janajiado mahan
—*Ramfiyana*.

The flourishing period of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* ended in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The history of the succeeding age is the story of the absorption of these states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely, the empire of Magadha.

Kasi was probably one of the first to fall. The *Mahavagga* and the *Jatakas* refer to bitter conflicts between this kingdom and its neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kasis seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the *Mahavagga*¹ and the *Kosambi Jataha*² it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kasi, robbed Dighati, king of Kosala, of his realm, and put him to death. In the *Kunala Jataha*³ we are told that Brahmadatta, king of Kasi, owing to his having an army, seized on the country of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The *Brahmaliatta*⁴ and *Sona-Nanda Jatakas*⁵ also refer to the victories of Kasi monarchs over Kosala.

1 S.B.E., XVII, 294-99.

2 No. 428.

3 No. 536.

4 No. 336.

5 No. 532.

Success, however, did not remain long with the Kasis.¹ In the *Mahdsllava Jataka*² king Mahasllava of Kasi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the ruler of Kosala. In the *Ghata*³ and *Ekaraja Jatalcas*⁴ Vanka and Dabbasena, sovereigns of Kosala, are said to have won for their country a decided preponderance over Kasi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kamsa, as the epithet *Baranasiggaho*, i.e. "seizer of Benares" is a standing addition to his name.⁵ The interval of time between Kamsa's conquest of Kasi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kasi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in the Buddha's time and even later when the *Juguttara Nikaya* was composed.

In the time of Mahakosala (about the middle of the sixth century B. C.) Kasi formed an integral part of the Kogalan monarchy. When Mahakosala married his daughter, the lady Kosaladevi, to king Bimbisara of Magadha, he gave a village of Kasi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.⁶

In the time of Mahakosala's son and successor, Pasenadi or Prasenajit, Kasi still formed a part of the Kosalan empire. In the *Lohichcha Sutta*⁷ Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions : "Now what think you Lohichcha ? Is not king Pasenadi of -Kosala in possession of Kasi and Kosala ?" Lohichcha

1 Cf. *Jataka* No. 100.

2 No. 51.

3 No. 355.

4 No. 303.

5 The *Seyya Jataka*. No. 282 ; the *Tesakuna Jataka*, No. 521 ; *Buddhist India*, p. 25.

6 *Harita Mata Jataka*, No. 239 ; *Vaddhaki Sukara Jataka*, No. 283

7 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, 288-97,

replies, "Yes, that is so, Gotama."¹ We learn from the *Mahavagga*² that a brother of Pasenadi acted as the viceroy of Kasi.

The *Samyukta Nikaya*³ speaks of Pasenadi as the head of a group of five *Rajas*. One these was probably his brother, the viceroy of Kasi. Among the remaining princes and chiefs we should perhaps include the *rdjanya* Payasi of Setavya mentioned in the *Payasi Suttanta** and the ruler of the Kalamas of Kesaputta.⁵

Another *Raja* of the group was apparently the Sakya chief of Kapilavastu. His political subordination to the; Kosalan monarchs appears from several texts.⁶ The ruler of Devadaha may have ranked as another notable vassal of Kosala.⁷

It was probably during the reign of Mahakosala, that Bimbisara was anointed king of Magadha. With the coronation of this famous ruler ends the period with which this part of the work deals.

1 Cf. *Gradual Sayings*, V. 40. "As far as the Kasi-Kosalans extend, as far as the rule of Pasenadi, the Kosalan *raja*, extends, therein Pasenadi, the Kosalan *Raja*, is reckoned chief."

2 S.B.E., XVII, 195,

3 *The. Book of the Kindred Sayings*, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, I. p.106.

4 Cf *Milinda*, IV. 4. 14 ; the *Vimana-vatthu* commentary ; Law, *Heaven and Hell*, 79, 83. Payasi occurs as the name of a village in a Sahet Mahet Inscription. It has been identified with a village close to the findsjpot of the record (Ray,, *DHNI*, I. p. 521).

5 *Indian Culture*, II. 808 ; *Angittara*, I, 188.

6 See *Supra* p. 99.

7 Kapilavastu, Devadaha and Koliya are sometimes mentioned as three distinct states (*DPPN*, I, 102n). The subordination of the sakyas to the King of Kosala necessarily implies the latter's control over Davadaha which was in part, at any rate, a Sakyan city. 1

SECTION IV. KINGSHIP.

We have endeavoured to give in outline the story of the political vicissitudes through which Northern India and a considerable portion of the Deccan passed from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisara. We shall now attempt a brief survey of some of the institutions of the age without which no political history is complete. We have seen that during the major part of the period under review the prevailing form of government was monarchical. The later Vedic texts and auxiliary treatises give us a few details about the rank and power of the rulers in the different parts of India, their social status, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their household, the civil and military services, the limitations of royal authority and popular participation in affairs of the state. Even when all scraps of information are pieced together, the picture is dim. The facts gleaned from Vedic sources which alone can, with confidence, be referred to the period before 500 B.C. have to be elucidated or supplemented by post-Vedic data embodying traditions about the heroic age that preceded the rise and growth of the Magadhan Empire.

The various **kinds of rulership** prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the *Aitareya Brahmana* :¹

*"Btasyam Pr achy am disi ye he cha Prachyanftnt
r&janah Samrajyayaiva te'bhishichyante Samrat-ityenan
ablmhikttmachahshata etameva Devanam vihitimanu.*

*Etasyam Bakshinayam disi ye he cha Sdtvatam Rafano
Bhaujyayaiva te'bhishichyaiite Bhoj-etyenan-abhishiUan-
achakshata etameva Bevanam vihitimanu.*

*Etasyam Pratlchyam disi ye ke cha Nlchyanam Rajano
ye'pachyanam Svarajyayaiva te'bhishichyante Svarat-ityenaiv-
abhishiktanachakshata etameva Bevanarh vihitimanu.*

*Etasyam Udlchyam disi ye he cha parena Himavantam
Janapada Uttara-Kurava Uttara-Madra iti Vairajyayaiva
te'bhishichyante Virat-ityenan-abhishilctartacluicshata etameva
Bevanam uihitimanu.*

*Etasyam dhruvdywih Madhyamayam praiishthayam
disi ye Ice cha Kibru-PaTtchalanam Rajanah sa Vas-
Osinaranam Rajydyayaiva te'bhishichyante Raj-etyenan-
abhishiktanachalcshata etameva Bevanam vihitimanu"*

"In this eastern quarter, whatever kings there are of the eastern peoples, they are anointed for overlordship (*Samrajya*); 'O Overlord' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In the southern quarter whatever kings there are of the Satvats, they are anointed for paramount rule (*Bhaitjya*) ; 'O Paramount Ruler' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this western quarter, whatever kings there are of the southern and western peoples, they are anointed for self-rule (*Svarajya*) ; 'O Self-Ruler'⁵ they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras, beyond the Himavat, their (kings) are anointed for sovereignty (*Vairajya*) ; 'O Sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this firm middle established quarter, whatever kings there are of the Kuru-Pauchalas with the Vasas and Usinaras, they lire anointed for kingship ; 'king' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods."¹

Several scholars assert that *Vairajya* means a kingless state. But in the *Aitareya Brahman*¹ a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called *Virat* and worthy of *Vairajya*. When a king consecrated with the *Pnnarabhisheka* (renewed anointment) ascends his *Asandi* or throne, he prays for attaining *Vairajya* as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sayarta takes the word *Vairajyam* to mean pre-eminence among kings, *itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vaisishtyam*. This is virtually the sense of the word that Dr. Keith accepts in his translation.

The *Suhranlti*? too, understands *Virat* to denote a superior kind of monarch. In the *Mahabharata* Krishna is lauded as *Samrat*, *Virat*, *Svarat* and *Sara-raja*.³ If the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras are to be regarded as republican, it is not because of the use of the term *Vairajya*, but because in their case it is not the *rajan*, but the *janapada* which is said to be anointed for sovereignty. It should, however, be remembered that already in the Brahmana period Uttara-Kuru has become a *devakshetra* which the arms of a mortal could not reach.⁴

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms *Sam-rajya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svarajya*, *Vairajya* and *Rajya* referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brahmanic period. But two terms at least, namely, *Sam-rajya* and *Rajya* are clearly distinguished by the *Satapatha Brahmana*.⁵

1 VIII. 17.

2 B. K. Sarkar's Translation, p. 24; Kautilya (VIII.2), however takes „ *Vairajya* to mean a system of government which comes-into existence by forcible seizure of a country from the legitimate ruler for purposes of exploitation.

3 XII. 43. 11; cf. 68.54.

4 *Ait. Br.* viii. 23. The existence of *Ganas* and of *Ganajyeshthas* are hinted at *Rig. V. I. 23. 8* ; *II. 23. 1* ; *X. 34. 12* ; *112. 9* ; *Sat. Br. XIII. 2.8. 4. etc.*

5 *V. 1.1. 12-13* ; cf. *Katyayana Sranta Sutra*, XV. 1.1,2.

Raja vai Rajasuyeyieshtva bhavati, Samrad Vajapeyen-Cwararh hi Rajyam param Samrapjam. Kamayeta vai Raja Samraj bhavitum avaram hi rajyam param Samrajyam. Na Samrat kamayeta Raja bhavitum avaram hi rajyam param Samrfijyam.

"By offering the *Rajasaya* he becomes *Raja* and by the *Vajapeya* he becomes *Samraj*, and the office of *Rajan* is the lower and that of *Samraj* the higher ; a *Rajan* might indeed wish to become *Samraj*, for the office of *Rajan* is the lower and that of *Samraj* the higher ; but the *Samraj* would not wish to become a *Raja* for the office of *Rajan* is the lower, and that of *Samraj* the higher."

In the *Rig-Veda*¹ and later on in the *Paranas Bhoja* appears as a proper name. But the Brahmanas regard it as a royal designation, applicable to the consecrated monarchs of the southern region.² The word Caesar furnishes a parallel. Originally the name of a Roman dictator and of members of his family, it is used, in later ages, as a title by Roman and German Emperors. As to *Svarajya* it is sometimes taken to mean uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to *Rajya*?

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brahmanas were considered to be unsuited for kingship. Thus we read in the *Satapatha Brahmayā*—"To the king (*Rajan*) doubtless belongs the *Rajasnya* ; for by offering the *Rajasaya* he becomes king, and unsuited for kingship is the Brahmana."⁴

1 in. 53. 7,

2 'Bhoja' may have reference to the king or chieftain as ruler, protector or devourer of his people (*Visamatta*). It appears as an official designation in several inscriptions of Southern India (*Ind. Ant.* 1876, 177; 1877, 25-28). In *Mbh.*, I. 84. 22. it is applied to a ruler and his family who are deprived of many of the attributes of sovereignty (*araja Bhojasabdatn tvam tatra prdpsyasi sanvayah*).

;3: *Kanaka Sathhita*, XIV. 5; *Maitrayanl Sathhita*, 1. 11, 5, etc, *Vedic Index*, II. 221. .

4 V. I, I. 12 ; *SBE.* XLI ; *Eggeling. Sat. Br.*, Part III , p. 4.

Bajna eva rajasuyam. Baja vai rajasuyeneshtva bliavati na vai Brahmano rajyayalam avaram vai rajasuyam par am Vajapeyam.

A Brahmana king is, however, contemplated in a passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana*.¹ We have references to Sfidra, Ayogava and even non-Aryan kings in other Vedic texts. King Janasruti Pautrayaria is branded a Sildra in the *Ohhandogya Upanishad*.² King Marutta Avikshita is styled "Ayogava" in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.³ Ayogava denotes, in legal codes, a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Sildra by a Vaisya wife.⁴ Nishada *sthapatis* (kings or chieftains) figure in a *Srauta sTdra* and the *Bamayana*. In the *Jaiminlya Upanishad Brahmana* it is stated that even an *anarya* "obtains," *prapnoti*, kings.⁵ This points either to non-Aryan kings or to the admission of *anaryas* into the dominions of Aryan rulers. The *Jatahas* and the Great Epic refer to kings of various castes including Brahmanas.⁶

Kingship was sometimes **hereditary**, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced. Mention may be made in this connection of the Parikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line ; hereditary kingship is also suggested by the expression *Dasapumshamrajya*—a kingdom of ten generations—occurring in the *Satapatha Brahmana*,⁷ But elective monarchy was not unknown.⁸

1 VIII. 23 (story of Atyaratis' offer to Vasishtha Satyahavya).

2 IV. 2.1-5. Apparently Sudra kings were not unknown in the age.

3 XIII. 5. 4. 6.

4 *Manu-samhita*, X. 12.

5 *Vedic Index*, I. 454 ; *Ram*, II. SO. 32 ; 84.1. *Jain. Up. Br.* 1. 4. 5.

6 Cf. *Jatakas*, 73, 432, *Mbh.* i. 100. 49f ; 138. 70.

7 XII, 9. 3.1-3; cf. also the reference to the birth of an heir to the throne [*Ait. Br.* VIII. 9 and to the king as *Rajfiita*, VIII. 17.

8 Reference may be made in this connection to the passages of the *Aitareya Brahmana* (e.g. VIII. 12) describing the choice and consecration of divine rulers (Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, 1927, p. 26), and notices of royal election in post-Vedic texts looking back to an early period e.g. *Mbh.*, J. 94.

The selection was made sometimes by the people **and** occasionally by the ministers. The choice was ordinarily limited to the members of the royal family only, as is shown by the legend in Yaska¹ of the Kuru brothers Devapi and Samtanu, and the story in the *Sarhvara Jdtaha*² of the Kasi princes itposatha and Samvara. In the *Jataka* the councillors ask a reigning king, "When you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the monarch, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

At times the **popular choice** fell on persons who did not belong to the ruling dynasty. Such may have been the case when the Srinjayas expelled their hereditary ruler together with the *Sthapati*.³ Clear instances of popular preference for individuals outside the royal family are furnished by the *Jatalcas*. The *Padanjali Jataka*,⁴ for instance, tells us that when a certain king of Benares died, his son, Padanjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The *Saehchamkira Jataka*,⁵ relates a story how nobles, Brahmanas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes the candidate comes from a place outside the realm. The *Darimukha*⁶ and *Sonaha Jatakas*⁷ tell

49—*rajatve tarn prajah sarva dhartnajna iti vavrire*, The expression king-maker (*raja-kartri*, *Ait. Br.* VIII. 17 ; *Sat. Br.* III. 4. 1. 7.) points to the important part played by officials including headmen of villages in the choice of the ruler. Both in the Vedic texts (*Ait. Br.* VIII. 12) and the epic emphasis is laid on the possession of moral qualities. The leader on whom the choice falls is *ojishtha*, *balishtha*, *sahishtha*, *sattamah*, *parayishnutama*, *dhartnajna*. In the fourth century B.C. physical beauty carried the palm in one territory (Kathaia in the Punjab according to Onesikritos).

1 *Nirukta* II. 10; *Ved. Ind.* II, 211.

2 No. 462.

3 *Sat. Br.* XII. 9. 3. 1 ff.

4 No. 247.

3 No. 73. 6 No. 378 ; cf. No. 401,

7 No. 529.

us how on failure of heir at Benares a prince of Magadha was elected king.

The monarch during the Brahmana period was usually allowed to have **four queens**, viz., the *Mahishf*, the *ParivriMi*, the *Vavata* and the *PalagalC*. The *Mahishf*, was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the *Satapatha Brahmana*.¹ The *Parivrikt* was the neglected or discarded wife, probably one that had no son. The *Vavata* is the favourite, while the *Palagall* was the daughter of the last of the court officials.² The *Aitareya Brahmana*? however, refers to the "hundred" wives of king Harischandra. In the *Jatalca* period several kings kept a bigger harem. We are told in the *Kusa Jatalca*⁴ that king Okkako (Ikshvaku) had sixteen thousand ladies in his harem among whom Silavati was the chief (*aggamahesi*). The king of Benares according to the *Dasaratha Jatalca*,⁵ had the same number of wives. In the *Suruchi Jatalca*,⁶ a king of Mithila says, "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithila covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is evidently exaggerated. But it indicates that the kings of the *Jatalca* period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brahmanic number of four or even a hundred queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate **ritual** which is described in several *Brahmanas*, and for which the appropriate formulas (*mantras*) are given in the Vedic *Samhitas*. Those

1 VI, 5. 3. 1. *Ved. Ind.*, I. 478.

2 Weber and Pischel in *Vedic Index*, 1,478.

3 VII. 13.

4 No. 531.

5 No. 461. The *Ramayana* (11.34.13.) allows this king only 750 ladies besides the chief consorts.

5 No.489,

who aided in the consecration of the king were called *Rajakartri* or *Rajakrit*, i.e., "king-maker." In the *Satapatha Brahmana*¹ the persons meant and specified are the *Suta* (minstrel, chronicler or charioteer), and the *Gramani*, leader of the host or of the village.² Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji observes :³ "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or **sacrifices of royal inauguration** were the *Vajapeya*, the *Rajasuya*, the *Punar-abhisheka* and the *Aindra Mahabhisheka*.

The *Vajapeya* (lit. "the drink of strength") bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "*Samrajya*," while the *Rajasuya* or royal inauguration merely conferred the ordinary monarchical dignity.⁴ The *Punar-abhisheka*, or renewed consecration, made the king-elect eligible for all sorts of royal dignity, viz., *Rajya*, *Samrajya*, *Bhaujya*, *Svarajya*, *Vairajya*, *Prameshthya*, *Maharajya*, *Adhipatya*, *Svavasya* and *Atishthatva*? The object of the *Aindra Mahabhisheka* (the great anointing of the king of the celestials) is thus described :

"*Sa ya iehchhed evamvit Kshatriyam ayam sarvajitir-jayetayam sarvamlloka vindetayam sarveshw Rdjndm 'SraishtJiyam, Atishtham, Paramatam gachchheta, Sam-*

1 III. 4.1.7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.

2 The post of *Gramani* seems to have been ordinarily held by a *Vaisya* (*Vedic Index*, I. 247 ; II. 334 ; *Camb. Hist.* 131 ; *Sat Br.* V. 3.1. 6.)

3 *The Fundamental Unity of India*, p. 83.

4 *Rajya*, cf. *Sat. Br.*, V. I. 1. 12-13; some texts, while agreeing that *he *Vajapeya* is a *Samratsava*, says that the *Rajasuya* is a *Varuna-sava*, consecrated to the universal sway wielded by Varuna. *Tait. Sam.* (V, 6, 2, 1) and *Br.* (11,7,0,1) ; *Sat. Br.* V. 4. 3. 2 ; Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 340 ; *Mahabharata*, Bk. II..12. 11-13. etc.

5 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 6. For the meaning of these terms see Keith's translation quoted below. Keith's rendering of some of the expressions, e. g. *Bhaujya* and *Vatrajya*, is, however, hardly satisfactory.

rajyath, Bhaujyam, Svarajyam Vairajyam, Parcmeslb
thyam, Rajyam, Maharajyam, Adhipatyam, ayam samanta-
paryayi syat Sarvabhaumah sarvayuslva a'ntada pararddhat
Pfithivyai samudraparyantaya Ekarat iti tametena Aindrena
Mahabhishelcena hshatriyanh sapayitva'bhishinchet**¹

"If he who knows thus should desire of a *lcsatriya*, 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings and overlordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty, may he be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler ;' he should anoint him with the great anointing of Indra, after adjuring him"²

The **Vajapeya** rites³ include a race of 17 chariots, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling, the ceremony perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of a pole, having a wheaten ring or wheel⁴ on the top, by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The *Satapatha*, *Brahmana* says, "Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others."⁵ The royal sacrificer having descended from the pole, is offered a throne-seat

1 *Ati, Br. VIII. 15.*

2 *Keith, HOS, Vol. 25.*

3 *Sat. Br. V. 1. 1. 5. ff; S.B.E., xli; Vedic Index, II. 281; Keith, Black-yajus, cviii—cxi ; RPVU, 339f.*

4 *Gaudhumam chashalam, "a wheaten headpiece (Eggeling)" "a wheel-shaped garland of meal" (S. B. E., xli, 31 ; Keith R. P. V. U. 339 ; Sat. Br. V 2. 1. 6).*

5 *Sat. Br., V. 2, 1.22.*

with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the *Adhvaryu* (priest) in the following words: "Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord (*yantri*, *yamatm*)—thou art firm and steadfast (*dhruva*, *dhamna*)—(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling (*hshema*), for wealth (*rayi*), for prosperity (*posha*), *L e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal."¹

The **Rajasuya** consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances which began on the first day of *Phalgitna* and spread over a period of upwards of two years.² The rite is described at great length in the *Satapatha Bvalmana*. Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial. The popular features are chiefly these :—

(1) The *Ratninam havlsh*⁴ or presents to the divinities of the bejewelled ones (or those possessed of the jewel offering), *vk.* the chief queen and court officials ;

(2) The *Abhishechmiya*⁵ or besprinkling ceremony ;

(3) The *dig vyasthapana*⁶ or the king's symbolical walking towards the various quarters as an indication of his universal rule ;

(4) Treading upon a tiger skin/ thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger ;

(5) Narration by the *hotri* priest of the story (*akhyana*) of Sunahsepa.⁸

1 *Sat. Br.*, V. 2, I. 25 : *The Fundamental Unity of India*, p. 80.

2 Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxi-cxiii, *RPVU*, 341 ; *Vedic Index*, II. 219 ; *SBE.*, xli, p. xxvi.

3 *V. 2. 3. 9 (et seq.)* ; *S.B.E.*, xli, 42-113.

4 *Sat. Br.* V. 3. 1. M. Louis Renou says—"les offrandes ne sont pas faites aux *ratnin* mais aux divinités dans les maisons de chaque *ratnin*."

5 *Sat. Br.* V. 3.3-4.

6 *Sat. Br.* V. 4. 1. 3 ; Keith, *Black Yujas*, *op. cit.*

7 *Sat.Br.* V. 4. 1. 11.

8 *Ait. Br.* vii. 13 ff; Keith, *RPVU*, 341n.

(6) A mimic cow raid agajhst a relative¹; or a sham fight with a member of the ruling aristocracy (*rajanya*) ;²

(7) Enthronement ;³

(8)' A game of dice in which the king is made to be the victor ;⁴

The recipients of the sacrificial honours called "*Ratni-nam havlshsi*" were the divinities in the houses of the **Ratnins**, i v., of the chief members of the royal household arid of the king's civil and military service, viz.—

1. The *Senanl* (Commander of the army).⁵

2. The *Parohita* (Royal Chaplain).

3. The *Mahishl* (Chief Queen).

4. The *Sfda* (Charioteer and Bard).⁶

5. The *Oramanl* (Leader of the Host or Village Headman).⁷

6. The *Kshattri* (Chamberlain)—forerunner of the *Antarvamiika* or Superintendent of the Seraglio of later times.⁸

7. The *Samgrahltri* (Treasurer)—forerunner of the *ShnnidhatrL*

8. The *Bhagadugha* (Collector of the Royal Share, i.e., Takes)—forerunner of the *Samahartri*.

9. The *Akshavdpa* (Keeper of the Dice).⁹

1 RPVU, 342 ; cf. *Sat. Br. V. 4. 3. 3 et seq.*

2 Cf. *Taittiriya Samhita*, 1. 8. 15 with commentary, *Vedic Index* II. 219. SBE ; xli, 100, n. 1.

3 *6at Br. V. 4.4. 1.*

4 *Sat. Br. V. 4. 4. 6* ; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, etc.p. 342.

5 Cf. *Senapati* in *Ait. Br. viii. 23.*

6 The importance of this office is shown by the oases of Suniantra and of SaHjaya who is called a *Mahamatra* (*Mbh.*, XV. 16. 4).

7 Cf. the *Adhikritas* appointed for *gramas* or villages by the paramount rule* (*Samrfit*) mentioned in the *Prahna Upanishad* (III. 4).

8 Vidurawasthe *Kshattri* (*Mbh*, I. 200.17; II. 66. 1., etc.) at the Kuru Court. For the views of different commentators see *Vedic Index*. I. 201.

9 Cf. the position of Kanka (Yudhis.thira) at the Matsya-Coiirt.

10. **The Go-vikartana** (lit. Cutter-up of Cattle, *i. &*, **the King's Companion in the Chase**).

11.- The *Palagala* (Courier)—forerunner of the *Data* (*Sasmahard*, etc.).¹

The most essential part of the *Ttajslytya* was the **Abhisheka** or besprinkling. It began with offerings to the deities Savita Satyaprasava, Agni Grihapati, Soma Vanaspati, Brihaspati Vak, Indra Jyeshtha, Rudra Pasupati, Mitra Satya and Varuna Dharmapati. The consecration water (*Abhishechanlya Apah*) was made up of seventeen kinds of liquid including the water from the river SarasvatI, sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brahmana priest, kinsman or brother of the king-elect, a friendly *Rajanaya* and a *Vaisya*.

The two most important kinds of *Abhisheka* were the *Panar-abhisheka* and the *Aindra Mahabhisheka*.

The **Punar-abhisheka** or Renewed Anointment is described in the *Aitareya Brahmana*.² It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or *Asandi* which was made of *udimbara* wood with the exception of the interwoven part (*bivayana*) which consisted of *munja* grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said : "Do thou become here, the

1 Curiously enough, this list of the *ratnins* does not include the *SthapaU*, probably a local ruler, vassal chief, or governor who is, however, mentioned in *Sat. Br.* V. 4. 17, in connection with the concluding ceremonies of the *rajasuya*. The sacrificial sword (*sphya*) given by the priest to the king is passed on successively to the king's brother, the *suta* or the *stapati*, the *gramant* and finally to a tribesman (*sajata*). The post of *stapati* was held by *Uparikas* or governors of *Bhuktis* (provinces) in the Gupta period (Fleet, C II, p. 120). Slightly different lists of *ratnins* are found in the *Taittiriya* texts. A group of eight *vitas* finds mention in the *Panchavimsa Brahmana* (*Camb. Hist. Ind.* I. 131). In *Sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 6. we have reference to the *Pariveshtri*, the *Kshattri* and the *Sakhasads* in connection with a performance of the horse-sacrifice.

overking of kings ; the great, of the great people, the supreme ruler of the people (or the peasantry)."¹ "*Rajnam tvam Adhirftja bhaveha ; Mahantam tva mahlnam Samrftjam cliarshanlnam?*"² The king was next required to get down from the throne and njake obeisance to the holy power (Brahman) ; "*Bralmana eva tat Kshatram vasam eti tad yatra vai Brahman ah Kshatram vasam eti tadrashtram samriddhark tad vlravadahasmin viro jayate,*"³ "verily thus the lordly power (*Kshatra*) falls under the influence of the holy power (*Brahman*). When the lordly power falls under the influence of the holy power, that kingdom is prosperous, rich in heroes ; in it a hero or heir (*vttra*) is born."⁴ Here there is provision for the prevention of royal absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently consecrated with the *Punar-abhisheha*.⁶

The **Aindra Mahabhisheka**⁶ or Indra's great unction consisted of five important ceremonies. In the first place, an **Oath** is administered by the priest to the king-elect: "From the night of thy birth to that of thy death for the space between these two, thy sacrifice and thy gifts, thy place, thy good deeds, thy life and thine offspring let me take, if thou play me false."⁷ Next follows the *Arohana* or enthronement. When the king is seated on the throne we have the *Utkrosana*⁸ or proclamation. The king-makers should say "The *Kshatriya*, if not proclaimed, cannot show his strength, let us

1 Keith, HOS, 25 (slightly emended).

2 *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 7.

3 *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 9.

4 Keith.

5 *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 11. A second coronation of the Ceylonese king Devanariipiya Tissa is referred to by the chronicles (Geiger's trans, of the *Mahavathsa*, p. xxxii).

6 *Ait. Br.* viii. 12-23.

7 Keith ; *Ait. Br.* VIII. 13.

8 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 17.

proclaim him. "Be it so" (the people reply). Him the king-makers proclaim saying:

"Him do ye proclaim, O men (*janah*) as king and father of kings....The sovereign lord of all beings (*Visvasya bhutasya adhipati*) hath been born, the eater of the folk (*Visdmatta*) hath been born, the destroyer of enemies (*Amitranam hantti*) hath been born, the protector of the Brahmanas (*Brdhmananam goptd*) hath been born, the guardian of the law (*Dharmasya gopta*) hath been born."

Here we have the important attributes of kingship. In the words *Vihasya bhutasya adhipati* (supreme lord of all beings) we have a reference to the king's sovereignty and *imperium*. The expression *Visamatta*, devourer of the folk, alludes to his power of taxation. As *Amitranam hanta* he exercises supreme command to weed out enemies. The epithet *Brahmandndm gopta* gives expression to his special relations with the hierarchy, while the style *Dharmasya goptti* points to his duties in connection with the preservation of the laws and their proper administration for the promotion of the common weal (*Yoga-kshema*).

When the king has been proclaimed there is an address with the formula, *ahhimantrana*.¹

*Varuna the Wise One
Hath set him down, preserving order,
.....for lingship.....*

Then comes the anointment (*abhishechana*)

The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the *Aindra Mahabhisheka* ; Janamejaya Parikshita, Saryata Manava, Satanika Satrajita, Ambashthya, Yudhamsraushti Augrasainya, Visvakarma Bhauvana, Sudas Paijavana, Marutta Avikshita, Anga Vairochana and Bharata Dauhshyanti.² The first-mentioned king,

1 *ibid.*, VIII. 18.

2 *ibid.*, VIII. 21-23.

and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also, belonged to the post-Parikshit period.¹ Durmukta Panchala and Atyarati Janantapi were informed of the efficacy of the rite. The first made good use of the advice. But the latter who neglected his priest, and wanted to conquer the Uttara-Kurus, whom "no mortal man could vanquish," perished at the hands of a king of the Sibis.

Closely connected with the *Aindra mahabhisheka* was another important ceremonial called the **Aivamedha** or horse-sacrifice. All the kings who were, according to the *Aitareya Brahmana*, actually consecrated with Indra's great unction are represented as "going round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offering the horse in sacrifice" (*samantam sarvatah prithivim jayan parlyayasvena cha medhyeneje*). To the list of kings and princes who performed the famous rite the *Satapatha Bralmana*² adds the names of the Parikshitas (or Parikshitiyas) Bhimasena, Ugrasena and Srutasena ; the Kosalan king (*Kausalyaraja*) Para Atnara Hairanyanabha ; the Aikshvaka king Purukutsa Daurgaha ; the Panchala kings Kraivya, the superman of the Krivis (*Krivlnam atipnrusha*) and Sona Satrasaha ; the Matsya king Dhvasan Dvaitavana, and the Svikna king Rishaba YajTiatura. The *Apastamba Srauta Sutra* says that a paramount king (*Sarvabhauma Raja*) may perform the

1 Satanika defeated Dhritarashtra of Kasi who, according to the *Mahagovinda Suttanta*, was a contemporary of Sattabhu of Kalinga and of Brahmadatta of Assaka. As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Parikshita works, it is probable that Satamka and his contemporaries flourished after Parikshit. Ambashthya and Yudhamsraushti were contemporaries of Parvata and Narada who were very near in time to Nagnajit, the contemporary of Nimi, probably the penultimate king of Videha. Anga was probably the immediate predecessor of DadhivShana who, according to Jaina evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

Afaamedlia.¹ The *Asva* or steed for a year roamed under guardianship of a hundred princes, and a hundred nobles, a hundred sons of heralds (or charioteers) and village headmen, a hundred sons of warriors and treasurers² (chamberlains ?) equipped with various kinds of defensive and offensive weapons. If the year were successfully passed the steed was sacrificed. The features of the rite included panegyrics of the sacrificer along with righteous kings of yore by lute-players including a *Baja?iya* who sings to the lute three songs made by himself, "such war he waged, such battle he won." There is also a "circle of tales," *Pariplava Alchyana*,³ which lasts by series of ten days for the whole year.

The kingship disclosed in Brahmanic songs and ritual is not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency."⁵⁵ The monarch is not merely a chief noble, the first among equals, 'President of a Council of Peers,' In a famous Atharvanic laud the *raja* of the Kurus, is extolled as a *deva* who

1 XX. i. 1. Variant readings (e. g. *apyasarvabhaumah*) of the relevant text seem hardly acceptable ; Cf. *Baudh.* XV. 1. Even as late as the time of Bhavabhuti (eighth century A. D.) the *Asvamedha* was looked upon as "the super-eminent touchstone to test the might of warriors conquering the world and an indication of the conquest of all the warriors"—*Asvamedha iti visvavijayinath Kshatriyanam Urjasvalah sarva-kshatriya-paribhavi mahanutkarshanishkarshah* (*JJttara- Rama-charitam*, Act IV, translated by Vinayak Sadashiv Patvardhan), The sacrifice seems also to have been performed in early times to atone for sinful work. There was also a Vishnuite adaptation of the famous rite—no animals being killed on the occasion, and the oblations prepared in accordance with the precepts of the *Aranyakas*. Reference may be made to the story of Uparichara Vasu in the *kantiparva* of the *Mahabharata*, Ch. 335-339 (Raychaudhuri, *EH* VS., 2nd ed., 132). Regarding the significance of the *Asvamedha*, see also D. C. Sircar's note in *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 311 ff; I I . 789 ff.,

2 *Sat. Br.* XIII. 4. 2. 5, *tasyaite purastadrakshitara upaklipta bhavanti. Rajaputrah kavachinah satam rajanya nishahginah satam sutagraman-yath putra ishuparshinah satam Kshatra Samgrahitrittafh putra dandihah iatamaivasatath nirashtam niramanam yasminnenamapisrija rakshanti.*

3 S. B. E. xliv. pp. 298 ff ; *Pariplava Akhyana* in *&at.Br.* XIII. 4. 3. 2 ; Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. exxxii f ; *RPVU*, 343 f ; Hopkins, *GEL*. 363, 386.

surpassed mere mortals (*martyas*). The consecrated king is the lord of all beings. He is called "*viivasya bhutasya adhipati*" and is further described as the devourer of the people—*visdmatt*d.^x "*Raja ta elcam muklmm tena mukhem vUo'tsi*"² He is surrounded by armed kinsmen and retainers.³ He can "banish a Brahmana at will, mulct and overpower a Vaisya at will, and exact labour from or slay a Sudra at will."⁴ Further he claims the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked. In the *Brihaddranyaka Upanishad* Janaka says to Yajfiavalkya, ^{el}"*So'ham Bhagavate Videhnd daddmi mdnchdpi saha ddsydyet*"⁵

The king, however, was **not an absolute despot** in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brahmanas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the *Punarabhisheka*, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the 'holy power' (Brahman) that was the repository of culture and education in those days. We learn from the *Aitareya Brahmana*,⁶ and the *Kautiliya Arthamstra*⁷ that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brahmanas. Karala Janaka met his doom for a crime against a Brahmana maiden. The Vrishnis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brahmanas.⁸ This shows

1 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 17.

2 *Kaush., Up.*, II. 6.

3 *Ait. Br. in.* 48, "Sixty-four, armed warriors assuredly were his (a Kuril's) sons and grandsons." When a Panchala King makes an offering there arise "Six thousand and three and thirty warriors clad in mail." *Sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 16 ; cf. 4. 2. 5.

4 *Ait. Br.* vii. 29.

5 *Brih. UP.* IV. 4, 23.

6 VII. 27.

7 *Ed.* 1919, p. 11.

8 Cf. also the fate of the Vaitahavyas, *Camb. Hist.* 121.

that not only kings, but republican corporations (*SahgJba*), too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brahmanas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers individually or in council, and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted on important occasions. In the Vedic texts the *Suta* and the *Oramanl* are styled *Rajahartri* or *Rajakrit*, i.e., **King-maker**, "*Rajalcritah Suta-Gramanyah*."¹ The very title indicates their importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other *Ratnins*, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The existence of a Royal Council (*Sabha*) is clearly suggested by references to *sabhsads* in Vedic texts, particularly in connection with king Marutta Avikshita.² In the *llamayana*³ the *sabha* is clearly a body in which the *Rajalcartris* have a place along with the *amatyas* and the *Rajapurohita* (royal chaplain). The claim of the ministers and headmen to be consulted is recognised in Pali texts while dealing with the period down to the time of Bimbisara. The *Mahavagga* says, "King Brahmadatta of Kasi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors (*Amacce Pdrisajje sannipdtd petvaY* and said to them : 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dighavu, the son of king Dighiti of Kosala, what would you do to him ? " The *Maha assaroha Jdtaha*⁵ refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors (*amachcha, amatya*). The *Chulla-Sutasoma Jataha* refers to the eighty

1 *Sat. Br.*, III. 4. 1, 7 ; XIII. 2. 2.18 ; In *Ram.* II. 67. 2 ; 79.1. the King-makers are *dvijatayah*.

2 *Ait. Br.* viii. 21 ; *Sat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 6,

3 II. 67. 2-4.

4 S.B.E., XVII 304 ; V'*inayapitakam* (Oldenberg), I (1879), p. 348. Cf. *Ram*, II, 79, *Samatyah Sapparishadah*,

5 No, 302,

thousand councillors of a king headed by his general,¹ (*Senapati pamukhdni asiti amachcha sahdssani*). The power of councillors (*amatyas*) to depose a prince and elect a king is recognised in the *Pddanjali*, *Samvara*, and *Sonaka Jatakas* respectively. There is evidence regarding special gemots of village headmen. We are told that "when Seniya Bimbisara, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand *Ordmiakas* '(village headmen) he sent message to Sona Kolivisa,"²

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (*Jana*, *Mahajana*) who were distinct from the ministers and *Gramanis*, or *Grdmikas*, and who used to meet in an assembly styled **Samiti** or **Parishad** in the *Upanishads*.³ In the *Utkroiana* passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana** the people (*Janah*) are clearly distinguished from the *Rajakartcirah* among whom, according to the *Satapatha Brahmana*⁵ were included the *Suta* and the *Gramanl*.⁶ That the *Samiti* or *Parishad* was an assembly of the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "*bhuyishthah Kuru-Panchaldssagata bhavitarah..*",⁷ "*Panchtdanam Samitim eyaya*", "*Panchalanam Parishadam ajagama*" "*samaggd Sivayo hutva*". The *Ghhdndogya Upanislad** mentions the *Samiti* of the Panchala people presided over by king Pravahana Jaivali, *Svetaketurh*

1 Cowell's *Jataka*, V, p, 97 (No, 525) ; 'eighty thousand' is a stock number and should not be taken too literally.

2 *Mahavagga*, S.B.E. XVII, p. 1.

3 In the *Jaim. Up. Br.* II. 11. 4. we find a reference to the *Parishad*, the *Sabhft* and the *Samsad*, It is not clear, if these are distinct institutions. The *sabha* and the *samiti* are, however, distinguished in the *Atharva-Veda*.

4 VIII, 17; cf. *Sat. Br.* V. 33. 12.

5 111,4. 1. 7 ; XIII. 2.2. 18.

6 For *Mahajana*, see *Jataka* (525) Vol. V. p. 187 ; *Jatakas* (542, 547), Vol. VI. p. 156, 489 etc. ; cf. *Sat. Br.* V. 3. 3. 12.

7 "Most of the Kuru-Panchalas shall be assembled together," *Jaim. Up. Br.* 111.7.6.

8 V.3.1.

Anmeyah Panohalanam Samitim e y a y a ; tam ha Pmvaliano Jaivalir uvaeha." The *Briliadaranyalca Upa-nishad*¹ uses the term *Parishad* instead of *Samiti*, "*Svetalcetur Jba va Aruyeyah Panchulanam Parislmamajagama*" The analogy of the Lichohhavi *Pdrisha* and of similar assemblies mentioned in Buddhist works shows that the functions of the Kuru and Panchala *Parishads* were not necessarily confined to philosophical discussions only. The *Jaimijiiya TJpanishad Brahmana*² refers to disputations (*samvada*) and witnesses (*upa-drashtri*) in connection with popular assemblies, and informs us that the procedure among the Kurus and the Panchalas was different from that of Sudras. The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration.³ The *Dummedha Jataha*⁴ refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brahmanas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the *Atharva-Veda*⁵ where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity. We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the *Satapatha Bralmana*,* "Now Dush-taritu Paumsayana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to him through ten generations, and the SriTijayas also expelled Revottaras Patava

1 VI. 2. 1.

2 III. 7. 6.

3 Ait. Br., VIII. 17.

4 No. 50 ; cf. *Vessantara Jataka* (No. 547), Vol. VI, pp. 490 ff. The whole Sivi people assembled to discuss a matter of public importance, to give advice to the King and to inflict punishment on a prince.

5 VI. 88. 3.

6 XII. 9. 3. 1 *et seq.*; Eggeling, V. 269.

Chakra *Stliapati*"" The *Aitareya Brahmana*² refers to personages who were expelled from their kingdoms (*rashttras*) and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the *Punar-ahhisheha*. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French "emigrants" who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns.³ We learn from the *Vessantara Jataka*⁴, that the king of the Sivils (Sibis) was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence" (*Sivilnam vachanatthena samha rattha nirajjati*).

The king was told :

"*Sache tvam na karissasi Sivilnam vaehanam idam manne tarn saha puttena Sivilhatthe karissare ti*"
The bidding of the Sivilfolk if you refuse to do
The people then will act, methinks, against your son
and you.

The king replied :

"*Eso die Sivilnam chhando chhandam na panudamase*"
Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.

The *PadakihSalamanava Jataka*⁵ tells a story how the town and the countryfolk of a kingdom assembled (*Janapada negama cha samagata*), beat the king and priest to death as they became a source, not of weal, but of woe (lit. fear, *yato khemam tato bhayam*), and anointed a good **man** as king. A similar story is told in the *Sachchamkira Jatalca*.* We are told in the *Khandahala Jataka*⁷ that

1 For the designation '*Sthapati*,' see *ante*, p. 167.

2 VIII. 10.

3 C/. Lodge, *Modern Europe*, p. 517.

4 No. 547 ; Text VI. 490-502. The Sibis are known to *Ait. Br.* viii. 23.

5 No. 432.

6 No. 73.

7 No. 542.

the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcaste and anointed a prince as king. The ex-king was not allowed to enter into the capital city. Fick¹ points out that in the *Talapatta Jataka* a king of Takshasila says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above.² Evidently the royal power had declined appreciably, at least in some of the north-western *Janapadas*, since the days of Janaka.³

1 *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, trans. by Dr. S. K. Maitra, pp. 113-114. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar follows him in *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, 134f.

2 P. 172, "*Bhagavate Videhan dddami*".

3 Note the references to elected Kings (e. g. amongst the Kathaioi) and autonomous folks by the historians of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. The Ambashthas had a strong monarchy in the Brahmana period (*Ait. Br.* viii 21.) In the days of Alexander (*Inv. Alex.* 252) the constitution was democratic.

O. P. 90—23.

PART II

Political History of Ancient India

PART II

From the Coronation of Bimbisara to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I. FOREWORD.

The following pages deal with the political history of India from the time of Bimbisara to that of the Guptas. For this period we are fortunately in possession of authentic historical materials in addition to literary tradition to which reference has already been made in the first part of the book. These materials are derived principally from the following sources : inscriptions, coins, accounts left by foreign observers and works of Indian authors of known date and authenticity.

Inscriptions engraved on stone and copper undoubtedly form the most copious and important source. Hardly less important are the coins which constitute almost the sole evidence of the history of certain dynasties and republican communities of the second and first centuries B. C. Foreign accounts, especially the records of Greek diplomats and navigators and of Chinese annalists and pilgrims, are especially valuable in connection with the vexed question of Indian chronology. Works of Indian writers of known epochs, that illumine the darkness of our period, and afford interesting glimpses of political history, are extremely rare and comprise the *Mahabhashya* (Great Commentary) of Pataujali, the

Kalpanamanditika of Kumaralata, the *Life of Vasubandhu* by Paramaratha and the *Harslba'charita* (Deeds of Harsha) by Banabhatfra,

For the history of the period from Bimbisara to Asoka the writer of these pages cannot claim much originality. The subject has been treated by Rhys Davids and Smith, and a flood of new light has been thrown on particular dynasties by G-eiger, Bhandarkar, Rapson, Jayaswal, Jackson, Herzfeld, Hultsch and others. Use has been made of the information contained in their works, and it has been supplemented with fresh data gathered mainly from epical, Jaina, Buddhist and classical sources. As instances it may be pointed out that attention to the name Harvanka. given to the Bimbisarid family- by Asvaghoshg., was first drawn in these pages. The tradition recorded in the *Harsha-charita* and Jaina works regarding the tragic end of Sisunaga's line and origin of the Nandas has been collated with the evidence of the Graeco-Latin writers. Epic data have been used largely to locate tribes like the Kambojas and the Pulindas who figure in the Asokan edicts, and to explain expressions like *stryadhaksha*, *viharayatra*, *anusamyana* etc. Old materials have also been presented in many cases in a new shape, and the author's conclusions are often different from those of former writers.

In the chapter on the Later Mauryas the author has examined the causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, and has tried to demonstrate the unsoundness of the current theory that "the fall of the Maurya authority was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brahmins."¹

The treatment of the history of the Early Post-Mauryan and Scythian periods, though not entirely

¹ **The Chapter** on the Later Mauryas was published in the *AJSB*, 1920 (No. 18. pp. 303 ff.).

original, is different in many respects from that of previous authors. It has not been possible to accept the current views with regard to the lineage of Pushyamitra and the history and chronology of several dynasties, notably of the Early Satavahanas, the Greeks of Sakala, and the Saka-Pahlavas of the *Uttarapatha* or North-West India. As early as 1923 the writer of these pages assigned to the Nagas of the Jumna valley and Eastern Malwa and the the Bharasivas their proper place in the history of the post-Kushan period, a fact which has been ignored in some recent publications.

In the account of the Gupta period use has been made of the mass of fresh materials accumulated since the publication of the works of Bithler, Fleet, Smith and Allan. The notices of the most famous ruling family of the age in early epigraphs and literature, which are sometimes overlooked, have received due attention, its relations with southern dynasties like the Vakatakas have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present a connected history of the so-called 'Later Guptas.'¹

1 The Chapter on the so-called Later Guptas was published in the *JASB*, 1920 (No. 19, pp. 313 ff).

SECTION II. LOCAL AUTONOMY AND IMPERIAL UNITY.

The chief interest of the political history of the post-Bimbisarian Age lies in the interplay of two opposing forces, one centrifugal, the other centripetal, viz., the love of local (*Janapada*) autonomy and the aspiration for imperial unity. The former ideal is best expressed in the words of Manu—*sarvam paravasam dahlcliam, sarvam atmavasam sukham*,¹ "subjection to others is full of misery, subjection to self leads to happiness." The predilection for local self-rule was in part fostered by geographical conditions. The intersection of the land of India by deep rivers and winding chains of mountains flanked by dreary deserts or impenetrable forests, developed a spirit of isolation and cleft the country asunder into small political units whose divergences were accentuated by the infinite variety of local conditions. But the vast riparian plain of the north and the extensive plateau in the interior of the Deccan Peninsula, decked with green by the life-giving streams that flow from the majestic heights of the Himalayas and the Western Ghats, fostered an opposite tendency—an inclination towards union and coalescence. The sands which choked the Sarasvati, the floods that swelled the Lauhitya, the dangers that lurked in the Mahatavi proved no effective bar to unity. The five hills of Girivraja could not permanently withstand the conquering heroes who were charged with an imperial mission. The head of the Vindhya bent in reverence before the sage who was bringing the culture of the Ganges valley to the banks of the Godavari and the Tamraparni.

The desire for union under one political authority became manifest as early as the Brahmana period and found expression in passages like the following :—

"May he (the king) be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler (*ekarat*)."

The ideal persists throughout our period and inspired poets and political philosophers who spoke of the thousand *yojanas* (leagues) of land that stretch from the Himalayas to the sea as the proper domain of a single universal emperor (*chahravarti-kshetra*) and eulogised monarchs who protected the earth decked with the Ganges, as with a pearl necklace, adorned with the Himavat and the Vindhya, as with two earrings, and robed with a swinging girdle in the shape of the rocking oceans.

The imperial ideal had to contend with the centrifugal tendencies of *Janapada* (provincial and tribal) autonomy. The two forces operated in successive epochs almost with the regularity of the swing of the pendulum. The aspiration for a unity that transcended local boundaries owed its success not a little to the presence of another factor in Indian politics—the danger threatening from foreign invaders. - It was only when the "earth was harassed by the barbarians"⁵ (*Mlechchhairudvejyamana*) that she sought refuge in the strong arms of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the first great historical emperor of India—whose dominions undoubtedly overstepped the limits of *Aryavarta*. Among the early empire-builders of the south was a prince who rid his country of the Scythians, Greeks and Parthians (*Saka-Yavana-PaMava-nishndana*). And the rulers who revived the imperial glory of the Gangetic Provinces in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., were warriors who humbled the pride of the Scythian "Son of Heaven" and

braved the wrath of the Saka king in his own city. According to sacred legends Vishnu in the shape of a Boar had rescued the earth in the aeon of universal destruction. It is significant that the worship of the Boar Incarnation became widely popular in the Gupta-Chalukya period. The poet Visakhadatta actually identifies the man in whose arms the earth found refuge when harassed by the *Mlechchhas*, who "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of his country, with the *Varah-tanu* (Boar form) of the Self-Existent Being. Powerful emperors both in the north and the south recalled the feats of the Great Boar and the mightiest ruler of a dynasty that kept the Arabs at bay for centuries actually took the title of *Adivaraha* or the Primeval Boar. The Boar Incarnation then symbolized the successful struggle of Indians against the devastating floods issuing from the regions outside their borders that threatened to overwhelm their country and civilisation in a common ruin.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF MAGADHA

*Sarvamurddhahhishiktanamesha murddhni jvalishyati
prabhaharo'yam sarvesham jyotishamiva bhaskarah
enamasadya rajanah samriddha-balavaliana
lrinasamupayasyanti mlabha iva pavakam.*

—*Mahabharata.1*

SECTION I. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD

C. 544 B. C. to 324 B. C.

The most remarkable feature of the age that commenced with the coronation of Bimbisara c. 545—44 B.C.,² and ended with the retirement of Alexander from India and the accession of a rajGbipta Maurya (324 B. C.), is the rise of a New Monarchy in the Eastern part of the Indian sub-continent which is already heralded by a *Brahmana* passage cited above³ :

"In this eastern quarter (*prachyam din*), whatever kings there are of the eastern peoples, they are anointed for overlordship (*Samrajya*) ; 'O Overlord' (*Samrat*) they style them wbeji anointed."

The eastern peoples (*prachyas*) are not enumerated in the same manner as thcise of the southern, the northern and the central regions. But it may be safely assumed that the name used in the *Aitareya Brahmana* stands for the Prasii of the Graeco-Roman writers. The most famous nations of the east in the *Brahmana-Upanishad* period were the Kasis, the Kosalas and the Videhas. But a new star was

1 II. 19. 10-11.

2 See below, Section V II.

p pp. 1567.

soon in the ascendant. Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisara and Nanda Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian politics as Wessex did in pre-Norman England and Prussia in Hohenzollern Germany. Several circumstances contributed to the pre-eminence of the new aspirant for imperial power—its position of vantage between the upper and lower parts of the vast riparian plain of Northern India, the possession of an almost unassailable stronghold amidst five hills, and another at and near the confluence of several rivers, the arteries of commerce and navigation in those days, a superbly rich and fruitful soil, and resources including a powerful elephant corps which greatly impressed the classical writers and Kautilya.

But strategic position and material wealth cannot suffice to raise a nation to greatness. As Burke says, it is the quality and spirit of the people 'that give all their life and efficacy to them'. As in several Atlantic lands, so in Magadha, we have a fusion of folks and cultures. Kikatas mixed here with enterprising clans coming from upper India as Celts did with Latins and Teutons in Mediaeval France and some adjoining territories. It is not difficult to find out two strands in the cultural—no less than the racial—texture of the population. The same nation that produced relentless fighters and 'exterminators of kings' and elans like Jara-sandha of epic legend, Ajatasatru, Mahapadma, Chandasoka (the ruthless conqueror of Kalinga) and perhaps Samudra Gupta, hearkened at the same time to the devout teachings of Madhyama Pratibodhiputra, Varddhamana Mahavira, and Gautama Buddha, and played a conspicuous part in the propagation of a world religion as it did in the establishment of an empire embracing nearly the whole of India. The birth of Ajatasatru and the enlightenment of the Buddha took place in the same country and the same age, and they met in Rajagriha as Charles **and**

Martin Luther did at Worms. The symbol of aggressive imperialism stood face to face with the preacher of piety and morality, leader of a movement that was destined to convulse a continent. The two ideologies did not long remain apart. They were harmonised and the magician who worked the miracle was Dharm-asoka who combined in himself the imperial tradition of his forbears as well as the spiritual fervour of the sage of the Sakyas.

A characteristic of the people of Magadha was an elasticity of social behaviour which was absent in the system which developed on the banks of the Sarasvati and the Drishadvatl. In their country Brahmanas could associate with *Vratyas*, the *Rajanya* could admit the Sudra girl to the harem, the *VaUya* and even the *Yavana* could be promoted to gubernatorial office, hereditary rulers of aristocratic lineage could be expelled to make room for the offspring of a *nagam-sobhinl*, and the "royal throne of kings" was not beyond the reach of a barber.

Magadhan rulers and chancellors like Vassakara and Kautilya, were not over-scrupulous in their methods. Tradition credits some of them with the use of Machiavellian diplomacy in disintegrating kingdoms and republics, and invention of engines of destruction which worked with deadly effect. But they had the sagacity to evolve an administrative system in which princes royal, ministers of state as well as leading men of villages had their due share. Foreign diplomats and pilgrims in the fourth century B.C., as well as the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. speak of their sense of justice, their hospitals, charitable institutions and public works. They believed in ceaseless endeavour with the object of realising the dream of a united jamabudvipa (Greater India) integrated by political as well as spiritual ties] In the *Magadlui* bards, the rulers of Girivraja and Pataliputra **had** a body of devoted men who could rouse popular

enthusiasm in a cause in which they believed. These singers and chroniclers have left a legacy which is invaluable to the student of ancient history.

The rise of Magadha synchronised with', and may have been a contributory cause of, an exodus of people from the *Madhya-desa* to the outlying parts of India, notably the west and the south. The displacement of the Yadavas in antiquity is vouched for by epic tradition. It is well-known that the Vrishnis and cognate clans of Dvarka in Kathia* wAr and several peoples of the Deccan claimed Yadu lineage. It was in the period under review that the Far .South of India comes definitely within the geographical horizon of the grammarians and foreign diplomats some of whom graced the *Durbar* of Magadhan Kings. *Sapta-Svndlw* had at last developed into *Jcmbudvipa*. And the time was not distant when a notable attempt would be made to impress the stamp of unity on it in the domain of culture and politics.

In making their prowess felt throughout the vast sub-continent of India the great men of Magadha had at first to face three, problems viz., those presented by the republics mainly on their northern frontier, the monarchies that grew up on the Rapti, the Jumna and the Chambal, and the foreign impact that made itself felt in the Punjab. We turn first to the republics.

SECTION II REPUBLICS IN THE AGE OF BIMBISARA.

It was Rhys Davids who first drew pointed attention to the survival, side by side with the monarchies, of, a number of small aristocratic republics in the **age** of the Buddha and of Bimbisara.¹ The most important amongst these states were the **Vrijans** of North Bihar and the **Mailas** of Kusinara (Kusinagara) and Pava. An account of both these peoples has already been given.² Among the smaller republics we find mention of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Devadaha and Ramagama, the Bhaggas (Bhargas) of Sumsumara Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta, and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.

The **S&k**yas were settled in the territory bordered on the north by the Himalayas, on the east by the river Rohini,³ and on the west and south by the Rapti.⁴ Their capital, Kapilavastu, stood close to the western bank of the Rohini, some eight miles to the west of the famous Lumbinivana,⁶ the place of the Buddha's nativity, the site of which is marked by the Rummindei pillar of one of the greatest of his followers,⁶ The city is possibly mentioned in the *Tnthyatm* section of- the *Mahabharata*¹ under the name of *KapilUvata*. It **was** connected by roads with the capitals of the Kosalas and

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 1.

2 *Supra* pp. 118ff, 126ff.

3 A tributary of the Rapti (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 96). Cunningham (*AGI*, new ed. 476) identifies it with the Kohana.

4 Rapson *Ancient India*, p. 161 ; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 95-96.

5 *AGI* (new) 476-

6 Kapilavastu is sometimes identified with Piprawa in the north of the Basti district, or Tilaura Kot and neighbouring ruins in **the** Tarai **about 10** miles to **the** N.W. of PiprSwa. (Smith, *EHI*, third ed., p. 159.)

7 III. 84. 31.

the Vrijikas, and through them with the other great cities of the age*. The Sakyas had a town called Bevadaba which they appear to have shared with their eastern neighbours, the Koliyas. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Kosala and, like him, claimed to belong to the solar (*Aditya*) race and Ikshvaku family.

The **Koliyas** claim to have been cadets from the royal house of Benares. Tradition connects them with the cities of Ramagama and Devadaha.¹ The river Rohini separated their capital from that of the Sakyas, and helped to irrigate the fields of both the clans.² "Once upon a time in the month of *Jettliamtala* when the crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from amongst both the peoples assembled together." Then followed a scramble for water. Bloodshed was averted by the mediation of the Buddha.³ From the mutual recriminations in which they indulged, we learn that the Sakyas had the custom of marrying their own sisters. Cunningham places the Koliya country between the Kohana and Aumi (Anoma) rivers. The Anoma seems to have formed the dividing line between the Koliyas on the one hand and the Mallas and Moriyas on the other.

The **Bhaggas** (Bhargas) are known to the *Aitareya Bṛhmana* and the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini.⁵ The former work refers to the Bhargayana prince Kairisi Sutvan. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C., the Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the *BhotmsdJclia Jataka?* that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas, dwelt

1 DPPN, 1. 689f. The Koliya capital stood close to the eastern bank of the Rohini.

2 The *Kunala Jataka* (introductory portion).

3 DPPN. I, 690. Cunn. AGI (new) 477; 491 ff.

4 VIII. 28.

5 IV. i. III, 177,

6 No. 353.

in Sumsumaragiri and built a palace called *Kokanada*. The *Mahabharata* and the *Harivamsa* also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas) and their proximity to the Nishadas. The testimony of the epic and the *Apadana* seems to locate them in the Vindhyan region between the Jumna and the Son.¹

Regarding the **Bulls** and the **Kalimas** we know very little. The *Dhammapada commentary*² refers to the Buli territory as the kingdom of Allakappa, and says that it was only ten leagues in extent*. From the story of its king's intimate relationship with king Vethadipaka it may be presumed that Allakappa lay not far from Vethadipa, the home of a famous Brahmana in the early days of Buddhism, who made a cairn over the remains of the Buddha in his native land.³ The Kalamas were the clan of the philosopher Alara, a teacher of Gautama before he attained to *Sambodhi*.⁴ The name of their *nigama*. (town) Kesaputta, reminds us of the Kesins, a people mentioned in the *batapatha Brahmana** and probably also in the *Ashtadyayi* of Panini,⁵ and connected with the Panchalas and Dalbhyas who appear in the *Rig-Veda*,⁶ as settled on the banks of the Gomati. Kesaputta itself seems to have been annexed to Kosala,⁸ and no doubt acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of that powerful state.

1 *Mbh.*, II. 30. 10-11 ; *Hariv.*, 29. 73. DPPN. II. 345 ; *Supra* p. 133.

2 Harvard Oriental Series, 28, p. 247.

3 Majumdar *Zastri* connects Vethadipa with Kasia (AGI, 1924, 714); *c/*. Fleet in JRAS, 1906, p. 900n ; Hoey suggests that Vethadipa is Bettiah in the Champaran District of Bihar.

4 *Buddhacharita*, XII. 2.

5 *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 186.

6 VI. 4. 165.

7 V. 61.

8 The *Ahuttara* (P. T. S., 1, 188 ; Nipata 111, 65).

The **Moriyas** (Mauryas) were the same dan which gave Magadha its greatest dynasty.¹ They are sometimes spoken of as of sakyan origin, but the evidence is late. Earlier evidence distinguishes between these two clans.² The name is derived, according to one tradition, from *mora* (*mayUra*) or peacock. The place where they settled down is said to have always resounded with the cries of these birds. Pipphalivana, the Moriya capital, is apparently identical with the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope.³ Fa Hien tells us that the Tope lay four *yojands* to the east of the river Anoma, and twelve *yvjanas* (probably some 54 miles) to the west of Kusinara.⁴

It will perhaps not be quite out of place to say here a few words about the internal organisation of the republics. Space, however, forbids a detailed treatment of the subject. They fall mainly into two classes, viz., those that were constituted by the whole or a section of a single clan (*Kula*) e.g., the Sakyas, the Koliyas, the Mallas of Kusinara the Mallas of Pava etc., and those that comprised 'several clans like the Vrijis (Vajjis) and the Yadavas. The distinguishing feature of a state of this type is the absence of *one* single hereditary monarch who exercised *full* control over it. The Basoleus, if he survived at all, must have done so as a mere magistracy or as a dignified

1 'Then did the Brahman a CSnakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudipa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyras.' Geiger, *Mahavamsa*, p. 27 ; DPPN, II. 673.

2 *Mahaparnibbanau Sutta*,

3 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 135 ; Watters *Yuan Chwattg*, II, pp. 23-24 ; Cunningham, *AGI*, new ed., pp. 4911, 496f.

4 *AGI* (new) 491, Legge, *Fa Hien*, p. 79 ; Watters, I, 141 ; cf. *JRAS.*, 1903. As Kasia (KusinaraS, Kusinagara) lay 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur (*AGI*, 493), the Moriya city could not have been situated very far from the 'lag-mentioned town. The Moriyras seem also to have been close neighbours of the Koliyas beyond the Anoma and ibe Mallas of Anupiya on tne banks oftbat river.

part of the constitution,¹ The efficient part comprised a president (chief *ganapati*, (*janajyedlia*, *ganaraja*, *Bcmglia mikkhya*) and a council of archons taken from the ruling class. Such a president was Chetarka of Vaisali and Akoup-his of Nysa in later times, the terrestrial counterpart of Indra, in his capacity as the *Jyeshtlia* of the Marud-arta.² According to a Jaina tradition the number of members of the supreme executive in charge of foreign and military Affairs was in some states nine.³ There were functionaries like uparajas and *sentvpatis* who exercised judicial and military functions. All these Elders possibly answer to the *Maliallakas* of Pali texts and *Malbattaras* of the *Vayu Purana** whom it was the duty of the citizens to respect and support.

* Some of the clans had an elaborate system of judicial procedure with a gradation of officers. Others, notably the Koliyas, had a police force which earned notoriety for extortion and violence.⁵ Reverence for tradition, especially for traditional religion with its shrines and ministers, was a feature that recalls the part that ancestral religion played in ancient Babylonia and modern Nippon.

("Perhaps the most important institution of the free republics was the *Parisha*, the popular assembly, where young and old held frequent meetings, made their decisions and carried them out in concord. Kettledrums⁶ were used by an officer (styled *sabhwPala* in the epic) to

1 Cf. the case of Ugrasena among the Yadavas.

2 *Rig-veda* I. 23. 8 ; cf. II. 23.1.

3 *Nava Mallai, Nova Lechchhal* etc. *supra* p. 125. In Nysa the governing body consisted of 300 members. The number of "leading men of cities and provinces" entrusted by the Kshudrakas with power to conclude a treaty is not definitely stated.

4 *Vayu*. 96,55.

5 DPPN.I 690.

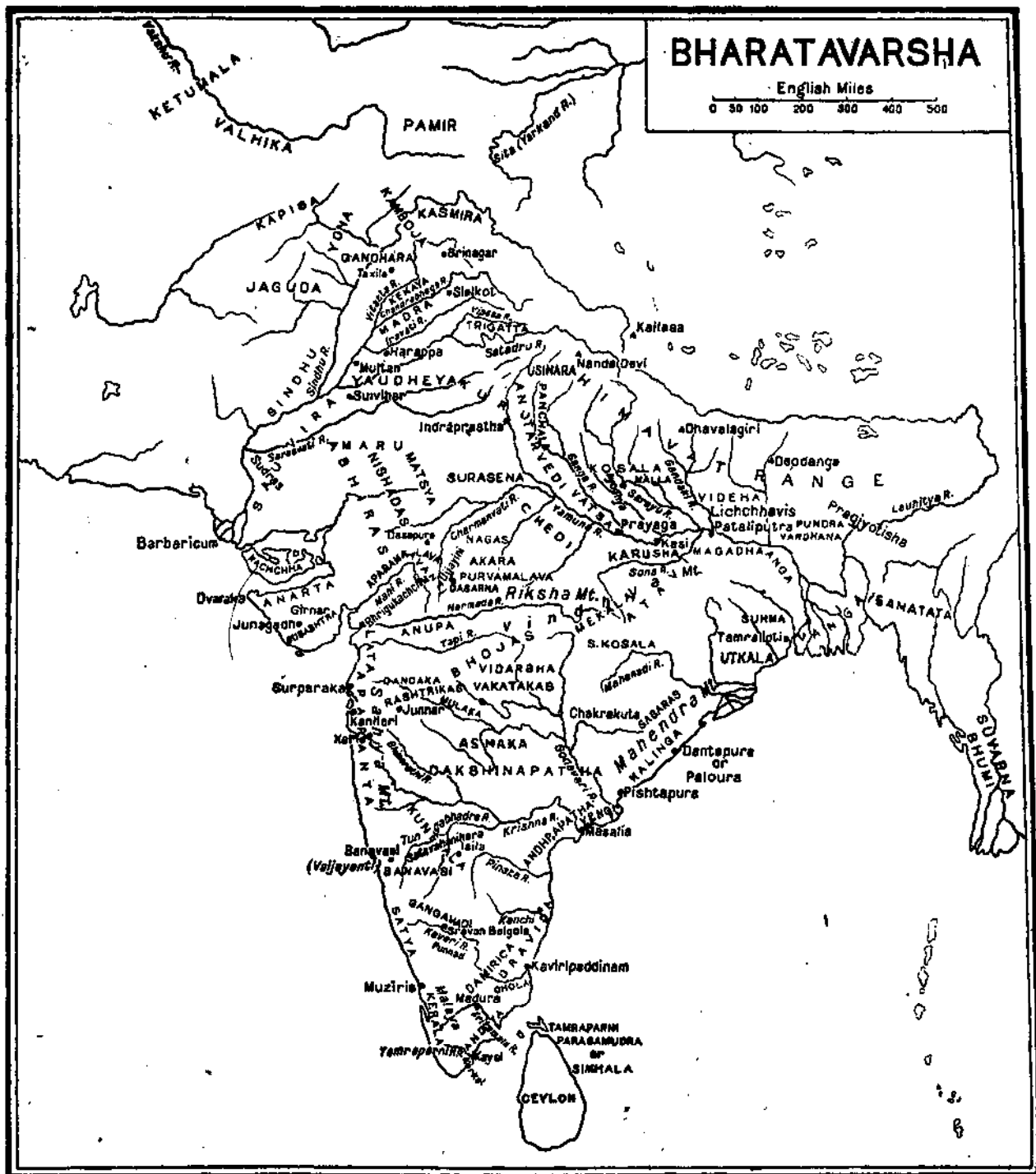
6 *kindred Sayings*- 11. 178 reference *kevledrum* of the DasgrUs, cf. Mbh., 1.220.11

bring the people to the Moia Hall, called *ScwtUiftgWra* in the Pali texts. The procedure is perhaps analogous to that followed in the Kuru-Panehala assembly mentioned in the *Jaiminlya Upanisliad Brahmana*, in a palaver in S*kra*s heaven described in the *Mahftgovinda Suttania*, or in formal gatherings of the Chapters of the Buddhist Order referred to in the *Yinaya* texts. JMembers "are seated in a specified order. After the president has laid the proposed business before the assembly, others speak upon it, and recorders take charge of the unanimous decision arrived at."¹ If there is any disputation (*samvdda*) the matter is referred to a committee of arbitrators. It is possible that technical expressions like *asana-prajnapalca* (seat-betokener), *natti (jnapti, motion)*, *salaka-gahapalca* (ballot-collector), *gana-puralca* (whip), *ubbahika* (referendum) found in the Rules of the Order, were adopted from those in use in the assemblies of the free tribes or clans.

I *Jaim. Up: Br*, III, 7. 65. *Camb. Hist, tnd*, 1.176: cf., *Cam. Uc.* 1918. 180ff.

BHARATAVARSHA

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500



SECTION III. THE MINOR PRINCIPALITIES
AND THE GREAT MONARCHIES.

An important feature of Indian history throughout the ages is the presence of numerous petty *Rajas* holding their courts either in some forest region, mountain fastness, or desert tract away from the main currents of political life, or in a riparian or maritime district, each separated from his neighbour by a range of hills, a stream, a forest or an expanse of sandy waste. It is impossible to enumerate all such tiny states that flourished and decayed in the days of Bimbisara. But a few deserve notice. Among these were Gandhara ruled by Paushkarasarin or Pukkusati, a remote predecessor of Ambhi, Madra governed by the father of Khema, a queen of Bimbisara, Roruka (in Sauvira or the Lower Indus Valley) under the domination of Rudrayana,¹ Surasena ruled by Avantiputta (either a successor of, or identical with, Subahu), and Anga under the sway of Dridhavarman and Brahmadatta.

It is difficult to say anything about the ethnic affiliation of these rulers. The form of the names indicates that they were either Aryans themselves or had come under the influence of Aryan culture. But there were certain principalities which were definitely styled Nishadain the epic, and Alavaka, (forest-folk of Yaksha-infested land) in the Pali texts and were doubtless of non-Aryan origin.

One of these, the realm of **Alavaka**,² demands some notice as the relic of a past that was fast disappearing. This little state was situated near the Ganges and was probably identical with the Chanchu territory visited by Yuan

1 *Divyavadatia*, p. 545.

1 *Sutta Nipata*, S.B.E., X, 11. 29-30.

Chwang (Hiuen Tsang). Cunningham and Smith identify it with the Ghazipur region.¹ The name is derived from the capital Alavi² (Sanskrit *Atavi*, cf. *Atavika*) or Alabhiya³ which stood close to a large forest that doubtless suggested the particular nomenclature.⁴ In the *Abhidhanappadipilca* Alavi finds a place in a list of twenty famous cities : Baranasi, Savatthi, Vesalf, Mithila, Alavi, Kosambhf, Ujjeni, Takkasila, Champa, Sagala, Sumsumaragira, Rajagaha, Kapilavatthu, Saketa, Indapatta, Ukkattha,⁵ Pataliputtaka, Jettuttara,⁶ Samkassa⁷ and Kusinara. The *Ghullavagga*⁸ mentions the Aggalave shrine at Alavi which the Buddha honoured by his visits, as it lay on the way between the capitals of Kosala and Magadha. In the *Uvasaga-dasao* the king of Alabhiya is named *JiyasattR* (Jita-satru, conqueror of enemies).. But *Jiyasatta* seems to have been a common designation of kings⁹ like the epithet *Vevanampiya* of a later age.¹⁰ The name is given also to the rulers of Savatthi, Kampilla, Mithila, **Champa**, Variiyagama, Baranasi and Polasapura,

1 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 61, 340.

2 *Sutta Nipata* ; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, Vol. I. p. 275.

3 *Uvasaga-dasao* II. p. 103 ; Appendix, pp. 51-53.

4 Cf. *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, Vol. I. p. 160. The derivation of the name of the country from *atavi* was suggested by Hoernle who also pointed out the reference in the *Ahhidhanappadipika*. Cf. also the references to fo/est peoples and kingdoms in the inscriptions of Asoka and Samudra Gupta.

5 A town in the Kingdom of Kosala (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 108).

6 Near Chitor (N. L. Dey).

7 Sanskrit Sankasya or Kapifcthika which is identified by Cunningham with Sankisa on the Ikshumati river, in the Farukhabad District, U. P. (C trail. AGI new ed. pp.422f, 706).

8 VI17 ; cf. also *Gradual Sayings*, IV. 147 ; DPPN, I. 295..

9 Cf. *Amitranam hanta* of the *Ait. Br.* The Essay on Guriadhya (189 mentions Hatthalavaka as the king of Alavi.

10 In Babylon, however, the style "favourite of the gods" is foundmi eajtly as the age of Hammurabi (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* I. p 511 ; /. C, April-June, 1946. p. 240.

who were all contemporaries of Mahavira.¹ Buddhist writers refer to other "Yakkha" principalities besides Alavaka.²

The most important factors in the political history, of the period were, however, neither the republics nor the forest principalities but the **four Great Kingdoms** of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha.

In **Kosala** king Mahakosala had been succeeded by his son Pasenadi or Prasenajit. As already stated, the Kosalan monarchy had spread its tentacles over a vast area extending perhaps from the Gumti to the Little Gandak and from the Nepalese Tarai to the Ganges, possibly even to the eastern part of the Kaimur range. It counted amongst its vassals several *rajas** including, doubtless, the rulers of the Kasis, the Sakyas and the Kalamas. Among its officials were two Mallas, Bandhula and his nephew Dirgha Oharayana,⁴ who must have helped their sovereign to secure influence in the tiny state beyond the Little Gandak from which they came. "Nine Mallakis" appear as allies of the rulers of Kasi-Kosala in Jaina texts. Friendship with the "Visalika Lichchhavi" and with Seniya Bimbisara,⁵ the master of Magadha, must have favoured peaceful penetration in the east and left the king free to organise his kingdom and dealing drastically with robbers and savages who menaced the road from

1 Cf. Hoernle, *Uvasaga-dasao*, II, pp. 6, 64, 100, 103, 106, 118, 166. , In the *Arya Mahajust Mula Kalpa* (ed. G. iastri p. 645), a king of Gauda is styled "Jitakatru". It is absurd to suggest, as does Hoernle (p. 103 n), that Jiyasattu, Prasenajit and Chedaga were identical. Cf. *Indian Culture*, II, 806.

2 Cf. *Sutta Nipata*, S.B.E., Vol. X. ii. p. 45.

3 For the identification of the *Rajas*, see Part I ante, 155f.

4 *MajjhimaS.* II. P 118. He is probably identical with the person of that name mentioned in the *KauHltya Arthashastra* and inscriptions (*nitivijita Charayanah*, Ep Ind. III. 210) as a writer on polity and by Vatayaha as an authority on Erotics.

" 5 *Majjhima*, N. II. p. 101.

Saketa to Savatthi, and interfered with the peaceful life of the monks.

The character of such a man, one of the leading figures of the age, who had received his education at Taxila, and became a friend of the Buddha, deserves study and we have an admirable exposition by Mrs. Rhys Davids. "He is shown combining like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of good 'family man', indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, a magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also are both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not."²

The family life of the king had its bearing on affairs of the state. He married a Magadhan princess which must have cemented his friendship with Bimbisara, who got a Kosalan wife in return. Another queen of Pasenadi (Prasenajit) was the famous Vasabhakkhattiya, daughter of Mahanaman, the Sakyan, by a slave girl.³ The issues of this marriage were a son, Vidudabha (Viduratha), who rose to be his father's *senapati* (general),⁴ and

1 *Mahavagga*, SBE, XIII, pp. 220, 261. Among the marauders was the notorious Angulimala.

2 *Sage and king in Kosala-Samyutta*, Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 134.

3 DPPN. II. 171; 857.

4 For the employment of princes as *Senapati*, see Kautilya (*Mysore* edition, 1919. p. 34; cA 346.

afterwards his successor,¹ and a daughter Vajira or Vajiri Kumari* who became the queen of Ajatasatru, the successor of Bimbisara on the throne of Magadha, The careers of the prince and the princess are bound up with memorable events viz., the war of the Kosalan king with Ajatasatru, the loss of his throne as a result of his son's revolt, and the terrible vengeance that the latter wreaked on the Sakyas for sending the offspring of a slave woman to the Kosalan harem to become the mother of the prince.

"When the Magadhan war brought disaster to the king's arms he married Mallika, daughter of the chief of garland-makers, who sweetened his days till her death, and made herself famous by her benefactions. Among these was a garden, the Mallikarama, which was set apart for religious discussions.³ She leaned towards the Buddha and his order, though her husband, with great insight, extended his patronage to Brahmanas as well⁴ Mallika and Sumattha the king's sister⁵ remind one of Karuvaki and Rajyasri, famous for their charity and interest in Buddhist teaching in the days of Asoka and Harsha respectively.

The internal organisation of the kingdom of Kosala presents some interesting features. There was a body of ministers at the centre, but they had little control over the

1 Vidudabha's name is generally omitted in Puranic manuscripts. The Purinaj, however, mention a king named Suratha. Pargiter points out (*D. K. A.*, 12, n 63) that one manuscript of the *Vishnu Purana* gives the name *Viduratha* instead of Suratha. But that prince is represented as the great-grandson of Prasenajit. Similarly, the Puranas represent Udayin as the grandson of Ajatasatru. These instances emphasize the need for a critical handling of the Puranic lists.

2 *Majjhima*, II, p. 110.

3 DPPN. II. 455-7. A more famous place, Jetavana, is said to derive its name from a son of Prasenajit.

4 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. pp. 108, 238. For Pasenadi's benefactions to the Buddha and his followers see *Gagga Jataka*, no. 155, For preparations for a great sacrifice, see *Kindred Sayings*, 1.102.

⁵ DPPN. II. 168 ff, 172. 1245.

king's whims. Those specifically mentioned by tradition were Mrigadhara,¹ Ugga, Siri-Vaddha, Kala and Junha. The generals included the Crown Prince and some Malla chiefs. Police duties on roads were performed by soldiers, Portions of the royal domain were granted to Brahmanas like Pokkharasadi, with power over them as if they were kings. The weakness of the system soon became apparent, and led to the downfall of the king. Ministers, who were lavish in their charity, were preferred to those who approved of a more economical policy, and one of the favourites is said to have actually been allowed to rule over the kingdom for seven days. The large powers granted to *Brahmana* donees must have promoted centrifugal tendencies, while the infidelity of some of the generals including the Crown Prince, and the cruel treatment by the latter, when he became king, of vassal clansmen contributed to the eventual downfall of the monarchy.

In the **Vatsa** kingdom which, probably at this time, extended along the southern frontier of Xosala, king Satanika Parantapa was succeeded by his son Udayana who rivals Sri Ramachandra, Nala and the Pandavas in being the hero of many romantic legends.² The commentary on the *Dhamrnepada* gives the story of the way in which Vasuladatta or Vasava datta the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti, became queen. It also mentions two other Consorts of the

1 Hoernle, *Uvasaga-dasao*. I I, Appendix, p. 56. DPPN, I, 332, 572, 960 II. 1146.

2 For a detailed account of the legends, see "Essay on Gnnadhya and the Brihatkatha," by Prof. Felix Lacote, translated by Rev. A. M. Tabard. See also *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1920-21; Gune, "Pradyota, Udayana, and Srenika—A Jaina Legend"; J. Sen, "The Riddle of the Pradyota Dynasty" (I. H. Q., 1930, pp. 678-700); Nariman, Jackson and Ogden. *Priyadarsiika*, Ixii ff.; Aiyangar Com. Vol., 352 ff.; Malalasekera, DPPN, I. 379-80; II. 316, 859,

Vatsa king, viz. Magandiya,¹ daughter of a Kuril Brahmana, and Samavati, the adopted child of the treasurer G-hosaka. The *Milindaparho* refers to a peasant woman named Gopala-mata who also became his wife.² The *Svapna-Vasavadatta* attributed to Bhasa, and some other works, mention another queen named Padmavati who is represented as sister to king Darsaka of Magadha. The *Priyadarsika* speaks of Udayana's marriage with Aranyaka, the daughter of Dridhavarman, king of Anga. The *Ratnavall* tells the story of the love of the king of Vatsa and of Sagarika, an attendant of his chief queen Vasavadatta. Stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kalidasa as we learn from the *Meghaduta* : "*prapy-Avantim Udayana-katha-Jcovida gramavridhdan*." The *Jatahas* throw some side-light on the character of this king. In the preface to the *Matahga Jataka* it is related that in a fit of drunken rage he had Pindola Bharadvaja tortured by having a nest of ants tied to him. The *Katha-sarit-sagara* Somadeva, a writer of the eleventh century A.D., contains a long account of Udayana's *Digvijaya*.³ The *PrivadarsiJca* of Sri Harsha⁴ speaks of the king's victory over the lord of KaTingaJ and the restoration of his father-in-law Dridhavarman to the throne of Anga. It is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables. It seems that Udayana was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Anga and Magadha. But his career was meteoric. He left no worthy successor. Bodhi, his son by the chief queen, preferred a quiet life amidst the sylvan surroundings of

1 Cf. Anupama, *Divyavadatta*, 36.

2 IV. 8. 25 ; *DPPN*, I. 379-80.

3 Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 148 ff.

4 Act IV.

Sumsumaragiri to the troubles of imperial adventure. The kingdom, harassed by various wars, was at last overcome by its ambitious neighbour on the south-west, viz., Avanti, and was governed by a prince of the royal line of Ujjain.¹

The throne of Avanti was, in the days of Udayana, occupied by Chanda Pradyota Mahasena whose daughter, Vasavadatta, became the chief queen of the lord of the Vatsas. Regarding the character of Pradyota the *Mahavagga* says that he was cruel.² The *Puranas* observe that he was "*nayavarjita*", i.e., destitute of good policy and add that "he will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him—*8a mi pranata-samanath*". He had at one time made the Vatsa king a captive and had a close relation on the throne of Mathura. The terror that he struck among his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the *Majjhima Nikaya*³ that Ajatasatru, son of Bimbisara, fortified Rajagriha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota. He also waged war on Pushkarasarin, the king of Taxila.⁴

1 Cf. story of Maniprabha from *Avastya-Kathanakas. J. M. B. parts ishtafiarvan*, 2nd ed. xii, Tawney, *Katha-sarit-sagara*, II. p. 484. According to the *Avastya-K* at *kanaka* IV, reproduced by Bhadresvara in his *Kahavali*, Maniprabha, great-grandson of Pradyota ruled at Kausambi, while his brother Avantisena exercised sway at Ujjain (Avanti).

2 S.B.E., XVII, p. 187.

3 III. 7.

4 Pradyota was unsuccessful in this war and was only saved from disaster by the outbreak of hostilities between Pushkarasarin and the Pandavas (*Essay on Gunadhyā*, 176).

SECTION IV. MAGADHA CRESCENT—BIMBISARA.

According to Jaina legend Pradyota went forth to attack Rajagriha even during the lifetime of Bimbisara.¹ The last-mentioned prince, the real founder of Magadhan *imperial* power in the historic period, was the son of a petty chief of South Bihar, whose very name seems to have been forgotten. Tradition tried to fill the lacuna possibly by an imaginary nomenclature.² An early authority describes the family to which the prince belonged as the *Haryanlca-hula*. As we have already seen,³ there is no reason to discard this evidence in favour of the later tradition of the *Puranas*. Young Bimbisara, who also bore the name or epithet of Seniya (Srenika), is said to have been anointed king by his own father when he was only fifteen years old.⁴ The momentous event cannot fail to recall a solemn ceremony that took place some nine hundred years later when another king of Magadha clasped his favourite son in arms in the presence of the princes royal and ministers, in council assembled, and exclaimed, "Protect the entire land".

The new ruler had a clear perception of the political situation of his time. The military power of the Vriji Confederation was growing in the North. Aggressive monarchies under ambitious rulers were following a policy of expansion from their bases in Sravasti, Jmd.Ujjain. The cruel and unscrupulous ruler of the

1 He was foiled by the cunning of Prince Abhaya (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1920-21, 3 ; cf. *DPPN*. I. 128).

2 Among the names given by various late writers we find the following : Bhittyo (Bhattiya, Bodhisa), Mahapadma, Hemajitt, Kshemajit, Kshetroja or Kshetrauja.

3 *Supra* p. 115ff.

4 *Mahavamsa* (Geddes' translation) p. 12.

last-mentioned city engaged in hostilities with Pushkarsarin of Taxila. (The king of Taxila harassed by numerous enemies including the mysterious Pandavas who are known to have been in possession of Sakala (in the Punjab) in the days of Ptolemy, turned to the king of Magadha for help. Though ready to oblige his Gandharian 'friend by receiving an embassy, Bimbisara, who had to liquidate the long-standing feud with his eastern neighbour across the Champa, was in no mood to alienate Pradyota or any of the other military chiefs of the age.

When the king of Avanti was suffering from jaundice he sent the physician Jivaka. He also pursued a policy of dynastic marriages like the Hapsburgs and Bourbons of Europe and contracted alliances with the ruling families of Madra,¹ Kosala² and Vaisali. These measures were of great importance. They not only appeased the most formidable militarists of the age, but eventually paved the way for the expansion of the kingdom both westward and northward. Bimbisara's Kosalan wife brought a Kasi village producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.³ The Vaisalian connection produced momentous consequences in the next reign.

1 Khema, the princess of Sakala (Madra) is said to have been the chief Consort of Bimbisara. Was she connected with the Pandavas who are found in Sfikala as late as the age of Ptolemy ?

2 According to the *Dhattnapada commentary* (Harvard, 29, 60 ; 30, 225) Bimbisara and Pasenadi were connected by marriage, each having married a sister of the other.

3 *Jataka*, Nos. 239, 283, 492. According to *XheThusa Jataka* (338) and the *Miishika Jataka* (373) the Kosalan princess was the mother of Ajatasatru. The preface to the *Jatakas* says, "At the time of his (Ajatasatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisara". In the *Sathyukta Nikaya* (*Book of Kindred Sayings*, 110) Pasenadi of Kosala calls Ajatasatru his nephew. In Vol. I. page 38 n of the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, however, Madda (Madra) appears as the name of Ajatasatru's mother. A Tibetan writer, calls her Vasavi (DPPN 1.34.). The Jaina writers represent Chellana, daughter of Chetaka of Vaisali as the mother of Kunika-Ajatasatru. The *Nikayas* call Ajatasatru Vedhiputta

The shrewd policy of Bimbisara enabled him to devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Anga) which he annexed after defeating Brahmiadatta.¹ The annexation of Aiiga by Bimbisara is proved by the evidence of the *Mahavagga*² and that of the *fionadanda Sutta* of the *Diglia Nikaya* in which it is stated that the revenues of the town of Champa have been bestowed by King Bimbisara on the Brahman a Sonadanda. We learn from Jaina

. . . .

sources that Aiiga was governed as a separate province under the Magadhan Crown Prince with Champa as its capital.³ The king himself resided in Rajagriha-Gririvraja.⁴ Thus by war and policy Bimbisara added Anga and a part of Kasi to the Magadhan dominions, and launched Magadha to that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Asoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. We learn from the *Mahavagga* that Bimbisara's dominions embraced 80,000⁵ townships.

The victories of Bimbisara's reign were probably due in large measure to the vigour and efficiency of his administration. He exercised a rigid control over his

(Vaidehiputra) i.e. son of the Videhan princess. This is taken to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaisuli was situated in Videha. Buddhaghosha, however, resolves "*Vedehi*" into *Veda-Iha*, *Vedena Ihati* or intellectual effort (BKS, Vol. I. 109n) and seems to suggest that the expression *Vedehiputta* simply means "Son of the accomplished Princess". We should moreover remember that the Kosalan monarch Para Atnara, had the epithet *Vaideha* and the name Kausalya was applied to several Kasi princesses in the epic. The appellation *Vaidehiputra*, therefore, does not necessarily disprove the Kosalan parentage of the mother of Ajatasatru. The matter is obscure and we must await fresh discoveries.

1 JASB., 1914, p. 321.

2 SBE., XVII, p. 1.

3 Hemchandra, the author the *Pariistha parvan* VU. 22 ; c/. also the *Bhagavati Sutra* and the *Nirayavail Sutra* (ed. Warren, p. 3). King (raya) Kuniya, son of King Seniya by Chellanadevi, ruled in Champa-nagari in Bbaratavarsha, which is in Jambudvipa.

4 *Sutta Nipata*, SBE., X, ii. 67.

3 Apparently a stock number,

High Officers,¹ dismissing those who advised him badly and rewarding those whose advice he approved of. The result of the 'purge*' was the emergence of the type of official represented by Vassakara and Sunitha. The High Officers (*R&jabhata*) were divided into several classes, viz., (1) *Sahbatthaka* (the officer in charge of general affairs), (2) *Sena-ndyaka Mahamattas* (generals), and (8) *Vohdrika Mahamattas* (judges).² The *Vinaya* texts afford us a glimpse of the activities of these *Mahamatras*, and the rough and ready justice meted out to criminals. Thus we have reference not only to imprisonment in jails (*kdrd*), but also to punishment by scourging (*kasa*), branding, beheading, tearing out the tongue, breaking ribs, etc. There seems to have been a fourth class of *mahamdtras* who were responsible like the village syndic and headmen (*grdmabhojaka* or *gramakuta*) for the levy of the tithe on produce,³

In provincial administration a considerable degree of autonomy was allowed. We hear not only of a sub-king at Champa, but of *mandalika rajas** corresponding perhaps to the earls and counts of mediaeval European polity. But Bimbisara, like William the Conqueror, sought to check the centrifugal tendencies of the system by a great gemote of village headmen (*gramikas*) who are said to have assembled from the 80,000 townships of the realm.

Measures were taken for the improvement of communications and the foundation of a new royal residence. Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) refers to Bimbisara's road and causeway, and says that when Kusagrapura

1 *Chullavaggaoi the Vinaya pitaka*, VII. 3. 5. See also *Vinaya*, I. 73 ; 74 f. 207. 240.

2 Another judicial officer mentioned in Pali texts, (*Kindred Saying**, II. 172) is the *Vinichchay-atnachchs*,

3 *Camb. Hist.* I. 199.

4 *DPPN*, II. 898.

(old Rajagriha) was afflicted by fires, the king went to the cemetery and built a new city. Fa Hien, however, gives the credit for the foundation of New Rajagriha to Ajatasatru. The patronage of Jivaka shows that medical arrangements were not neglected.

In one respect Bimbisara was unfortunate, Like Prasenajit he was possibly the victim of the malevolence of the Crown Prince whom he had appointed to the vice-royalty of Champa,¹ and had perhaps even admitted to royalty, following the precedent of his own father.² The ungrateful son, who is variously called Ajatasatru, Kunika and Asokachanda³ is said to have put his father to death. The crime seriously affected the relations of Magadha with Kosala. Dr. Smith regards the story of the murder as 'the product of *Odium theologicum*,⁹ and shows excessive scepticism in regard to the evidence of the Pali canon and chronicles. But the general credibility of these works has been maintained by scholars like Rhys Davids and Geiger whose conclusions seem to be confirmed directly or indirectly by the testimony of independent classical and Jaina writers.⁴

1 *Bhagavati Sutra, Nirayavali Sutra, Parisistaparvan* IV. 1-9 ; VI 22. and the *Kathakoia*, p. 178.

2 *Chullavagga*, VII. 3. 5, Bimbisara seems to have sought the assistance of other sons, too, in the work of government. One of these, Abhaya (son of Padmavati of Ujjain or of Nanda) helped his father to foil the machinations of Pradyota. Other children, recorded by tradition were Vimala Kondanna by Ambapall, Halla and Vehalla by Chellana, Kala, Silavat, Jayasena and a girl ChundT by other wives.

3 *Kathakosa*. The *Aupapattiya sutra* styles him *Dcvanupiya* (IA, 1881. 108) a title possibly identical with *Dcvanampiya* of inscriptions of the third century B.C.

4 Of. the Jaina attempt to whitewash Kunika from the stain of intentional parricide (Jacobi referring to the *Nirayavali Sutra* in his *Kalpa Sutra* of Bhadravahu, 1879. p. 5).

0. P. 90—27,

SECTION V. MAGADHA MILITANT—
KUNIKA-AJATASATRU.

Whatever may have been the mode by which he acquired the throne, Kunika-Ajatasatru proved to be an energetic ruler. The defences of the realm were strengthened by fortifications at Bajagriha and the foundation of a new stronghold at Pataligrama near the junction of the Son and the Ganges.] Like Jj^derick II of Pruggia he carried out the policy of a father with whom his relations were by no means cordial. His reign was the highwater mark of the Haryanka dynasty. He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kasi, or a part of it, but also absorbed the state of Vaisali. The traditional account of his **duel with Kosala** is given in Buddhist texts.¹ It is said that when Ajatasatru murdered Bimbisara, his father, the queen Kosala Devi died of love for him. Even after her death the Magadhan King continued to enjoy the revenues of the Kasi village which had been given to the lady for bath money. But Prasenajit, the sovereign of Kosala, determined that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance. War followed, sometimes the Kosalan monarch got the best of it, and sometimes the rival king. On one occasion Prasenajit fled away in defeat to his capital Sravasti) on another occasion he took Ajatasatru prisoner but spared his life as he was his nephew. He confiscated the army of the captive prince but sought to appease him by the offer of the hands of his daughter Vajira. The princess was dismissed with the

¹ *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I. pp. 109-110. *The Samyutta Nikaya and the Haritamata, Vaddhaki-Sukara, Kumma Sapinda, Tachchha sukara and the Bhaddasala Jatakas*,

Kasi village in question, for her bath money. Her **father** could not enjoy the fruits of peace for more than three years.¹ During his absence in a country town, **Digha** Charayana, the Commander-in-Chief, raised prince Vidudabha to the throne.² The ex-king set out for Rajagriha, resolved to take Ajatasatru with him and capture Vidudabha. But he died from exposure outside the gates of the Magadhan metropolis.

The traditional account of the **war with Vaisali** is preserved in part by Jaina writers. King Seniya Bimbisara is said to have given his famous elephant *Seyanaga* (*Sechanaka*, the sprinkler), together with a large necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellana, the daughter of *Raja* Chetaka of Vaisali. His eldest son Kuniya (Ajatasatru), after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paumavai (Padmavati),³ demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their grandfather Chetaka in Vaisali, Kuniya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Chetaka.⁴ According to Buddhaghosha's commentary the *Snmahgala-vilasini*,⁵ the cause of the war was a breach of trust on the part of the Lichchhavis in connection with a mine of precious gems or some fragrant

1 DPPN, II. 172.

2 *Bhaddasala Jataka*.

3 The appellation Padmavati is of so frequent occurrence in connection with Magadhan royalty that it seems to be an epithet rather than a personal name. The mother of prince Abhaya, a queen of Ajatasatru, and a sister of Darsaka, all have this name according to tradition. Cf. the name Padmlni applied to the most commendable type of women. "It is also not improbable that the name belongs to the domain of mythology,

4 *Uvasaga-dasao*, II, Appendix, p. 7; cf. Tawney, *Kathakoia*, pp. 176 fif.

5 Burmese Edition, Part II, p. 99. See now B. C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies* p. 199/ DPPN, II. 781.

material near a port on the Granges over which a condominium was exercised by Ajatasatru and his northern neighbours.

The preliminaries to the struggle between* Magadha and Vaisall" are described in several Pali texts.¹ In the *Mahavagga* it is related that Sunldha and Vassakara, two ministers of Magadha, were building a fort at Pataligrama in order to repel the Vajjis (Vrijis). The *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta* says : "The Blessed One was once dwelling in Rajagaha on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajatasattu Vedehiputta, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjians ; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin".

"So he spake to the Brahmana Vassakara, the prime minister of Magadha, and said, 'Come now, Brahmana, do you go to the Blessed One, and....tell him that Ajatasattu... has resolved, 'I will root out these Vajjians'. Vassakara hearkened to the words of the king..." (and delivered to the Buddha the message even as he king had commanded).

In the *Nirayavall Srdra* (*Mrayavaliya-Sutta*) it is related that when Kilnika (Ajatasatru) prepared to attack Chetaka of Vaisall the latter called together the eighteen *Oanarajas*² of Kasi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kunika's demands, or go to war with him. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaisall are referred to in the *Majjhima Nikaya*.³ There is thus no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kasi-Kosala on the one

1 SBE, XI, pp. 15 ; XVII. 101 ; *Gradual Sayings* IV. 11. etc.

2 Chiefs of republican clans.

3 Vol. II, p. 101.

hand and Vaisali on the other. It seems **that all the** enemies of Ajatasatru including the rulers of Kasi-Kosala and Vaisali offered a combined resistance. The **Kosalan** war and the Vajjian war were probably **not isolated** events but parts of a common movement directed **against** the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. The flames fused together into one big conflagration.¹ We are reminded of the tussle of the Samnites, Etruscans **and** Gauls with the rising power of Rome.

In the war with Vaisali Kuniya-Ajatasatru is said to have made use of the *Mahasilakantaga* and *ra(t)hamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men.² **The** *ra(t)hamusala* may be compared to the tanks used in **the** great world wars.

The war is said to have synchronised with the death of Gosala Maiikhaliputta, the great teacher of the Ajivika sect. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahavira's death the anti-Magadhan confederacy is said to have been still in existence. We learn from the *Kalpa Sutra* that on the death of JVIahavira the confederate kings mentioned in the *Nirayavall Sutra* instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event.³ The struggle between the Magadhan king and the powers arrayed against him thus seems to have been protracted for more than sixteen years. The

1 We are told that even Pradyota of Avanti made preparations to **avenge** the death of his friend Bimbisara (*DPPN*, I. 34).

2 *Uvasaga-dasao*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 60 ; *Kathakosa*, p. 179.

3 S.B.E., xxii, 266 (para. 128). As pointed out by Jacobi (*The Kalpasutra* of *Bhadravahu*, 6 ff.), the traditional date of Mahavira's *Nirvana* is 470 years before Vikrama (58 B.C.) according to the *Svctambaras*, and 605 according to the *Digatnbaras*. It is suggested that Vikrama of the Digambaras is intended for Salivahana (78 A.D.). A different tradition is, however, recorded by Hemcandra who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahavira Chandragupta **became** king :—

Atthakatha gives an account of the Machiavellian tactics¹ adopted by Magadhan statesmen headed by Vassakara to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vaisalians and, thus bring about their downfall.²

The absorption of Vaisali and a part at least of Kasi as a result of the Kosalan and Vajjian wars probably brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avanti. We have already referred to a statement of the *Majjhima Nikaya* that on one occasion

*evam cha srl Mahavira mukter varshasate gate
panchapanchasadadhike Chandragupto'bhavan nripah.
Sthaviravalicharita, Parisishataparva,,V III. 339.*

As Chandragupta's accession apparently took place between 326 and 312 B.C., the tradition recorded in Hemchandra's *Parisishfaparvan* would place the date of Mahavira's death between 481 and 467 B.C. But early Buddhist texts [*Dialogues*, III, pp. 111, 203 ; *Majjhima*, II, 243] make the famous Jaina teacher predecease the Buddha, and the latest date assigned by reliable tradition to the *Parinirvana* of the sakya sage is 486 B.C. (Cantonese tradition, Smith, EHI, 4th ed., 49). According to Ceylonese writers, Sakyamuni entered into *nirvana* in the eighth year of Ajatasatru (*Ajatasattuno vasse atthame muni nibbute, Mahavamsa*, Ch. II). This would place the accession of the son of Bimbisara in 493 B.C., if the Cantonese date for the *nirvana* of the Buddha is accepted. Jaina writers put the interval between Kunika's accession and the death of their master at 16 and V years. According to Buddhist chroniclers the interval would be less than 8 years as Mahavira predeceased the Buddha. The divergent data of the Jaina and Buddhist texts can only be reconciled if we assume that the former take as their starting point the date of the accession of Kunika as the *raja* of Champa, while the Buddhists begin their calculation from a later date when Ajatasatru mounted the throne of Rajagriha. According to Buddhist tradition Vassakara's visit to the Buddha in connection with the Vrijian incident took place a year before the *parinirvana*. The destruction of the Vriji power took place some three years later on (DPPN, I. 33-34) i.e. c. 484 B.C. Too much reliance cannot, however, be placed on the traditional chronology.

1 Diplomacy (*upalapana*) and disunion (*mithubheda*), DPPN, II. 846 ; JRAS, 1931. Cf. *Gradual Sayings*, IV'. 12. "The Vajjians cannot be overcome in battle, but only by cunning, by breaking up their alliance."

2 Cf. *Modern Review*, July, 1919, pp. 55-56. According to the *Arya ManjusrahMula-Kalpa* (Vol. I, ed. Ganapati Sastri, pp. 603 f) the dominions of Ajltaiatru embraced, besides Magadha, Ahga, Vara nasi (Benares), and Vaisali in the north. In the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal the Parkham statue is a contemporary portrait of king Ajatasatru. But this view **has not met with general acceptance.**

Ajatasatru was fortifying his capital because he was afraid of an invasion of his dominions by Pradyota. We do not know whether the attack was ever made. [Ajatasatru does not appear to have succeeded in humbling Avanti. The conquest of that kingdom was reserved for his successors.

It was during the reign of Ajatasatru that both Mahavira and Gautama, the great teachers of Jainism and Buddhism respectively, are said to have entered *nirvana*. Shortly after the death of Gautama a Council is said to have been held by the monks of his Order for the recitation and collection of the Doctrine.

SECTCON VI. AJATASATRU'S SUCCESSORS—THE TRANSFER
OF CAPITAL AND THE FALL OF AVANTI

Ajatasatru was succeeded according to the *Puranas* by Darsaka. Greiger considers the insertion of Darsaka after Ajatasatru to be an error, because the Pali Canon indubitably asserts that ITdayi-bhadda was the son of Ajatasatru and probably also his successor. Jaina tradition recorded in the *Kathalcosa*¹ and the *Parisishtaparvan*² also represents Udaya or Udayin as the son of Kunika by his wife Padmavati,³ and his immediate successor.

Though the existence of Darsaka, as a ruler of Magadha and a contemporary of TJdayana, is rendered probable by references in the *Svapna-Vasavadatta* attributed to Bhasa, yet in the face of Buddhist and Jaina evidence it cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajatasatru on the imperial throne of Magadha. He may have been one of the *mandalika rajas* like the father of Visakha Panchaliputra. His inclusion among Magadhan suzerains is possibly paralleled by that of Suddhodana in the main list of the Ikshvakuids. Certain writers identify him with Naga-Dasaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisara's line.⁴ The *Divyavadana*,⁵ however,

1 P. 177.

2 P. 42.

3 Buddhist writers represent Vajira, daughter of Prasenajit, as the mother of Udayi.

4 e. g. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. In this connection mention was made in earlier editions of a passage in the *Si-yu-ki*, (Beal's Trans, II. p. 102): "To the south-west of the old *Sahgharama* about 100 li is the *Sahgharama* of Ti-lo-shi-kia...It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisara raja.'" The name of the second *Sahgharama* was sought to be connected with that of Darsaka who was here represented as the last descendant of Bimbisara. But I now think that the connection of the **monastery** with the name of Darsaka is extremely doubtful. See Watters II . p. 106f.

5 P. 369.

omits this name altogether from the list of the Bimbisarids. There was thus no unanimity even among Buddhists about the lineage and position of the king.

Udayin : Before his accession to the throne Udayin or Udayi-bhadda, the son of Ajatasatru, seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champa.* The *Parisishtaparvan* informs us that he founded a new capital on the banks of the Granges which came to be known as Pataliputra.² This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the *Oargl Samhita** and the *Vayu Parana* according to which Udayin built the city of Kusumapura (Pataliputra) in the fourth year of his reign. The choice of the place was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm which now included North Bihar. Moreover, its situation at the confluence of two large rivers, the Ganges and the Son and close to other streams, was important from the commercial as well as the strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Kautiliya Arthasastra* recommends a site at the confluence of rivers for the capital of a kingdom.

The *Parisishtaparvan*⁴ refers to the king of Avanti as the enemy of Udayin. This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that his father had to fortify his capital in expectation of an attack about to be made by Pradyota, ruler of that country. The fall of Anga and Vaisali and the discomfiture of Kosala had left Avanti the only important rival of Magadha. This last kingdom had absorbed all the monarchies and republics of Eastern India. On the other hand, if the *Katha-sarit-sagam* and the *Avatyalca kathwiakas*⁵ are to be believed, the kingdom

1 Jacobi, *Parisishtaparvan*, p. 42.

2 VI. 34 ; 175-180.

3 Kern, *Brihat Samhita*, 36.

4 Pp. 45-46, Text VI, 191. *Abhudasanonityam AvantUo' py-Udayinah*

5 See *Supra* sec. III. p. 204.

of Kausambi was at this time **annexed** to the **realm** of Palaka of Avanti, the son of Pradyota and was governed by a prince belonging to his family. The two kingdoms, Magadha and Avanti, were brought face to face with each other. The war of nerves between the two for ascendancy probably began, as we have seen, in the reign of Ajatasatru. It must have continued during the reign of Udayin. The issue was finally decided in the time of Sisunaga, or of Nanda as Jaina tradition seems to suggest.²

Udayin's successors in the *Purwas* are Nandivardhana and Mahanandin. According to the Jainas he left no heir.³ The Ceylonese chroniclers place after Tjdayi the kings named Anuruddha, Munda and Naga-Dasaka, This tradition is partially confirmed by the

1 For a traditional account of the conflict between Udayin and the king of Avanti, see IHQ, 1929, 399.

In the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal one of the famous "Patna Statues" which, at the time of the controversy, stood in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum (*Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 29ff.), is a portrait of Udayin. According to him the statue bears the following words :

Bhage AC HO chhonidhih.

He identifies ACHO with king Aja mentioned in the *Bhagavata* list of Saisunaga kings, and with Udayin of the *Matsya*, *Vayu* and *Brahtnanda* lists. Dr. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the inscription have not, however, been accepted by several scholars including Dr. Barnett, Mr. Chanda and Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Dr. Smith, however, while unwilling to dogmatize, was of opinion that the statue was pre-Maurya. In the third edition of his *Asoka* he considers Dr. Jayaswal's theory as probable. The characters of the short inscription on the statue are so difficult to read that it is well-nigh impossible to come to a final decision. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved. Cunningham described the statue as that of a *Yaksha*. According to him the figure bore the words "*Yakhe Achusanigika*." Mr. Chanda's reading is : *Bha (?) ga Achachha nivika* (the owner of inexhaustible capital, i. e., Vaisravana). See *Indian Antiquary*, March, 1919. Dr. Majumdar reads: *Gate (Yakhel) Lechchhai (vi) 40. 4.* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1919).

2 *Ind. Ant.*, II. 362.

3 *Pariishtaparvan*, VI. 236,

Ahuttara Nihaya which alludes to Munda,¹ King of Pataliputra. The *Divyavadana*, too, mentions Munda but omits the names of Anuruddha and Naga-Dasaka. The *Ahuttara Nihaya* by mentioning Pataliputra as the capital of Munda indirectly confirms the tradition regarding the transfer of the Magadhan metropolis from Rajagriha to Kusumapura or Pataliputra before his reign.

The Ceylonese aver that all the kings from Ajatasatru to Naga-Dasaka were parricides.² The citizens drove out the family in anger and raised an *amcitya* (official) to the throne.

Susunaga or Sisunaga, the new king³ seems to have been acting as the Magadhan Viceroy at Benares. The employment of *amatyas* as provincial governors or district officers need not cause surprise. The custom continued as late "as the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Rudradaman I. The *Puranas* tell us that "placing his son at Benares he will repair to (the stronghold of) Girivraja". He had a second royal residence at Vaisali which ultimately became his capital.⁴ "That monarch (Sisunaga), not unmindful of his mother's origin,⁵ re-established the city of Vesali (Vaisali) and fixed in it the royal residence. From that

1 *Ahg.* III. 57. "The venerable Narada dwelt near Pataliputta in the Cock's Park. Now at that time Bhadda, the dear and beloved queen of king Munda died." The king's grief was intense. The queen's body was placed in an oil vessel made of iron. A treasurer, Piyaka, is also mentioned. (*Gradual Sayings*, III. 48).

2 The violent death of Kunika (Ajatasatru) is known to Jaina tradition (Jacobi, *Parishtaparvan*, 2nd ed. p. xiii).

3 The question of the relative merits of Puranic and Ceylonese accounts of this king and his place in early Magadhan lists of kings have been discussed in Part, *hp.stipra*, 115 ff.

4 SBE, XI, p. xvi. If the *Dvatrimkat puttalika* is to be believed Vesali (Vaisali) continued to be a secondary capital till the time of the Nandas.

5 Sisunaga, according to the *MahaKjamsatka* (Tumour's *Mahavathsa*, xxxvii), was the son of a Lichchhavi raja of Vaisali. He was conceived by a *nagara-sobhin* and brought up by an officer of state*.

time Rajagaha (Rajagriha-Girivraja) lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered".

The most important achievement of Sisunaga seems to have been the destruction of the 'glory' of the **Pradyota dynasty of Avanti**. Pradyota, the first king of the line, had been succeeded, according to tradition, by his sons Gopala and Palaka after whom came Visakha and Aryaka. The name of Gopala is omitted in the *Parvas* with the possible exception of the *k* Vishnu manuscript, where it finds mention instead of Palaka.¹ The accession of the latter synchronised, according to Jaina accounts, with the passing away of Mahavira. He is reputed to have been a tyrant. Visakha-bhupa (i.e., king Visakha, called Visakha-yupa in most Puranic texts) may have been a son of Palaka.² The absence of any reference to this prince in non-Puranic accounts that have hitherto been available, may suggest that he ruled in some outlying district (Mahishmati), or was set aside in favour of Aryaka who occupied the throne, as a result of a popular outbreak, almost immediately after the fall of Palaka. The Puranas place after Aryaka or Ajaka a king named Nandivardhana, or Vartivardhana, and add that Sisunaga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and be king. Dr. Jayaswal identifies Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti list with Aja-Udayin and Nandivardhana of the Puranic list of Sisunaga kings. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, says that Aryaka or Ajaka was the

1 Essay on Gunadhya, 115 ; Gopala and Palaka find mention in the *Brihatkatha*, *Swapna-Vasavadatta*, *Pratjñā-Yaugandharayana*, *Mrichchhakatika* etc. A prince named Kumarasena is known to the *Harsha-charita*. According to the Nepalese *Brihatkatha* (cf. *Kathasarit-sagara* XIX. 57) Gopala succeeds *Mahasena* (Pradyota) but abdicates in favour of his brother Palaka. Palaka renounces the crown in favour of Avantivardhana, son of Gopala. In the *Avaiyaka Kathanakas* (*Parisishta parvan*, 2nd ed, xii) Avantisena is mentioned as a grandson of Palaka.

2 DKA., 19 n29. The *Kalki Purana* (1. 3. 32f.) mentions a king named Visakha-yupa who ruled at Mahismatī near the southern frontier of ancient Avanti.

son of Gopala, the elder brother of Palaka.¹ 'Nandivardhana' and 'Vartivardhana' are apparently corruptions of Avantivardhana, the name of a son of Palaka according to the *Katharsarit-sagam*,² of Gopala according to the Nepalese *Brihat-hatha*,³ or possibly identical with Avantisena, a grandson of Palaka according to the *Avasyaha Kathanalcas*.⁴ The Pradyota dynasty must have been humbled by Sisunaga in the time of king Avantivardhana. The Magadhan victory was doubtless facilitated by the revolution that placed Aryaka, a ruler about whose origin there is hardly any unanimity, on the throne of Ujjain.

Sisunaga⁵ was succeeded according to the *Puranas* by his son Kakavarraja, and according to the Ceylonese chronicles by his son Kalasoka. Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar agree that Kalasoka, "the black Asoka" and Kakavarna, "the crow-coloured" are one and the same

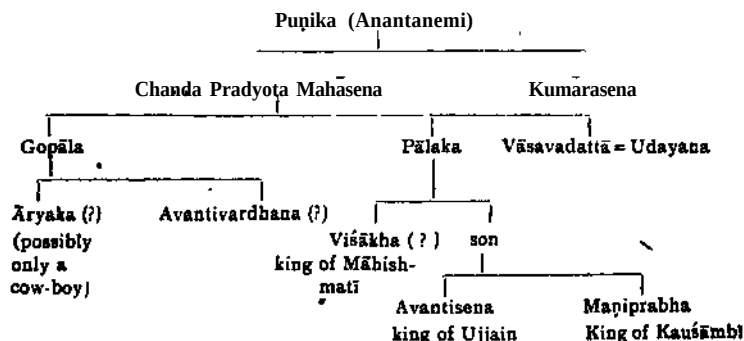
1 *Carm. Lee*. 1918, 64f. But J. Sen rightly points out (IHQ, 1930, 699) that in the *Mrichchhakatika* Aryaka is represented as a cow-boy who was raised to the throne after the overthrow of the tyrant Palaka.

2 Tawney's translation, II, 485. *Cf. Camb. Hist. Ind.* I, 311.

3 *Essay on Gunadhya*, 115.

4 *Parisista parvan*, 2nd ed. p. xii.

TRADITIONAL GENEALOGY OF THE PRADYOTAS.



5 The *Kāvyā Mimāṃsā* (3rd ed. p. 50) contains an interesting notice of this king and says that he prohibited the use of cerebals in his harem.

individual. The conclusion accords with the evidence of the *Asolcavadana* which places Kakavarnin *after* Munda, and does not mention Kalasoka.¹ The new king already served his apprenticeship in the art of government possibly at Benares and in the district of Graya. The two most important events of his reign are the meeting of the second Buddhist Council at Vaisali, and the final transfer of the capital to Pataliputra.

Bana in his *Harsha-charita*² gives a curious legend concerning his death. It is stated that Kakavarna Saisunagi had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The story about the tragic fate of this king is, as we shall see later on, confirmed by Greek evidence.

The traditional **successors of Kalasoka** were his ten sons who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. Their names according to the *Mahabodhivamsa* were Bhadrasena, Korandavarna, Mangura, Sarvanjaha, Jalika, Ubhaka, Sanjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Paiichamaka.³

Only one of these names *viz.* that of **Nandivardhana** occurs in the Puranic lists.⁴ This prince attracted some attention in recent years. His name was read on a Patna statue⁵ and in the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. He was sought to be identified with Nandaraja of Kharavela's record on the strength of Kshemen-dra's reference to *Purvananda* (Nanda the Elder) who,

1 *Divyavadana*, 369 ; Geiger, *Mahavamsa*, p. xli.

2 K. P. Parab, 4th ed. 1918. p. 199.

3 The *Divyavadana* (p. 369) gives a different list of the successors of Kakavarnin : Sahalin, Tulakuchi, Mahamandala and Prasenajit. After Prasenajit the crown went to Nanda.

4 Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lec.* 1918, 83.

5 Dr. Jayaswal opined that the headless "Patna statue" which stood, at the time when he wrote, in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum, was a portrait of this king. According to him the inscription on the statue runs as follows :—

Sapa (or Sava) khate Vata Namdi

we are told, should be distinguished from the *Navanandah* or New (Later) Nandas, and taken to answer to a ruler of the group represented by Nandivardhana and Mahanandin of the *Puranas*. In the works of Kshemendra and Somadeva, however, Puravananda (*singular*) is distinguished, not from the *Navanandah*, but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda), the re-animated corpse of

He regarded *Vata Namdi* as an abbreviation of Vartivardhana (the name of Nandivardhana in the *Vayu* list) and Nandivardhana. Mr. R. D. Banerji in the June number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1919, said that there cannot be two opinions about the reading *Vata Namdi*. Mr. Chanda, however, regarded the statue in question as an image of a *Yaksha* and read the inscription which it bore as follows :—

Yakha sa (?) rvata namdi.

Dr. Majumdar said that the inscription might be read as follows :—

Yakhe sath vajinam 70.

He placed the inscription in the second century A. D., and supported the *Yaksha* theory propounded by Cunningham and upheld by Mr. Chanda. He did not agree with those scholars who concluded that the statue was a portrait of a Saisunaga sovereign simply because there were some letters in the inscription under discussion which might be construed as a name of a Saisunaga king. Referring to Dr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the form *Vata Namdi* was composed of two variant proper names (Vartivardhana and Namdivardhana)—he said that Chandragupta II was also known as Devagupta, and Vighrahapala had a second name Surapala ; but who had ever heard of compound names like Chandra-Deva, or Deva-Chandra, and Sura-Vighraha or Vighraha-Sura ? (*Ind. Ant.*, 1919).

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri took *Vata Namdi* to mean *Vratya* Namdi and said that the statue had most of the articles of dress as given by Katyayana to the *Vratya Kshatriyas*. In the *Puranas* the Sisunaga kings are mentioned as *Kshattrabandhus*, i. e., *Vratya Kshatriyas*. The Mahamahopadhyaya thus inclined to the view of Dr. Jayaswal that the statue in question was a portrait of a Saisunaga king (*JBORS.*, December, 1919).

Mr. Ordhendu Coomars Ganguly, on the other hand, regarded the statue as a *Yaksha* image, and drew our attention to the catalogue of *Yakshas* in the *Mahamayuri* and the passage "*Nandi cha Vardhanas chaiva nagare Nandivardhane*" (*Modern Review*, October, 1919). Dr. Barnett was also not satisfied that the four syllables which might be read as *Vata Namdi* mentioned the name of a Saisunaga king. Dr. Smith, however, in the third edition of his *Asoka* admitted the possibility of Dr. Jayaswal's contention. We regard the problem as still unsolved. The data at our disposal are too scanty to warrant the conclusion that the inscription on the "Patna statue" mentions a Saisunaga king. The script seems to be late.

1 Jayaswal (supported by R. D. Banerji) ; *The Oxford History of India*, Additions and Corrections ; *JBORS*, 1918, 91.

king Nanda.¹ The *Puranio* as well as the Ceylonese, chroniclers know of the existence of only *one* Nanda line and agree with Jaina tradition in taking *nava* to mean *nine* (and not *new*).² They represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Saisunaga line—a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas. The *Puranas* contain nothing to show that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kalinga.³ On the contrary, we are distinctly told that when the Saisunagas and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha 32 kings ruled in Kalinga synchronously. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahapadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all *Kshatriyas*'. So we should identify Namdaraja of the Hathigumpha inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahapadma Nanda or one of his sons."

1 Cf. *Katha-sarit-sagara*, Durgaprasad and Parab's edition,*p. 10.

2 Cf. Jacobi, *Partiishtaparva*, VIII. 3 ; App, p. 2 : '*Namdavamse Nava mo Namdaraya*.'

3 Chanda, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. I, p. 11,

SECTION, VII. CHRONOLOGY OF THE HARYANKA-
SAISUNAGA KINGS.

There is considerable disagreement between the *Puranas* and the Ceylonese chronicles regarding the chronology of the kings of the Bimbisarian (or Haryanka) and Saisunaga dynasties. Even Smith and Pargiter are not disposed to accept all the dates given in the *Puranas*.¹ According to Ceylonese tradition Bimbisara ruled for fifty-two years, Ajatasatru for 32 years, Udayi for 16 years, Anuruddha and Munda for 8 years, Naga-Dasaka for 24 years, Sisunaga for 18 years, Kalasoka for 28 years and Kalasoka's sons for 22 years. Gautama Buddha died in the eighth year of Ajatasatru,² i.e.; in the (52 + 8 =;) 60th year (i.e., a little more than 59 years) after the accession of Bimbisara. The event happened in 544 B.C. according to a Ceylonese reckoning, and in 486 B.C. according to a Cantonese tradition of 489 A.D., based on a 'dotted record' brought to China by Samgha-bhadra. The date 544 B.C. can, however, hardly be reconciled with a *gatha* transmitted in the Ceylonese chronicles which states that Priyadarsana (Asoka Maurya) was consecrated 218 years after the Buddha had passed into *nirvana*.³ This fact and certain Chinese and Chola

1 Pargitfr (AIHT pp. 286-7) reads the *Matsya Purana* as assigning the Ssunagas 163 years, and further reduces the number to 145 allowing an average of about 14½ years for each reign. He places the beginning of the &sunagas (among whom he includes the Bimbisarids) in B.C. 567 and rejects (287n) the traditional figures for the reigns of Bimbisara and his son. Cf. also Bhandarkar, *Cartn. Lee*, 1918, p. 68. 'A period of 363 years for ten consecutive reigns' i.e. 36.3 years for each 'is quite preposterous.'

Z *Mahavathsa*, Ch, 2 (p. 12 of translation).

3 *Dve satani cha vassani attharasa vassani cha
Sambuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassano.*

Ibid p. xxiii. (Cf. Dip. 6. 1).

synchronisms led Geiger and a few other scholars to think that the era of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication and that the true date of the death of the Buddha is 483 B.C.¹—a result closely approaching that to which the Cantonese tradition leads us. The Chola synchronisms referred to by these scholars are, however, not free from difficulties, and it has been pointed out by Geiger himself that the account in Chinese annals of an embassy which Mahanaman, king of Ceylon, sent to the emperor of China in 428 A.D., does not speak in favour of his revised chronology. The traditional date of Menander which is 500 A.B., works out more satisfactorily with a *Nirvana* era of 544 B.C., than with an era of 483 or 486 B.C. In regard to the Maurya period, however, calculations based on the traditional Ceylonese reckoning will place the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in $544-162=382$ B.C., and the coronation of Asoka Maurya in $544-218=326$ B.C. These results are at variance with the evidence of Greek writers and the testimony of the inscriptions of Asoka himself. Classical writers represent Chandragupta as a contemporary of Alexander (326 B.C.) and of Seleukos (312 B.C.). Asoka in his thirteenth Rock Edict speaks of certain Hellenistic kings as alive. As one at least of these rulers died not later than 258 B.C. (250 B.C. according to some authorities) and as rescripts on morality began to be written when Asoka was anointed twelve years, his consecration could not have taken place after 269 B.C. (261 B.C. according to some). The date cannot be pushed back beyond 277 B.C., because his grandfather Chandragupta must have ascended the throne after 326 B.C., as he met Alexander in that year as an ordinary individual and died after a reign of 24

1 *Ibid*, Geiger, trans, p. xxviii ; JRAS, 1909, pp. 1.34.

years, and the next king Bindusara, the father and immediate predecessor of Asoka, ruled for at least 25 years. $326 \text{ B.C.} - 49 = 277 \text{ B.C.}$ Asoka's coronation, therefore, took place between 277 and 261 B.C., and as the event happened, according to the old *Oatha* recorded by the Ceylonese chroniclers, 218 years after the *parinirvana* of the Buddha, the date of the Great Decease should be placed between 495 and 479 B.C. The result accords not with the Ceylonese date 544 B.C., but with the Cantonese date 486 B.C., and Geiger's date 483 B.C., for the *parijitirvana*. The Chinese account of embassies which King Meghavarna sent to Samudra Gupta, and King Kia-Che (Kassapa) sent to China in 527 A.D., also speaks in favour of the date 486 B.C. or 483 B.C., for the Great Decease. Geiger's date, however, is not explicitly recognised by tradition. The same remark applies to the date (Tuesday, 1 April, 478 B.C.) preferred by L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai.¹ The Cantonese date may, therefore, be accepted as a working hypothesis for the determination of the chronology of the *early* dynasties of Magadha. The date of Bimbisara's accession, according to this reckoning, would fall in or about $486 - 59 = 545 \text{ B.C.}$, which is very near to the starting point of the traditional Ceylonese *Nirvwa* era of 544 B.C. 'The current name of an era is no proof of origins.' It is not altogether improbable that the Buddhist reckoning of Ceylon originally started from the coronation of Bimbisara and was later on confounded with the era of the Great Decease.

In the time of Bimbisara Gandhara was an independent kingdom ruled by a king named Paushkarasarin (Pukkusati). By B.C. 519 at the latest it had lost its independence and had become subject to Persia, as we

learn from the inscriptions of Darius. It is thus clear that Paushkarasarin and his contemporary Bimbisara lived before B.C. 519. This accords with the chronology which places his accession and coronation in or about B.C. 545-44

SUGGESTED CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (APPROXIMATE DATES)

Year B.C.	Event
565	Birth of the Buddha.
560	Birth of Bimbisara.
c. 553	Accession of Cyrus the Achaemenid.
545-44	Accession of Bimbisara. Epoch of a Ceylonese Era.
536	The Great Renunciation (of the Buddha).
530	Enlightenment.
530-29	The Buddha's visit to Bimbisara.
527	Traditional Epoch of the era of Mahavira's <i>Nirvana</i>
522	Accession of Darius I.
493	Accession of Ajatasatru.
486	Cantonese date of the <i>Parinirvana</i> of the Buddha. The death of Darius I. Council of Rajagriha.
461	Accession of Udayibhadra.
457	Foundation of Pataliputra (Kusumapura).
445	Aniruddha (Anuruddha) and Mumja.
437	Naga-Dasaka (omitted in the <i>Divyavadatta</i> and Jaina texts).
413	bisunaga.
395	Kalasoka (Kakavarṇa).
386	Council of Vaisali.
367	Sons of Kalasoka, and <i>de facto</i> rule of Mahapadma Nanda.
345	End of the Saisunaga dynasty.

SECTION VIII. THE NANDAS.

The Saisunaga dynasty was supplanted by the line of Nanda.¹ With the new family we reach a stage of East Indian history when the indubitable evidence of inscriptions becomes available to supplement the information gleaned from traditional literary sources. The famous Hathigumpha record of Kharavela, of the second or first century B.C., twice mentions Namda-raja in connection with Kalinga.

*Pamchame cedani vase Namdaraja-ti-vasa-
sata-oghatitam
Taiiasuliya-vata panadi (m) nagaram
pavesa(yati)*

"And then, in the fifth year, (Kharavela) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda three hundred years²

1 According to Jaina tradition Nanda was proclaimed king after Udayin's assassination, and sixty years after the *Nirvana* of Varddhamana (*Parisishta* P. VI. 243).

2 This interpretation of '*tivasasata*' accords substantially with the Puranic tradition, regarding the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Satakarni, the contemporary of Kharavela in his second regnal year, belonged (137 years for the Mauryas + 112 for the 'sungas' + 45 for the Kanvas=294). If the expression is taken to mean 103 years (as is suggested by some scholars), Kharavela's accession must be placed 103-5=98 years after Nandaraja. His elevation to the position of *Yuvaraja* took place 9 years before that date i.e., 98-9=89 years after Nanda i.e., not later than 324-89-235 B.C. Kharavela's senior partner in the royal office was on the throne at that time and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But we learn from Asoka's inscriptions that Kalinga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya *Kumar a*, (and not by a *Ksttnzg-adhipati* or *chakravarti*) under the suzerainty of Asoka himself. Therefore, *tivasasata* should be understood to mean 300 and not 103 years. S. Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, 2.22-26) takes the figure to express not the interval between Nanda and Kharavela, but a date *during the reign* of Nanda which was reckoned from some pre-existing era. But the use of any such era in the particular country and epoch is not proved. Kharavela himself, like Asoka, uses regnal years. The agreement with Puranic tradition speaks in favour of the view adopted in these pages.

back to be brought into the **capital** from the **Tanasuliya** road."

Again, in connection with the twelfth year of Kharavela's reign, we have a reference to *Nadaraja-jita Kaliinga-jana-sam (n) i (ve) sam* (or, according to another reading, *Namda-rajanltam Kalimga Jina samnivesam*),¹ i.e., a station or encampment, or a Jaina shrine, in Kalinga acquired² by king Nanda.

The epigraphs, though valuable as early notices of a line known mainly from literature, are not contemporaneous. For contemporary reports we must turn to Greek writers. There is an interesting reference, in the *Gyropaedia*⁵ of Xenophon, who died some time after 355 B.C., to "the Indian king, a very wealthy man". This cannot fail to remind one of the Nandas whom the unanimous testimony of Sanskrit, Tamil, Ceylonese and Chinese writers describe as the possessors of enormous wealth.⁴ Clearer information about the ruling family of Magadha

1. Barua, *Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela* (IHQ, XIV. 1938 pp. 259ff). *Sanniveia* is explained in the dictionaries as an assemblage, station, seat, open space near a town etc. (Monier Williams). A commentator takes it to mean 'a halting place of caravans or processions'. Kundagrama was a *sannivesa* in Videha (SBE, XXII, *Jaina Sutras*, pt. I. *Intro.*). The reference in the inscription to the conquest of a place, or removal of a sacred object from Kalinga by Nandaraja disposes of the view that he was a local chief (*Camb. Hist.* 538).

2 Dr. Barua (op. cit. p. 276n) objects to a Nanda conquest (or domination) of any part of Kalinga on the ground that the province "had remained unconquered, (avijita) till the 7th year of Asoka's reign". But the claim of the Maurya secretariat is on a par with Jahangir's boast that "not one of the Sultans of Jofity dignity has obtained the victory over it" (*e.g., Kangra, Rogers, *Tuzuk*, 11.184). Kalihgas appear in the Puranas among the contemporaries of the Jsaisunagas who were overpowered by Nanda, the *Sarva-Kshatrantaka*.

3 I I I . ii. 25 (trans. by Walter Miller).

4 Cf. the names Mabapadmapati and Dhana Nanda. The *Mudrarakshasa* refers to the Nandas as '*navanavatisatadravyakotisvarah*' (Act I I I , verse 27), and '*Artharuchi*' (Act. I.)

A passage of the *Katha-sarit-sagara* says that King Nanda possessed 990 , millions of gold pieces. Tawney's Translation VoL, I, p. 21.

, Dr. Aiyangar points out that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas "which having accumulated firs tin Pa tali,

(o. 326 B.C.) is supplied by the contemporaries of Alexander whose writings form the bases of the accounts of Curtius, Diodoros and Plutarch, Unfortunately, the classical writers do not mention the family name 'Nanda'. The reading 'Nandrum' in the place of 'Alexandrum' in the account of Justin is absolutely unjustifiable.

For a detailed account of the dynasty we have to rely on Indian tradition. Indian writers seem to be mainly interested in the Nanda age partly as marking an epoch in a social upsurge and the evolution of imperial unity, and partly as accessory to the life-sketch of Jaina patriarchs and to the *Chandragupta-Jcatha* of which we have fragments in the *Milindapanho*, the *Mahavamsa*, the Puranic chronicles, the *Brihat-Katha* and its later versions, the *Mudra-rahshasa* and the *Arthasastra*.

The first Nanda was **Mahapadma** or Mahapadmapati¹ according to the *Puranas* and **Ugrasena** according to the *Mahabodhivamsa*. The *Puranas* describe him as a son of the last *Kshatrabandhu* (so-called Kshatriya) king of the preceding line by a Sfidra mother. (*Sudra-garbh-odbhava*). The Jaina *PaHsishtaparmn*,² on the

hid itself in the floods of the Ganges." *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89.

According to Ceylonese tradition "The youngest brother (among the sons of Ugrasena) was called Dhana Nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure.

He collected riches to the amount of eighty *kotis*—in a rock in the bed of the river (Ganges) having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there...Levying taxes among other articles even on skins, gums, trees, and stones he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly." (Tumour, *Mahfi-vamsa*, p. xxxix).

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, refers to "the five treasures of King Nanda's seven precious substances."

1 'Sovereign of an infinite host' or of immense wealth' according to the commentator (Wilson, *Vishnu P.* Vol. IX, 184n). A city on the Ganges, styled Mahapadmapura, is mentioned in *Mbh.* XII. 353. 1.

2 P. 46. Text VI, 231-32

other hand, represents Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical account of the pedigree of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary who was the predecessor of Ohandragupta Maurya. Referring to this prince (Agrammes) Curtius says,¹ "His father was in fact a **barber**, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death, begot the present king."

The barber ancestry of Agrammes, recorded by the classical writers is quite in keeping with the Jaina story of the extraction of the Nanda line. That the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander and of young Ohandragupta was a Nanda king is not disputed. The real difficulty is about his identity. He could not possibly have been the first Nanda himself. The words used in reference to Agrammes, "the present king," i.e., Alexander's contemporary in Curtius' narrative, make this point clear. He (Agrammes) was *born in purple* to one who had *already "usurped supreme authority"* having secured the affections of a queen. That description is scarcely applicable to the founder of the dynasty who was, according to Jaina testimony, the son of an ordinary courtesan (*ganika*) by a barber apparently without any pretensions to *supreme power in the state*.

The murdered sovereign seems to have been Kalasoka-Kakavarna who had a tragic end as we learn from the

1 McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, P. 222,

Harshctrdharita. Kakavarna Saisunagi, says Bana, had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The young princes referred to by Curtius were evidently the sons of Kalasoka-Kakavarna. The Greek account of the rise of the family of Agrammes fits in well with the Ceylonese account of the erid of the Saisunaga line and the rise of the Nandas, but not with the Puranic story which represents the first Nanda as a son of the last Saisunaga by a Sildra woman, and makes no mention of the young princes. The name Agrammes is probably a distorted form of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena".¹ Ugrasena is, as we have seen, the name of the first Nanda according to the *Mahabodhivamsa*. His son may aptly be termed Augrasainya which the Greeks corrupted into Agrammes and later on into Xandrames.²

The *Puranas* call Mahapadma, the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas (*sarva-Kshatrantaha*) and the sole monarch (*eharat*) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway, which terms imply that he finally overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Saisunagas, viz., the Ikshvakus, Panchalas, Kasis, Haihayas, Kalirigas, Asmakas, Kurus,

1 "Augrasainya" as a royal patronymic is met with in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, viii. 21.

2 The identification of Xandrames (taken to answer to Sanskrit Chandramas), the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander, with Chandragupta, proposed by certain writers, is clearly untenable. Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, Ch. 62) clearly distinguishes between the two, and his account receives confirmation from that of Justin (Watson's tr., p. 142). Xandrames or Agrammes was the son of a usurper born after his father had become king of the Prasii, while Chandragupta was himself the founder of a new sovereignty, the first king of his line. The father of Xandrames was a barber who could claim no royal ancestry. On the other hand, Brahmanical and Buddhist writers are unanimous in representing Chandragupta as a descendant of a race of rulers, though they differ in regard to the identity of the family and its claim to be regarded as of pure Kshatriya stock. Jaina evidence clearly suggests that the barber-usurper is identical with the *Napita-kumara* or *Napitasu* (*Parisishtha*, VI. 231 and 244) who founded the Nanda line.

Maithilas, Surasenas, Vitihotras,¹ etc. The Jainas, too, allude to the wide dominion of Nanda.² The Indian account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by several classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the 'extensive deserts' (apparently of Rajputana) and the Ganges in the time of Alexander, viz., the Prasii (*Prachyas*) and the Gangaridae (people of the lower Ganges Valley) as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibothra (Pataliputra),³

1 Conquest of some of the territories occupied by the tribes and clans named here by former kings of Magadha does not necessarily mean the total extinction of the old ruling families, but merely a deprivation of their glory (*iyaiah*) and an extension of the suzerainty of the conqueror. Extirpation cannot be meant unless it is definitely asserted as in the case of Mahapadma Nanda's conquest, or that of Samudra Gupta in Aryavarta. It may also sometimes be implied by the appointment of a prince of the conquering family as viceroy. Allowance, however, must be made for a good deal of exaggeration. Even the Vajjians were not literally 'rooted out' by Ajatasatru, as the most important of the constituent clans, viz., the Lichchavis, survive till the Gupta Age. A branch of the Ikshvakus may have been driven southwards as they are found in the third or fourth century A.D. in the lower valley of the Krishna. The Kasis overthrown by Nanda may have been the descendants or successors of the prince whom Sisunaga had placed in Benares. The Haihayas occupied a part of the Narmada valley. Conquest of a part of Kaliftga by Nanda is suggested by the Hathigumpha record, that of Asmaka and part of the Godavari valley by the city called 'Nau Nand Dehra' (Nander, Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, V. p. 236). Vitihotra sovereignty had terminated before the rise of the Pradyotas of Avanti. But if the Puranic statement (DKA, 23, 69) "Contemporaneously with the aforesaid Kings (Saisunagas etc.) there will be.....Vitihotras" has any value, the Saisunagas may have paved the way for a restoration of some scion of the old line in Avanti. According to the evidence of the *Puranas* (*Vayu*, 94, 51-52) the Vitihotras were one of the five *ganas* of the Haihayas, and the survival of the latter is well attested by epigraphic evidence. The Maithilas apparently occupied a small district to the north of the Vajjian dominions annexed by Ajatasatru. The Panchalas, Kurus, and the Surasenas occupied the Gangetic Doab and Mathura and the control of their territories by the King of Magadha c. 326 B.C. accords with Greek evidence.

2 *Samudravasaneibhya asmudramapisriyah
upaya hastairakrishya tatah so' krita Nandasat*

Paris'ishta Parvan, VII, 81.

3 Inu. *Alex*, 221, 281 ; *Megasthenes and Arrian* by McCrindle (1926) pp. 67, 141, 161.

Pliny informs us¹ that the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people in all India, their capital being Palibothra (Pataliputra), after which some call the people itself Palibothri, nay, even the whole tract of the Ganges. The author is referring probably to conditions in the time of the Mauryas, and not in that of the Nandas. But the greatness that the Prasii (*i.e.* the Magadhans and other eastern peoples) attained in the Maurya Age would hardly have been possible but for the achievements of their predecessors of which we have a record by the historians of Alexander. The inclusion of the Ikshvaku territory of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the *Katha-saritsagara*² which refers to the camp of king Nanda in Ayodhya. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas.³ But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and too much cannot be built upon their statements. More important is the evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription which mentions the constructive activity of Nandaraja in Kalinga and his conquest (or removal) of some place (or sacred object) in that country. In view of Nanda's control over parts of Kalinga, the conquest of Asmaka and other regions lying further south does not seem to be altogether improbable. The existence on the Godavari of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander)* also suggests that the Nanda dominions may have embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.

1 *Megasthenes and Arrian* (1926) p. 141.

2 Tawney's Translation, p. 21.

3 Rice, *Mysore, and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 3 ; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 284. n, 2.

4 Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 236

The *Matsya Purana* assigns 88 years to the reign of the first Nanda, but 88 (*Ashtaslti*) is probably a mistake for 28 (*Ashtavimsati*), as the *Vayxi*, assigns only 28 years. According to Taranath Nanda reigned 29 years.¹ The Ceylonese accounts inform us that the Nandas ruled only for 22 years. The Puranic figure 28 is probably to be taken to include the period when Nanda was the *de facto* ruler of Magadha before his final usurpation of the throne.

Mahapadma-Ugrasena was succeeded by his eight sons who were kings in succession. They ruled for twelve years according to the Puranas. The Ceylonese Chronicles,, as we have already seen, give the total length of the reign-period of all the nine Nandas as 22 years. The Puranas specify the name of one son of Mahapadma, viz., Sukalpa.² The *Mahabodldvamsa* gives the following names : Panduka, Pandugati, Bhutapala, Rashtapala, Govishanaka, Dasasiddhaka, Kaivarta and **Dhana**. The last king is possibly identical with the **Agrammes** or **Xandrames** of the classical writers. Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably a distortion by the Greeks of the Sanskrit patronymic *Augrasairiya*.

The first Nanda left to his sons not only a big empire but also a large army and, if tradition is to be believed, a full exchequer and an efficient system of civil government. Curtius tells us that Agrammes, king of the G-angaridae and the Prasii, kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, und what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 362.

2 The name has variants. One of these is Sahalya. Dr. Barua makes the plausible suggestion that the prince in question may be identical with Sahalin of the *Divyavadana* (p. 369 ; Pargiter, DKA, 25 n 24 ;, *Bauddha Dharma Kosha*, 44). The evidence of that Buddhist work in regard to the relationship between Sahalio and Kakavarna can, however, hardly be accepted. The work often errs in this respect. It makes Pushyamitra a lineal descendant of Asoka (p. 433).

which, he said, ran up to the number of 8,000. Diodoros and Plutarch give similar accpunts. But they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively. The name of one of the generals, Bhaddasala is preserved by Buddhist tradition.¹

The immense riches of the Nandas have already been referred to. The family may also be credited with irrigation projects in Kaliiga and the invention of a particular kind of measure (*Nandopalcramani manani*)? The existence of a body of capable ministers is vouched for both by Brahmanical and Jaina tradition. But in the end they proved no match for another traditional figure whose name is indissolubly linked up with the fall of the Nandas and the rise of a more illustrious race of rulers.

No detailed account of this great dynastic revolution has survived. The accumulation of an enormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion. Moreover, we are told by the classical writers that Agrammes (the Nanda contemporary of Alexander) "was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne."³

The Puranic passage about the revolution⁴ stands as follows :

*Uddliarishyati tan sarvan
Kaiitilyo vai dvijarshabhah*

1 *Milinda-Panho*, SBE, xxxvi, pp. 147-8.

2 S. C. Vasu's trans, of the *Ashtadhyayi* of Paninj, rule illustrating *slitra* II. 4. 21.

3 McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 322, Cf, Jaina *Parisishtaparvan*, vi. 244.—

*tatascha kechit samanta madenandham bhavishnavah
Nandasya na natim chakrurasau napitasuriti.*

4 The dynastic change is also referred to by the *Kautilya Arthasastra*, the *Kamandaklya Nitisara*, the *Mudrarakshasa*, the *Chanda Kauhika*, the *Ceylonese Chronicles* etc.

*Kautlyas-Glwidraguptam tu
tato rajye bhishekshyati.*¹

The *Milinda-Panho*² refers to an episode of the great straggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas : "There was Bhaddasala, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandagufcta. Now in that war, Nagasena, there were eighty Corpse dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred *kotis* of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field." The passage contains a good deal of mythical embellishment. But we have here a reminiscence of the bloody encounter between the contending forces of the Nandas and the Mauryas.³

1 Some Mss. read *dvirashtabhih* in place of *dvijarshabhah*. Dr. Jayaswal (*Ind. Ant.* 1914, 124) proposed to emend it to *Virashtrabhih*. *Virashiras* he took to mean the Arattas and added that Kautilya was helped by the Arattas "the band of robbers" of Justin. Cf. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 88, 89. Pargiter," however, suggests, (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 26, 35) that *dvijarsabhah* (the best among the twice-born, i.e., Brghmanas) may be the correct reading instead of "*dvirashtabhih*."

2 IV. 8. 26. Cf. SBE, xxxvi. pp. 147-48.

3 Cf. *Ind Ant.*, 1914, p. 124n.

CHAPTER III. THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS.

SECTION I. THE ADVANCE OF PERSIA TO THE INDUS.

"While the kingdoms and republics of the Indian interior were gradually being merged in the Magadhan Empire, those of North-West India (including modern Western Pakistan) were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. In the first half of the sixth century B.C., the *Uttarapatha* (northern region) beyond the *Madhyadesa* (Mid-India, roughly the Granges-Jumna Doab, Oudh and some adjoining tracts), like the rest of India, was parcelled out into a number of small states the most important of which were Kamboja, Gandhara and Madra. No sovereign arose in this part of India capable of welding together the warring communities, as Ugrasena-Mahapadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited, and formed the natural prey of the strong Achaemenian monarchy which grew up in Persia (Iran).

Kurush or Cyrus (558-530 B.C.¹) the founder of the Persian Empire, is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia, but had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only.² But he was more successful in the Kabul valley. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kapisi, at or near the confluence of the Ghorband and the Panjshir. Arrian informs us³ that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kabul) is inhabited by the Astaceni

1 550-529 B.C. according to *A Survey of Persian Art*, p.64,

2 H. and F., *Strabo*, III, p. 74.

3 Chignock, *Arrian's Anabasis*, p. 399.

(Ashtakas)¹ and the Assacenian (Asvakas), *Indian* tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land." Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kshudrakas) from India (i.e., the Panjab) to attend them as mercenaries.

In the Behistun or Bahistan inscription of Darayavaush or **Darius I** (c. 522-486 B.C.) the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty, the people of Gandhara (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire. But no mention is there made of the Hidus (Hindus, people of Sindhu or the Indus Valley) who are explicitly referred to in the Hamadan Inscription, and are included with the Gandharians in the lists of subject peoples given by the inscriptions on the terrace at Persepolis, and around the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e-Rostum.² From this it has been inferred that the "Indians" (Hidus) were conquered at some date between 519 B.C. (the probable date of the Behistun or Bahistan inscription),³ and the end of the reign of Darius in 486 B.C.⁴ The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus :⁵ "He (Darius) being desirous to know in what part the Indus,

1 Patanjali (IV. 2. 2) refers to "*Ashtakam nama dhanva* ;" (cf. *Hasht-nagar*, and *Athakanagara*, Luders, 390).

2 *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenian Inscriptions* by H. C. Tolman ; Rapsqn, *Ancient India* ; Herzfeld. MASI, 34. pp. 1 ff.

3 In the opinion of Jackson (*Camb. Hist. India*, I, 334) the Bahistan Rock Inscription is presumably to be assigned to a period between 520 and 518 B.C. with the exception of the fifth column, which was added later. Rapson regarded 516 B.C. as the probable date of the famous epigraph, while Herzfeld prefers the date 519 B.C. (MASI. No. 34, p. 2).

4 Herzfeld is, however, of the opinion that reference to the 'Thatagush' in early Persian epigraphs shows that (part of) the Panjab, like Gandhara, was Persian from the days of Cyrus the Great.

5 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 4-5.

which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus¹ and the country of Paktyike (Pakthas ?)² sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea ; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the Sea."

Herodotus tells us that "India" constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest,—360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to £1,290,000 of 'the pre-war period. There is no reason to believe that all this gold came from Bactria or Siberia. Gold deposits are not unknown in several tracts of the North-West Frontier, and quantities of gold are recovered from the alluvium of rivers. A small quantity of the precious metal used to be imported by Bhotiya traders from the Tibetan Hills.³ Gandhara was included in the seventh satrapy. The details regarding "India" left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus Valley and was bounded on the east by the desert of Rajaputana, "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand ; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indians'

1 *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 336. The city was probably situated in ancient Gandhara.

2 *Ibid*, 82. 339. Paktyike is apparently the ancient name of the modern Pathan country on the north-west borderland of the sub-continent of India.

3 Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India*, 1897, p. 10 ; *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 19-7-39, p. 6 ; cf. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I. 225, 239.

country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."

The organisation of the empire into *Satrapies* germed as a model to several succeeding dynasties, and was given a wider extension in India by the Sakas and the Kushans in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. The *Desa-goptri* of the Gupta Age was the lineal successor of the Satrap (*Kshatra-pavan*) of earlier epochs.

The Persian conquerors did much to promote geographical exploration and commercial activity. At the same time they took from the country not only an enormous amount of gold and other commodities such as ivory and wood, but denuded it of a great portion of its man-power. Military service was exacted from several tribes. Contact between the East and the West became more intimate with important results in the domain of culture. If the Achaemenians brought the Indian bowmen and lancers to Hellenic soil, they also showed the way of conquest and cultural penetration to the peoples of Greece and Macedon.

Khshayarsha or **Xerxes** (486-465 B.C.), the son and successor of Darius I, maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. In the great army which he led against the Persians both Gandhara and "India" were represented. The Gandharians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. One of the newly discovered stone-tablets at Persepolis¹ records that Xerxes "by Ahuramazda's will" Sapped the foundations of certain temples of the *Daivas* and ordained that "the *Daivas* shall not be worshipped".

1 *The Illustrated London News*, Feb. 22, 1936, p. 328. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, 152.

Where the *Daivas* had been worshipped, the king worshipped Ahuramazda together with *Rtam* (divine world order). 'India' may have been among the lands which witnessed the outcome of the religious zeal of the Persian king.

Among interesting relics of Persian dominion in India mention is sometimes made of a Taxila inscription in Aramaic characters of the fourth or fifth century B.C.¹ But Herzfeld points out² that the form *Priyadarsana* occurs in the record which should be referred to the reign of Asoka, and not to the period of Persian rule. To the Persians is also attributed the introduction of the *Kharoshthi* alphabet, the "Persepolitan capital" and words like "*dipi*" (rescript) and "*nipishta*" ("written") occurring in the inscriptions of Asoka. Persian influence has also been traced in the preamble of the Asokan edicts.

1 *JRAS.*, 1915, 1 p. 340-347.

2 *Ep.Ind.*,XIX. 253.

SECTION II. THE LAST OF THE ACHAEMENIDS AND ALEXANDER.

The Persian Empire rapidly declined after the death of Xerxes. After a period of weak rule and confusion, the crown went to Darius III Codomannus (335-330 B.C.). This was the king against whom Alexander, the great king of Macedon led forth his famous phalanx. After several engagements in which the Persian forces suffered repeated defeats, the Macedonian conqueror rode on the tracks of his vanquished enemy and reached the plain watered by the river Bumodus.

Three distinct groups of Indians figured in the army which mustered under the banner of the Persian monarch in that region. "The *Indians ivho were conterminous 'with the Bactrians* as also the Bactrians themselves, and the Sogdianians had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command of Bessus, the Viceroy of the land of Bactria. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia. These were not subject to Bessus but were in alliance with Darius... Barsaentes, the Viceroy of Arachotia, led the Arachotians and the men who were called *Mountaineer Indians*. There were a few elephants, about fifteen in number,.belonging to the *Indians who live this side of the Indus*. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela."¹ The hold of the Achaemenians on the Indians in the various provinces on the frontier had, however, grown very feeble about this time, and the whole of north-western India was parcelled out into innumerable kingdoms, principalities and

1 Chin nock, *Arrians Anabasis*, pp. 142-143.

republics. A list of the more important among these is given below :—

1. The **Aspasian** territory (Alishang-Kunar-Bajaur valley) :

It lay in the difficult hill country north of the Kabul river watered by the Khoes, possibly the modern Alishang, and the Euaspla, apparently the Kunar. The name of the people is derived from the Iranian "*Aspa*" *Le.t* the Sanskrit "*Asva*" (horse) or *Asvaha*. The Aspasians were thus the western branch of the Asvakas (Assakenians).¹ The chieftain, *hyparch*, of the tribe dwelt in a city on or near the river Euaspla, supposed to be identical with the Kfinar, a tributary of the Kabul. Other Aspasian cities were Andaka and Arigaeum.²

2. The country of the **Guræans** :

It was watered by the river Guræus, **Gauri**, or Panj-kora, and lay between the land of the Aspasians and the country of the Assakenians.

3. The Kingdom of **Assakenos** (part of Swat and Buner) :

It stretched eastwards as far as the Indus and had its capital at Massaga, a "formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass but not yet precisely identified." The name of the Assakenians probably represents the Sanskrit **Aivaka** 'land of horses', not **Asmaka**, 'land of stone'. The territory occupied by the tribe was also known in different ages as Suvastu, Udyana and, according to some, Oddiyana. The Asvakas do not appear to be mentioned by Panini unless we regard them as belonging to the same stock as the Asmakas³ of the south

1 *Camb. Hist Ind.*, 352. n. 3.

2 Chinnock's *Arrian* pp. 230-231.

3 IV, I. 173.

for which there is no real ground. They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the- *Markandeya Purna* and the *Brihat Samhita*. The Assakenian king had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry and 30 elephants. The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion is called by the Greeks Assakenos. His mother was Kleophis. Assakenos had a brother¹ who is called Eryx by Curtius and Aphrikes by Diodoros.² There is no reason to believe that these personages had any relationship with king Sarabha, whose tragic fate is described by Bana and who belonged apparently to the southern realm of the Asmakas in the valley of the Godavari.

4 Nysa:

This was a small hill-state which lay at the foot of Mt. Meros between the Kophen or Kabul river and the Indus.³ It had a republican constitution. The city was alleged to have been founded by Greek colonists long before the invasion of Alexander.⁴ Arrian says,⁵ "The Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came to India with Dionysus/" Curiously enough, a *Yona* or Greek state is mentioned along with Kamboja in the *Majjhima Nikaya*⁶ as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalayana: "*Yona Kambojesu dveva vanna Ayyo o'eva Dasoca* (there are only

1 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 378.

2 He led the flying defenders of the famous fortress of Aornos against the Greeks (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I. 356). Aornos is identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the height of Una between the Swat and the Indus (*Alexander's Campaign on the Frontier*, *Benares Hindu University Magazine*, Jan., 1927). The southern side of the stronghold was washed by the Indus (*Inv. Alex.*, 271.)

3 *Inv. Alex.*, 79, 193.

4 McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 79 ; Hamilton and Falconer, *Strabo*, Vol. III. p. 76. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal informed me that he referred to the Nysaeans in do-Greeks in a lecture delivered as early as 1919.

5 Chinnock's *Arrian*, p. 399.

ironp social grades among the Yonas and the Kambojas, viz., Aryan and Dasa).¹

According to Holdich the lower spurs and valleys of Kohi-Mor in the **Swat** country are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood.¹ At the time of Alexander's invasion the Nysaeans had Akouphis for their President. They had a Governing Body of 800 members.²

5. **Peukelaotis** (in the Peshawar District) :

It lay on the road from Kabul to the Indus. Arrian tells us³ that, the Kabul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis, taking with itself the Malantus, Soastus and Guraeus. Peukelaotis represents the Sanskrit **Pushkaravati**. It formed the western part of the old kingdom of Gandhara. The people of the surrounding region are sometimes referred to as the "Astakenoi" by historians. The capital is represented by the modern Mir ziyarat and Charsadda, about 17 miles N. E. of Peshawar, on the Swat river, the Soastus of Arrian, and the Suvastu of the Vedic texts.

The reigning *hyparch* at the time of Alexander's invasion was Astes⁴ identified with Hasti or Ashtaka. He was defeated and killed by Hephaestion, a general of the Macedonian king.

6. **Taxila** or Takshasila (in the Rawalpindi District) :

, Strabosays⁵ "between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum) was Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile." The kingdom of Taxila formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhara.

1 Smith, EHI, 4th ed , p. 57. *Camb. Hist.*, I, p. 353.

2 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 81.

3 Chinnock's *Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica*, p. 403.

4 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 228.

5 H. and F.'s. tr., III, p. 90,

In B. C. 327 the Taxilian throne was occupied by a *hyparch*, or *bastteus*, whom the Greeks called Taxiles. When Alexander of Macedon arrived in the Kabul valley he sent a herald to the king of Taxila to bid him come and meet him. Taxiles accordingly did come to meet the conqueror, bringing valuable gifts. When he died his son Mophis or Omphis (Sanskrit Ambhi) succeeded to the government. Curiously enough, the reputed author of the *Kautiliya Arthasashtra*, himself a native of Taxila according to the *Mahavamm Tika*, refers to a school of political philosophers called Ambhiyas, and Dr. F. W. Thomas connects them with Taxila.¹

7. The kingdom of **Arsakes** :

The name of the principality represents the Sanskrit **Urata**, which formed part of the modern **Hazara** District. It adjoined the realm of Abisares, and was probably, like the latter, an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Urata is mentioned in several *Kharoshthi* inscriptions, and, in the time of the geographer Ptolemy, absorbed the neighbouring realm of Taxila.

8. **Abhisara** :

Strabo observes² that the kingdom was situated among the mountains *above* the Taxila country. The position of this state was correctly defined by Stein who pointed out that *Darvabhisara*³ included the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab. Roughly speaking, it corresponded to the Punch and some adjoining districts in Kasmira with a part at least of the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province. It was probably an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Abisares, the contemporary of Alexander,

1 *Barhaspatya Arthasastra. Introduction*, p. 15.

2 H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 90.

3 Cf. Mbh. VII.91., 43.

was a shrewd politician of the type of Charles Emanuel III of Sardinia. When the Macedonian invader arrived in Taxila he informed him that he was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and the famous Poros, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter.¹

9. The kingdom of the Elder Poros :

This territory lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab and roughly corresponded to parts of the modern districts of Gujrat **and** Shahpur.² Strabo tells us³ that it was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities. Diodoros informs us⁴ that Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, about 3,000 horse, above 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was in alliance with Embisaros, *ie.*, the king of Abhisara.

Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Puru or **Paurava**. In the *Rig-Veda* the Purus are expressly mentioned as on the Sarasvati. In the time of Alexander, however, we find them on the Hydaspes (Jhelum). The *Brihat Samhita*,⁵ too, associates the 'Tauravas', with 'Madraka' and 'Malava.' The *Mahabharata*⁶ also, refers to a "*Puram Paurava-rakshitam*", city protected by the Pauravas, which lay not far from Kasmira. It is suggested in the *Vedio Index*⁷ that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Purus, where some remained after the others had wandered east, or the later Purus, represent a successful onslaught upon the west from the east.

1 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 276. *Inv. Alex*, 112.

2 It apparently included the old territory of Kekaya.

3 H.&F.'str., III. p. 91.

4 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 274.

5 XIV. 27.

6 II. 27, 15-17.

7 Vol. 11, pp. 12-13.

10, The country of the people called **Glauganikal'** (GHaiganiqians) by Aristobulus, and Glausians by Ptolemy:

This tract lay to the west of the Chenab and was conterminous with the dominion of Poros.² It included no less than seven and thirty cities, the smallest of which had not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000.

11. **Gandaris** (in the Rechna Doab) :

This little kingdom lay between the Chenab and the Ravi and (if Strabo has given the correct name of the territory) probably represented the easternmost part of the old *Mahajanapada* of Gandhara.³ It was ruled by the Younger Poros, nephew of the monarch who ruled the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab.

12. The **Adraistai** (in the Bari Doab) :⁴

They dwelt on the eastern side of the Hydraotes or the Ravi, and their main stronghold was Pimprama.

13. **Kathaioi** or Cathaeans (probably also in the Bari Doab) :

Strabo points out⁵ that "some writers place Cathaia and the country of Sopeithes, one of the *nomarchs*, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines, i.e., the Jhelum and the Chenab) ; some on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hydarotis, t. e., of the Chenab and the Ravi, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken. prisoner

1 With the second part of the name *anika*, troop or army, may be compared that of the Sanakanikas of the Gupta period. Dr. Jayaswal, who, doubtless following Weber in *I A*, ii (1873), p 147, prefers the restoration of the name as Glauchukayanaka, does not apparently take note of this fact.

2 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 276. *Inv. Alex.* 112. The country was subsequently given to the elder Poros to rule.

3 But see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 370, n. 4 ; the actual name of the territory in olden times was, however, Madra.

4 Adrijas? Mbh.. VII. 159.5.

Yaudheyana Adrijan rajan Madrakan Malavan api.

5 H. & . 'F str., III, p. 92,

by Alexander." The Kathaioi probably represent the Sanskrit Katha, Kathaka,¹ Kantha² or Kratha.³ They were the most eminent among the independent tribes dwelling in the area of which the principal centre was Sangala (Sankala). This town was probably situated in the **Gurudaspur** district, not far from Fathgarh.⁴ Anspach locates it at Jandiala to the east of **Amritsar**.⁵

The Kathaians enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war. Onesikritos tells us that in Kathaia the handsomest man was chosen as king.⁶

14. The **kingdom of Sophytes** (Saubhuti), probably along the banks of the Jhelum :

In the opinion of Smith, the position of this kingdom is fixed by the remark of Strabo⁷ that it included a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India ; Sophytes was, therefore, according to him, the "lord of the fastness of the Salt Range stretching from the Jhelum to the Indus." But we have already seen that the classical writers agree in placing Sophytes' territory *east of the Jhelum*. Ourtius tells us⁸ that the nation ruled by Sopeithes (Sophytes), in the opinion of the "barbarians," excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs. They did not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the tiedical inspection of infants might direct, for if they

1 Jolly, SBE., VII. 15; *Ep. Ind.*, III. 8.

2 C/., PSnmr. II. 4. 20.

3 Mbh., VIII. 85. 16.

4 JRA9., 1903, p. 687.

5 *Gamb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 371.

6 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 38.

7 H.& F.'str., III, p. 93.

8 *Invasion of India by AUxander*, p. 219.

remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed. In contracting marriages they did not seek an alliance with high birth but made their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children was highly appreciated. Strabo informs us¹ that the dogs in the territory of Sopeithes (Sophytes) were said to possess remarkable courage. We have some coins of Sophytes bearing on the obverse the head of the king, and on the reverse the figure of a cock.² According to Smith the style is suggested probably by the "owls" of Athens. Strabo calls Sophytes a *nomarch* which probably indicates that he was not an independent sovereign, but only a viceroy of some other king.³

15. The kingdom of **Phegelas** or Phegeus (in the **Bari Doab**) :

It lay between the Hydraotes (Ravi) and the Hyphasis (Bias).⁴ The name of the king, Phegelas, probably represents the Sanskrit *Bhagala*—the designation of a royal race of Kshatriyas mentioned in the *Ganapatha*.⁵

16. The **Siboi** (in the lower part of the Rechna Doab) :

They were the inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang district below the junction of the Jhelum

1 H. & F., in, p. 93.

2 Whitehead (*Num. Chron.*, 1943, pp. 60-72) rejects the identification of Sophytes with Saubhuti. He thinks that "Saubhuti is a philologist's creation. There is no historical evidence that Saubhuti existed" (p. 63). Subhuti (from which Saubhuti is apparently derived) is a fairly common name in Indian literature (The *Questions of King Milinda*, Part II, SBE, XXXVI, pp. 315, 323; Geiger, the *Mahavamsa*, tr., 151n, 275). It is by no means improbable that a Hindu Rajah should strike a piece bearing a Hellenized form of his name, as the Hinduised Scythian rulers did in later ages.

3 Was it the Great King of W. Asia or some Indian potentate? Among other *notnarohs* mention may be made of Spitaces, a nephew and apparently a vassal of the elder Poros (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 36, 365, 367).

4 *Inv, Alex*, P. 281, 401.

5 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 401. Cf. *Kramadisvara*, 769.

and the Chenab.¹ They were probably identical with the Siva people mentioned in a passage of the *Rig-Veda*² where they share with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalanases, and Visanins the honour of being defeated by Sudas.³ The *Jatakas* mention a Sivi country and its cities Aritthapura⁴ and Jetuttara.⁵ It is probable that Siva, Sivi, Sibi, and Siboi were one and the same people. A place called Siva-pura is mentioned by the scholiast on Panini as situated in the northern country.⁶ It is, doubtless, identical with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription edited by Vogel. In the opinion of that scholar the mound of Shorkot marks the site of this city of the Sibis.⁷

The Siboi dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons.

The *Mahabharata*⁸ refers to a *rashtra* or realm of the Sivas ruled by king Usinara, which lay not far from the Yamuna.⁹ It is not altogether improbable that the Usinara country¹⁰ was at one time the home of the Sivas. We find them also in Sind, in Madyamika (Tambavati nagari ?) near Ohitor in Rajputana,¹¹ and, in the *Dasa-Immara-charita*, on the banks of the Kaveri.¹²

1 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 232.

2 VII. 18. 7.

3 *Vedic Index*. Vol. II, pp. 381-382. A 'Saibya' is mentioned in the *Atitareya Brahmana* (VIII. 23 ; *Vedic Index*, 1.31).

4 *Ummadanti Jataka*, No. 527 ; cf. Panini, VI. 2. 100.

5 *Vessantara Jataka*, No. 547. See also *ante*, p 198, n 6.

6 Patanjali, IV, 2. 2 ; *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 382. *IHQ*, 1926, 758.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, 1921, p. 16.

8 III. 130-131.

9 Cf. Siba (Cunn. AG/., revised ed., pp. 160-161).

10 *Vide* pp. 65, 66 *ante*.

11 Vaidya, *Med. Hind. Ind.*, 1, p. 162 ; *Carm. Lee*, 1918, p. 173. Allan, *Coins of Anc. Ind.* exxiii.

12 The southern Sivas are probably to be identified with the Chola ruling family (Kielhorn, *List of Southern Inscriptions*, No. 685),

17. The **Agalastof**:

This people lived near the Siboi, and could muster an army of 40,000 foot and 8,000 horse.

18. The Sudraoe or **Oxydrakai**:

The accounts of Curfcus and Diodoros¹ leave the impression that they lived not far from the Siboi and the Agalassoi, and occupied part of the territory below the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenab. At the confluence Alexander garrisoned a citadel and *thence* came into the dominions of the Sudrae and the Malli (Malavas). The former may have occupied parts of the Jhang and Lyallpur districts. The name of the Sudrae or the Oxydrakai represents the Sanskrit **Kshudraka**.² They were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Panjab. Arrian in one passage refers to the "leading men of their cities and their provincial governors" besides other eminent men. These words afford us a glimpse into the internal condition of this and similar tribes.

19. The Malloi:

They seem to have occupied the right bank of the lower Hydraotes (Ravi) and are mentioned as escaping across that river to a city of the Brahmanas. The Akesines (Chenab) is said to have joined the Indus in their territory.³ Their name represents the Sanskrit **Malava**. According to Weber, Apisali (according to Jayaswal, Katyayana), speaks of the formation of the compound "*Kshaiidra-Malava*." Smith points out that the *Mahabharata* couples the tribes in question as forming

1 *Inv. Alex.* 233-4. 286-7.

2 *Mbh.*, II. 52. 15 ; VII. 68.9.

3 *Msgasthenes and Arrian* (2nd ed.) 196. The accuracy of this statement may be doubted. The Malloi territory seems to have included part of the Jhang district, besides a portion of South Lyallpur, West Montgomery, and perhaps North Multan.

part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra war.¹ Ciu'tius tells us² that the Sudrae and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar informs us that Panini refers to the Malavas as living by the profession of arms.⁸ In later times they are found in Rajputana, Avanti and the Mahi valley.

20. The **Abastanoi** :

Diodoros calls them the Sambastai,⁴ Arrian Abastanoi, Curcius Sabarcae, and Orosius Sabagrae. They were settled on the lower Akesines (Chenab) apparently below the Malava country, but above the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. Their name represents the Sanskrit *Ambashtha* or *Ambashtha*.⁵ The *Ambashthas* are mentioned in several Sanskrit and Pali works. An *Ambashtha* king is mentioned in the *Aitareija Brahmana*⁶ whose priest was Narada. The *Mahabharata*¹ mentions the *Ambashthas* along with the *Sivis*, *Kshudrakas*, *Malavas* and other north-western tribes. The *Puranas* represent them as *Anava Kshatriyas* and kinsmen of the *Sivis*.⁸ In the *Barhaspatya Arthasastra*,⁹ the *Ambashtha* country is mentioned in conjunction with *Sind* :

Kasmira-IIun-Ambashtha-Sindhavah

1. EHL, 1914. p. 94n. ; *Mbh.*, VI. 59. 135.

2. *Invasion of Alexander*, 234.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, 1913. p. 200.

4. *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 292.

5. Dr. Surya Kanta draws a distinction between *Ambashtha* and *Ambashtha*, regarding the former as a place-name, and the latter as the name of a particular class of people, 'an elephant-driver, a Kshatriya, a mixed caste'. (B, C, *Law* Vol. II. pp. 127ff). To us the distinction seems to be based upon philological conjectures.

6. VIII. 21.

7. I I. 52. 14-15.

8. Pargiter, *AIHT.*, pp. 108.109.

9. Ed. F.W.Thomas, p. 21,

In the *Ambattha Sutta*,¹ an Anibattha is called a Brahmana. In the *Smṛti* literature, on the other hand, Ambashtha denotes a man of mixed Brahmana and Vaisya parentage. According to *Jatila* IV. 363, the Ambatthas were farmers. It seems that the Ambashthas were a tribe or clan who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, *via.*, those of priests, farmers and, according to *Smṛti* writers, physicians (*Ambashthanam chikitsitam*).²

In the time of Alexander, the Ambashthas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots.³

In later times the Ambashthas are found in South-Eastern India near the Mekala range, and also in Bihar and possibly in Bengal.⁴

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part 1. p. 109.

2 Manu, X. 47. Dr. Surya Kanta suggests the reading (*Law Volume*, II, 134) *cha hastinam*. In his dissertation he speaks of the possibility of *Ambashtha* being a Sanskritized form of a Celtic word meaning 'husbandman, tiller of the ground'. It is also pointed out that the word may be 'an exact parallel to 'mahamatra' inasmuch as 'ambhas' means 'of large measure', 'an elephant', so that *Ambashtha* would mean 'one sitting on the elephant', *i.e.*, a driver, a keeper, a *samanta*, or a *Kshatriya*. They lived on warfare, presumably as *gajarohas*, and banner-bearers.

A distinction is drawn between *Ambashtha* and *Ambashtha*. The last-mentioned expression is considered to be a place-name, based on the plant name Xmba. For other notes on the subject see Prabasi, 1351 B. S ; I, 206 ; *JUPHS*, July-Dec, 1945, pp 148 ff ; *History of Bengal* (D. U.), pp. 568 ff.

3 *Invasion of Alexander*, p 252.

4 Cf. Ptolemy, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 361 ; *Bṛhat Samhita* ; XIV. 7 ; *Mekhalamushta* of *Markandeya P.*, LVIII. 14, is a corruption of *Mekal-Ambashtha*. Cf. also the Ambashtha Kayasthas of Bihar, and the Vaidyas of Bengal whom Bharata Mallika classes as Ambashtha. This is not the place to discuss the authenticity or otherwise of the tradition recorded by Bharata and some of the *Puranas*. The origin of the *Vaidyas*, or of any other caste in Bengal, is a thorny problem which requires separate treatment. What the author aims at in these pages is to put some available evidence, early or late, about the Abastanoi. That some Ambashthas, and Brahmanians too, took to the medical profession is clear from the evidence of Manu and

21-22. The **Xathroi** and the **Ossadioi**:

The Xathroi are according to McOrindle¹ the **Kshatri** of Sanskrit literature mentioned in the Laws of Manu as an impure tribe, being of mixed origin. V. de Saint-Martin suggests that in the Ossadioi we have the **Vasati** of the *Mahabharata*,² a tribe associated with the Sibis and Sindhu-Sauviras of the Lower Indus Valley.³ Like the Abastanoi, the Xathroi and the Ossadioi seem to have occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Akesines (Chenab) and situated between the confluence of that river with the Ravi and the Indus respectively.

23-24. The **Sodrai** (Sogdoi) and the **Massanoi**:

They occupied Northern Sind with contiguous portions of the Panjab (Mithan-kot area) and the Bahawalpur state, below the confluence of the Panjab rivers. The territories of these two tribes lay on opposite banks of the Indus. The Sodrai are the **Sadra** tribe of Sanskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the Abhiras who were settled near the Sarasvatī.⁴ Their royal seat (*basileion*) stood on the Indus. Here another Alexandria was founded by the Macedonian conqueror.

Atri (*Samhita*, 378) and Bopadev. It is equally clear that the Vaidya problem cannot be solved in the way it has been sought to be done in some recent publications. Due attention should be given to historical evidence bearing on the point like that of Megasthenes and of certain early Chalukya, Pandya, and other epigraphs, e.g. the Talamanchi plates, *Ep. Ind.* IX. 101; Bhandarkar's List 1371. 2061, etc.

1 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 156 n.

2 VII. 19. 11; 89. 37; VIII. 44 49.

3 "Abhishahah kurasenah śivayo'tha Vaiatayah" (*Mbh.*, VI. 106. 8).

"Vasati Sindhu-Sauvira itiprayo' tikutsitah."

'Gandharah Sindhu-Sauvirajit Sivayo'tha Vasatayah' (*Mbh.*, VI. 51.14).

4 *Patanjali*. 1. 2.3; *Mbh.*, VII. 19.6; IX. 37.1.

25. The kingdom of **Mousikanoa** :¹

This famous state included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the **Sukkur** district. The characteristics of the inhabitants of the realm of Mousikanos as noticed by Strabo are given below :²

"The following are their peculiarities ; to have a kind of Lacedaemonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold nor silver, although they have **mines of these metals**. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotse, and the Lacedaemonians the Helots. . They study no science with attention but that of *medicine* ;³ for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other ; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another ; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

From the account left by Arrian it appears that the "Brachmans," i.e., the Brahmanas exercised considerable influence in the country. They were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invader.⁴

1 Bevan in *Camb. Hist. Ind.* p. 377, following Lassen (*Inv Alex.* 157 n) restores the name as Mushika. Dr. Jayaswami in his *Hindu Polity* suggests Muchukarna. Cf. Maushikara (*Patarijali*, IV. i. 4).

2 H. & F., III, p. 96,

3 This trait they shared with the Ambashthas (cf. Manu, X.47).

4 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 319. Cf. Strabo. xv.i. 66,—"*Nearchos* says that the brachmans engage in the affairs of the state and attend the king as councillors,"

26. The principality of **Oxykanos** :

Ourtius calls the subjects of Oxykanos the Praesti (**Proshthas P**).¹ Oxykanos himself is styled both by Strabo and Diodoros Portikanos. Cunningham places his territory to the west of the Indus in the level country around **Larkhana**.²

27. The principality of **Sambos** :³

Sambos was the ruler of a *mountainous country* adjoining the kingdom of Mousikanos, with whom he was at feud. His capital, called Sindimana, has been identified, with little plausibility, with Sehwan, a city on the Indus.⁴ According to Diodoros 'a city of the Brahmarlas' (Brahmanavata ?) had to be stormed whilst the operations against Sambos were going on.⁵

28. **Patalene**:

It was the Indus delta, and took its name from the capital city, Patala, probably near the site of Bahmanabad;.

Diodoros tells us⁶ that Tauala (Patala) had a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan ; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. One of the kings in the time of Alexander was called **Moeres**.⁷

The states described above had little tendency to unity or combination. Curtius tells us³ that Ambhi, ruler of

1 Mbh., VI.9.61.

2 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 158 ; AGI, Revised ed. 300.

3 sambhu, according to Bevan (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, 377). Samba is a possible alternative.

4 McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 404 ; AGI, Revised ed., 302 t.

5 Diod. XVII. 103. 1 ; cf. Alberuni (I. 316 ; II. 262).

6 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 296.

7 *Inv, Alex.* p. 256. cf. **Maurya**.

8 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 202.

Taxila, was at war with Abisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abisares were not only enemies of Taxila but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes. On one occasion the two kings marched against the Kshudrakas and the Malavas.¹ Arrian further tells us that the relations between Poros and his nephew were far from friendly. Sambos and Mousikanos were also on hostile terms. Owing to these feuds and strifes amongst the petty states, a foreign invader had no united resistance to fear ; and he could be assured that many among the local chieftains would receive him with open arms out of hatred for their neighbours.

The Nandas of Magadha do not appear to have made any attempt to subjugate these states of the *Uttarapatha* (North-West India). The task of reducing them was reserved for a foreign conqueror, viz., Alexander of Macedon. The tale of **Alexander's conquest** has been told by many historians including Arrian, Q. Curtius Rufus, Diodoros Siculus, Plutarch and Justin. We learn from Curtius that Scythiads and Dahae served in the Macedonian army.² The expedition led by Alexander was thus a combined Saka-Yavana enterprise. The invader met with no such general confederacy of the native powers like the one formed by the East Indian states against Kilnika-Ajatasatru. On the contrary he obtained assistance from many important chiefs like Anabhi of Taxila, Sangaeus (Sanjaya ?) of Pushkaravati, Kophaios or Cophasus (of the Kabul region ?), Assagetes (Asvajit ?), and Sisikottos (Saslgupta) who got as his reward the satrapy of the Assakenians.³ The only princes or peoples who thought of combining against the invader were Poros and Abisares, and the Malavas (Malloi), Kshudrakas

1 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 279.

2 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 208,

3 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 112.

(Oxydrakai), and the neighbouring autonomous tribes. Even in the latter case personal jealousies prevented any effective results. Alexander met with stubborn resistance from individual chiefs and clans, notably from Astes (Hasti or Ashtaka ?), the Aspasiens, the Assakenians, the elder Poros, the Kathaians, the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, and the Brahmanas of the kingdom of Mousikanos. Massaga, the stronghold of the Assakenians, was stormed with great difficulty, Poros was defeated on the banks of the Hydaspes (B. O. 326), the Malloi and the Oxydrakai were also no doubt crushed. But Alexander found that his Indian antagonists were different from the effete troops of Persia. Diodoros informs us that at Massaga, where Alexander treacherously massacred the mercenaries, "the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men." Poros, when he saw most of his forces scattered, his elephants lying dead or straying riderless, did not flee—as Darius Codomannus had twice fled—but remained fighting, seated on an elephant of commanding height, and received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner.² The Malloi almost succeeded in killing the Macedonian king. But all this was of no avail. A disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the Hellenic world led by the greatest captain of ancient Europe. Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian provinces of Gandhara and "India," but was unable to try conclusions with Agrames king of the Gaggaridae and the Prasii, *i.e.*, the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces in Eastern India. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover they were afraid of the "Gandaritai and the Praisiai" who

X *Inv.Alex.*, p.270.

3 Cf. Bury, *History of Greece for Beginners*, pp. 428-29,

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were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania he received a report that his satrap Philippos, governor of the Upper Indus Province, had been murdered (324' B.C.) Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The Macedonian satrap of Sind had to be transferred to the north-west borderland beyond the Indus and no new satrap was appointed in his place. The successors of Alexander at the time of the Triparadeisos agreement in 321 B.C., confessed their inability to remove the Indian Rajas of the Panjab without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general. One of the Rajas, possibly Poros, was treacherously slain by an officer named Eudemos. The withdrawal of the latter (*cir.* 317 B.C.) marks the ultimate collapse of the first serious attempt of the *Ydvanas* to establish an empire in India.

The only permanent **effect of Alexander's raid** seems to have been the establishment of a number of *Yavana* settlements in the *Uttarapatha*. The most important of these settlements were :

1. The city of Alexandria (modern Charikar or Opian ?)¹ in the land of the Paropanisadae, i.e., the Kabul region.
2. Boukephala, on the spot whence the Macedonian king had started to cross the Hydaspes (Jhelum),
3. Nikaia, where the battle with Poros took place,
4. Alexandria at or near the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, to the north-east of the countries of the Sodrai, or Sogdoi, and Massanoi, and

1 According to Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 462) Alexandria stood on the west bank of the united Panjshir-Ghorband rivers **near, the 'confluence facing Kapisa on the east bank. It is represented by the modern Begram.**

5. Sogdian Alexandria,¹ below the confluence of the Panjab rivers.

Asoka recognised the existence of Yona (Yavana) settlers on the north-western fringe of his empire, and appointed some of them (*e.g.*, the Yavana-*raja* Tushaspha)² to high offices of state. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.³ One of the Alexandrias (Alasanda) is mentioned in the *Mahavamsa*.⁴

Alexander's invasion produced one indirect result. It helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of north-west India, just as the Danish invasion contributed to the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia. If Ugrasena-Mahapadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the north-west.

1 *Inv. Alex.*, pp. 293, 354 ; Bury, *History of Greece for Beginners*, p. 433 ; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I.376f.

2 For the nationality of Tushaspha and significance of the term "Yavana/" see Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, 2nd Ed., pp. 28f.

3 Schoff'str., p. 41.

4 Geiger'str., p. 194,

CHAPTER IV. THE MAURYA EMPIRE : THE ERA OF DIGVIJAYA

SECTION I. THE REIGN OF CHANDBAGUPTA MAURYA.

Mlechchhairudvejyamana bhvjayugamadhuna
samsrita rajamurtteh
8a Srimadbandhvafirtyaschiramavatii mahim
pavthivas-Chandragitptalu
—*Mudramkshasa.*

In B.C. 326 the flood of Macedonian invasion had overwhelmed the Indian states of the Panjab, and was threatening to burst upon the *Madhyadesa*. Agrammes was confronted with a crisis not unlike that which Arminius had to face when Varus carried the Roman Eagle to the Teutoburg Forest, or which Charles Martel had to face when the Saracens carried the Crescent towards the field of Tours. The question whether India was, or was not, to be Hellenized awaited decision.

Agrammes was fortunate enough to escape the onslaught of Alexander. But it is doubtful whether he had the ability or perhaps the inclination to play the part of an Arminius or a Charles Martel, had the occasion arisen. But there was at this time another Indian who was made of different stuff. This was Chandragupta", the Sandroktopos (Sandrokottos etc.) of the classical writers. The **rise of Chandragupta** is thus described by Justin :¹

"India after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was

1 'Watson's tr., p. 142 with slight emendations.

Sandrocottus. This man was of humble origin, but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for, having offended Alexander¹ by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot ; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him, licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity he drew together a band of robbers,² and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty.³ Sometime after, as he was going to war with, the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as if tamed down to gentleness, took him on its back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus thus acquired a throne when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

The above account, shorn of its marvellous element, amounts to this, that Chandragupta, a man of non-monarchical rank, placed himself at the head of the

1 Some modern scholars propose to read 'Nandrum' (Nanda) in place of 'Alexandrum.' Such conjectural emendations by modern editors of ten mislead students who have no access to original sources and make the confusion regarding the early career of Chandragupta worse confounded (*cf. Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 558 ; for 'boldness of speech', *cf. Grote* XII. 141, case of Kleitus, and pp. 147 ff, case of Kallisthenes)

2 The original expression used by Justin has the sense of 'mercenary soldier' as well as that of 'robber'. And the former sense is in consonance with Indian tradition recorded by Hemachandra in the *ParikishtaParvan* (VIII, 253-54) :

*Dhatuvadoparj itena dravinena Chaniprasuh
chakrepattyadi satnagrlth N andamuchchhettutnudyatah.*

i.e., Cbanakya gathered for Chandragupta an army with wealth found underground, (lit 'with the aid of mineralogy') for the purpose of uprooting Nanda.

3 According to the interpretation accepted by Hultzsch—'instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government.'

Indians who chafed under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of India. The verdict of the Hydaspes was thus reversed.¹

The **ancestry of Chandragupta** is not known for certain. Hindu literary tradition connects him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha.⁸ Tradition recorded in Mediaeval inscriptions, however, represents the Maurya family (from which he sprang) as belonging to the solar race.⁸ "From Mandh&tri, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya line." In the *Bdijputana Gazetteer*⁴ the Moris (Mauryas) are described as a Rajput clan. Jaina tradition recorded in the *PariHshfaparva*⁵ represents Chandragupta as the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (*Mayura-*

1 The anti-Macedonian movement led by Chandragupta, and those who co-operated with him, probably began in Sind. The Macedonian Satrap of that province withdrew before 321 B.C. Ambhi and the Paurava remained in possession of portions of the Western and Central Panjab and some adjoining regions till sometime after the Triparadeisos agreement of 321 B.C.

2 The *Mudrarakshasa* calls him not only *Mauryaputra* (Act II, verse 6) but also *Nandanvaya* (Act IV). Kshemendra and Somadeva refer to him as *Purvananda-suta*, son of the genuine Nanda, as opposed to Yoga-Nanda. The commentator on the *Vishnu Purana* (IV, 24—Wilson IX, 187) says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Mura, whence he and his descendants were called Mauryas. Dhundiraja, the commentator on the *Mudrarakshasa*, informs us on the other hand that Chandragupta was the eldest son of Maurya who was the son of the Nanda king Sarvarthasiddhi by Mura, daughter of a *Vrishala* (Sudra ?).

3 *Ep. Ind.*, II. 222. The *Mahavamsatika* also connects the Mauryas with the **sakyas** who, as is well-known, claimed to belong to the race of Aditya (the Sun). Cf. also *Avadanakalpalata*, No. 59.

4 II A, the *Mewar Residency*, compiled by Major K. D. Erskine (p. 14).

5 Page 56 ; VIII, 229f,

poshalca).¹ The *Mahavaihsa*² calls him a scion of the *Khattiya* clan styled *Moriya* (Maurya). In the *Divyavadana*³ Bindusara, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be an anointed Kshatriya, *Kshatriya Murdhabhishikta*. In the same ;work⁴ Asoka, the son of Bindusara, calls himself a Kshatriya. In the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*⁵ the *Moriyas* are represented as the ruling clan of *Pipphalivana*, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. As the *Mahaparinibbwia Sutta* is the most ancient of the works referred to above, and forms part of the early Buddhist canon, its evidence should be preferred to that of later compositions. It is, therefore, practically certain that Chandragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community, viz., the *Moriya* (Maurya) clan.

In the sixth century B. C. the **Moriyas** were the ruling clan of the little republic of *Pipphalivana* which probably lay between *Rummindei* in the Nepalese Tarai and *Kasia* in the *Gorakhpur* district. They must have been absorbed into the *Magadhan* etnpire along with the other states of Eastern India. Tradition avers that they were reduced to great straits in the fourth century B. C., and young Chandragupta grew up among peacock-tamers, herdsmen and hunters in the *Vindhyan* forest. The classical notices of his encounter with a lion and an

1 Buddhist tradition also testifies to the supposed connection between the expressions *Moriya* (Maurya) and *Mora* or *Mayura* (peacock)—see Tumour, *Uahavamsa* (Mahawansa). xxxix f. Aelian informs us that tame peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya Palace at *Pataliputra*. Sir John Marshall points tfut that figures of peacocks were employed to decorate some of the projecting ends of the architraves of the east gateway at *Sanchi* (*A Guide to Sanchi*, Pp. 44, 62). Foucher (*Monuments of Sanchi*, 231) does not regard these birds as a sort of canting badge for the dynasty of the Mauryas. He apparently prefers to imagine in them a possible allusion to the *Mora Jataka*.

2 Geiger's Translation, p. 27. *Moriyanaih Khattiyanam vamsejata*.

3 Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 370.

4 Page 409.

5 SBE., XI, pp. 134-135.

elephant accord well with his residence amidst the wild denizens of that sequestered region. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of **Chandragupta**. These clansmen were no longer rulers and were merely Magadhan subjects. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Justin calls Chandragupta a man of humble origin. Plutarch, as well as Justin, informs us that Chandragupta paid a visit to Alexander. Plutarch says ¹ "Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition." From this passage it is not unreasonable to infer that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rana Samgrama Simha who invited Babur to put an end to the *regime* of Ibrahim Lodi.² Apparently Chandragupta found Alexander as stern a ruler as Agrammes, for we learn from Justin that the Macedonian king did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech.³ The young Maurya apparently thought of ridding his country of both the oppressors, Macedonian as well as Indian. With the help of Kautilya, also called Chanakya or Vishnugupta, son of a Brahmin of Taxila, he is said to have over-

1 *Life of Alexander* lxii.

2 Regarding the conduct of Samgrama Simha, see Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 240, n. (2). Anne Susannah Beveridge, the *Babur-nama in English*, Vol. II, p. 529.

3 As already stated the substitution of Wanda' for Alexander cannot be justified.

thrown the infamous Nanda. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Ohandragupta and the last Nanda are preserved in the *MUiiidapanho*, the Puranas, the *Mudrarakshasa*, the *Maliavamsa Tika* and the *Jaina Parisishtaparvan*. The *Milindapanho*¹ tells us that the Nanda army was commanded by Bhaddasala. The Nanda troops were evidently defeated with great slaughter, an exaggerated account of which is preserved in the *Mttindapanho*.

"Sometime after" his acquisition of sovereignty, Ohandragupta went to war with the prefects or generals of Alexander^a and crushed their power.

The overthrow of the Nandas, and the liberation of the Panjab were not the only achievements of the great Maurya. Plutarch tells us³ that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Justin also informs us that he was "in possession of India." In his *Beginnings of South Indian History*,⁴ Dr. S. Krishna-Swami Aiyangar says that Mamulanar, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevely district. The statements of this author are said to be supported by Paranar or Param Korranar and Kallil Attiraiyanar. The advanced party of the invasion was composed of a warlike people called Kosar.⁵ The invaders advanced from the Konkan, passing the hills Elilmalai, about sixteen miles north of XJannatiore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district) ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill (Malaya ?).

1 SBE., Vol XXXVI, p. 147.

2 Cf. Smith, *Asoka*, third edition, p. 14 n. For the relative date of the assumption of sovereignty and the war with the prefects see *Indian Culture*, II. No. 3, pp 559 ff.

3 Alex. LXII.

4 4 Chap. II. cf *JRAS*, 1924,666.

5 For the Kosar see *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 97 ff. Cf Kosakara.

Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression *Vamha Moriyar*, or Maurya upstarts,¹ would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, i.e., Chandragupta, and his adherents were meant.²

Certain Mysore inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in North Mysore. Thus one epigraph says that Nagarkhanda in the Shikarpur Taluq was protected by the wise Chandragupta, "an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas."³ This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Mamulanar, and the Mysore inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together, they seem to suggest that the first Maurya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India.

Whatever we may think of Chandragupta's connection with Southern India, there can be no doubt that he pushed his conquests as far as Surashtra in Western India. The Junagadh Rock inscription of the *Mahalakshatrapa* Rudradaman refers to his *Rashtriya* or High

1 *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89. Cf. *Maurya nave rajani* (*Mudrarakshasa*, Act IV).

(2 Barnett suggests (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I. 596) that the 'Vamba Moriyar' or 'Bastard Mauryas' were possibly a branch of the Konkani Mauryas. But there is hardly any genuine historical record of the penetration of the Mauryas of the Konkan deep into the southern part of the Tamil country. For other suggestions, see JRAS., 1923, pp. 93-96. Some Tamil scholars hold that "the Moriyar were not allowed to enter Tamilakam, and the last point they reached was the Venkata hill" (*IHQ.*, 1928, p. 145). They also reject Dr. Aiyangar's statement about the Kosar. But the view that the arms of Chandragupta possibly reached the Pandya country in the Far South of India which abounded in pearls and gems receives some confirmation from the *Mudrarakshasa*, Act III, verse 19, which suggests that the supremacy of the first Maurya eventually extended "from the lord of mountains (the Himalayas), cooled by showers of the spray of the divine stream (**Ganges**) playing about among its rocks, to the shores of the southern ocean (*Dakshinarnava*) marked by the brilliance of gems flashing with various colours." The description, however, may be purely conventional.

3 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 10. Fleet, however, is sceptical about the Jaina tradition (*Ind. Ant.*, 1892, 156 ff.) Cf. also JRAS, 1911, 814-17.

Commissioner, Pushyagupta, the Vaisya, who constructed the famous Sudarsana Lake.

(fileference has already been made to an Aramaic Inscription from Taxila which mentions the form *PriyadarSana*, a well-known epithet of Asoka Maurya. But it is well to remember that in the *Mudrarahsliasa Piadamsana* is used as a designation of *Ohandasiri* or Chandragupta himself.² Further, in Rock Edict VIII of Asoka, his ancestors, equally with himself, are styled *Devfinampiya*. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that, like his famous grandson, Chandragupta, too, was known as 'Devanampiya Piyadasi' (or *Triyadarsana*), and it is not always safe to ascribe all epigraphs that make mention of *Priyadarsana*, irrespective of their contents, to Asoka the Greatly

The Seleukidan War.

We learn from Justin³ that when Chandragupta acquired his throne in India Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was the son of Antiochos, a distinguished general of Philip of Macedon, and his wife Laodike. After the division of the Macedonian Empire among the followers of Alexander he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon/ and then his

1 The subjugation of the whole of Northern India (*Udchi*) from the Himalayas to the sea is probably suggested by the following passage of the *Kautillya Arthakastra* (IX, I) traditionally ascribed to a minister of Chandragupta, "*Desah Prithivl ; tasyath Himavat Samudrantaram Udtchinath yojanasahasra paritnanam atiryak Chakravarti-Kshetram.*" Cf. *Mudrarakshasa*, Act III. Verse 19.

2 Act VI.

3 Watson's tr., p. 143.

4 Seleukos obtained the satrapy of Babylon first after the agreement of Triparadeisos (321 B.C.) and afterwards in 312 B.C. from which year his era is dated. In 306 B.C., he assumed the title of king (*Camb. Anc. His.*, VII, 161 ; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 433).

strength being increased **by** this success, **subdued the** Bactrians. He next made an expedition into **India**. Appianus says ¹ that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians, who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage ² with him. Justin also observes that after making a league with Chandragupta, and settling his affairs in the east, Seleukos proceeded to join in the war against Antigonos (301 B. C). Plutarch supplies us with the information that Chandragupta presented 500 elephants to Seleukos. More important details are given by Strabo who says :³

"The Indians occupy (in part) some of the countries situated *along the Indus* which formerly belonged to the Persians : Alexander, deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements (or provinces) of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in turn 500 elephants." "The Indians occupied *a larger 'portion of Ariana*, which they had received from the Macedonians."⁴

It will be seen that the classical writers do not give us any detailed record of the actual conflict between Seleukos and Chandragupta. They merely speak of the results. There can be no doubt that the invader could not make much headway, and concluded an alliance which was cemented by a marriage contract. In his *Asoka** Dr. Smith observes that the current notion that the Syrian

1 Syr. 55 ; *Ind. Ant*, Vol VI. p. 114, Hultzsch, xxxiv.

2 Appianus uses the clear term *kedos* (connection by marriage), and Strabo (XV) only an *epigamia*. The cession of territory in consequence of the marriage contract clearly suggests that the wedding did take place.

3 H. & F., III, p. 125.

4 *Ibid*, p. 78. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* 100,

5 Third Ed., p. 15.

king. 'gave his daughter in marriage' to Chandragupta is not warranted by the evidence, which testifies merely to a 'matrimonial alliance.' But the cession of territory "in consequence of the *epigamia*" may rightly be regarded as a dowry given to a bridegroom. The Indian Emperor obtained some of the provinces situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians. The ceded country comprised a *large portion of Ariana* itself, a fact ignored by Tarn. In exchange the Maurya monarch gave the "comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants". It is believed that the territory ceded by the Syrian king included the four satrapies : Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Paropanisdai, i.e., Herat, Kandahar, Makran and Kabul. Doubts have been entertained about this by several scholars including Tarn. The inclusion of the Kabul valley within the Maurya Empire is, however, proved by the inscriptions of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, which speak of the Yonas and Gandharas as vassals of the Empire. And the evidence of Strabo probably points to the cession by Seleukos of a large part of the Iranian Tableland besides the riparian provinces on the Indus.

Megasthenes.

We learn from the classical writers that after the war the Syrian and Indian Emperors lived on friendly terms. Athenaios tells us that Chandragupta sent presents including certain powerful aphrodisiacs to the Syrian monarch.¹ Seleukos sent an envoy to the Maurya court, whose name was Megasthenes. Arrian tells

1 *Inv. Alex.*, p. 405. C/. Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 153. The treaty between Chandragupta and Seleukos ushered in a policy of philhellenism which bore fruit in the succeeding reigns. In the days of Bindusara and Asoka there was not only an exchange of embassies with the Hellenistic powers of the West, but the services of Greek philosophers and administrators were eagerly sought by the imperial government.

us¹ that Megasthenes originally lived with Sibyrtios, the satrap of Arachosia. He was sent from thence to Pataliputra where he often visited the Maurya Emperor, and wrote a history on Indian affairs. (The work of Megasthenes has been lost. The fragments that survive in quotations by later authors like Hecataejus, Arrian, Biondorus and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated into English by McCrindle. As Professor Rhys Davids observes, Megasthenes possessed very little critical judgment, and was, therefore, often misled by wrong information received from others. But he is a truthful witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation! The most important piece of information supplied by him is, as Rhys Davids pointed out, the **description of Pataliputra**) which Arrian quotes in Chapter X of his *Indica* :)

"The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannobaos² and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers. The Erannobaos would be third of the Indian rivers..... Megasthenes says that on the side where it is longest this city extends 80 stades (9½ miles) in length, and that its breadth is fifteen (1½ miles) ; that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits ; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates."³

There were many other cities in the empire besides Pataliputra. Arrian says, "It would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of the cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated

1 Chinnock's tr., p. 254.

2 Erannobaos-Hiranyavaha, i.e., the sona (*Harshacharita*, Parab's ed., 1918, p. 19). Cf. *Anusnam Rataliputam* (Patanjali, II, 1.2). For references to "Pataliputra in a Tamil classic" see *Aiyangar Com. Vol.* 355 ff.

3 Cf. Patanjali, IV. 3.2 : "*Pataliputrakah prasadah Pataliputrakah prakara iti*

near the rivers or the sea are built of wood ; for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar." The most important cities of Chandragupta's empire besides the metropolis, were Taxila, Ujjain, Kausambi and possibly Pundranagartf.¹

iElia gives the following account of the **palace of Chandragupta**. "In the Indian royal palace² where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Susa, nor Ekbatana can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison³), there are other wonders besides. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated ; there are shady groves and pasture ground planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven ; while some trees are native to the soil, others are brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. Parrots

1 Pundranagara has been identified with Mahasthanagarh in the Bogra District of Bengal. The identification seems to be confirmed by an inscription! written in early Mauryan Brahmi character, which has recently been discovered at Mahasthana. The record makes mention of *Pumdanagala* and its storehouse filled with coins styled *Gandakas*, *Kakanikas*, etc, and refers to a people called *Sadvargikas*. (Barua, *IHQ*, 1934, March, 57 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep., Ind.*, April, 1931, 83 ff.; P. C. Sen, *IHQ.*, 1933, 722 ff.) Dr. Bhandarkar reads *Sa(m)va(m)glya* in the place of *Sadvargika* which is more plausibly suggested by Dr. Barua. If the record really belongs to the early Maurya period the reference to coins is interesting. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that coins of the Maurya age bear certain symbols that can be recognized (*cf. JRAS*, 1936, 437 ff.).

2 The "*Sugahga*" palace was the favourite resort of Chandragupta (*JRAS.*, 1923, 587.)

3 The statement should be remembered by those modern writers who find traces of Persian influence in Maurya architecture,

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are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds—because the parrot alone can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds are artificial ponds in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats."¹

The imperial palace probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahar.² The unearthing of the ruins of the Maurya pillar-hall and palace near Kumrahar, said to have been built on the model of the throne-room and palace of Darius at Persepolis, led Dr. Spooner to propound the theory that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians.⁸ Dr. Smith observed that the resemblance of the Maurya buildings with the Persian palace at Persepolis was not definitely established. Besides, as Professor Chanda observes, "Ethnologists do not recognize high class architecture as test of race, and in the opinion of experts the buildings of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are not Persian in style, but are mainly dependent on Babylonian models and bear traces of the influence of Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor."

We learn from Strabo⁴ that the king usually remained within the palace under the protection of **female guards**⁵

1 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-42.

2 Smith, *The Oxford History of India* p. 77. Macphail, *ASoka*. pp. 23-25.

3 *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 63 ff, 405 ff.

4 H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. III, p. 106 ; cf. Smith, *BHI.*, 3rd ed., p. 123.

5 The same writer tells us that these women were *bought from their parents**

In view of this statement it is rather surprising that Megasthenes is quoted as saying that none of the Indians employed slaves. Note also the story narrated by

(cf. 9lrl ganair dhanvibhih of the *Arthasastra*) and appeared in public only on four occasions, vk., in time of war ; to sib in his court as a judge ; to offer sacrifice and to go on hunting expeditions.

Chandragupta's Government

(Chandragupta was not only a great soldier and conqueror, he was a great administrator. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at his court, has left detailed accounts of his system of government. The edict of his grandson Asoka, and the *Arthasdsra* attributed to his minister, **Kaujilya**, confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation of the empire given by the distinguished envoy. The *Arthasastrg*, certainly existed before Bana (seventh century A.D.) and the *NandisTdra* of the Jainas (not later tlian the fifth century A.D.). But it is doubtful if, in its present shape, it is as old as the time of the first Maurya, Reference to *Chinapatta* China silk, whicfa, be it remembered, occurs frequently in classical Sanskrit literature, points to a later date, as China was clearly outside the horizon of the early Mauryas, and is unknown to Indian epigraphy before the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, Equally noteworthy is the use of Sanskrit as the official language, a feature not characteristic of the Maurya epoch. A date as late as the Gupta period is, however, precluded by the absence of any reference to the Denarius in the sections dealing with weights and Coins. Quite in keeping with this view is the reference to the. *Artlhamstra* contained in Jaina canonical works that were reduced to writing in the Gupta age. We have already adduced grounds for believing that the *Arthafaitra* probably existed before the second century A.D.¹ Though

Athenaios that Amitrochates (i.e., Bindusara) begged Antiochos Soter to buy and send bim a professor (Monahan, *The Batty History of Bengal*, pp. 164,176, 179).

1 P.9 f.ante.

a comparatively late work, it may be used, like the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman, to confirm and supplement the information gleaned from earlier sources/)

The **Supreme Government** consisted of two main parts :

1. The *Raja*, and
2. The "**Councillors**" and "**Assessors**" (*Mahamatras*, and *Amatyas* or *Sachivas*).

The *Raja* or sovereign was the head of the state. He was considered to be a mere mortal, though a favoured mortal, the beloved of the deities.¹ The possession of the material resources of a great empire and control over a vast standing army gave him real power. But there was a body of **ancient rales**, *Porana palciti*, which even the most masterful despot viewed with respect. The people were an important element of the state. They were looked upon as children for whose welfare the head of the state was responsible, and to whom he owed a debt which could only be discharged by good government. There was a certain amount of decentralisation, notably in the sphere of **local government**, and there was usually at the imperial headquarters, and also at the chief centres of provincial government, a body of ministers who had a right to be consulted specially in times of emergency. Nevertheless the powers of the king were extensive. He had, military! judicial, legislative, as well as executive functions. We have already seen that one of the occasions when he left his palace was **war**.² He considered plans of military operations with his *Senapati*³ or Commander in-Chief.

1 Cf. ante 198n 10.

2 Cf. Strabo. XV. i; and Kautilya Bk. X.

3 Kaut., p. 38. In the last days of the Maurya empire we find the *Senapati* overshadowing the king and transferring to himself the allegiance of the troops.

He also sat in his **court to administer justice**. "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him."¹ (The *KattUiya Artliasastra* says,² "when in the court, he (the king) shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmanas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and of women ;—all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once."

As to the king's legislative should note that Kautilya *Arthasastra*³ calls him "*dharma-pramrttika*" and includes **Rajasana** among the sources of law. As instances of royal "Sasanas" or rescripts may be mentioned the Edicts of Asoka, the famous grandson of Chandragupta.

Among **executive functions** of the king, our authorities mention the posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of ministers, priests and superintendents, correspondence with the *Mantriparisliad* or Council of Ministers, collection

1 H. & F., Strabo III, pp. 106-107.

2 Shamasastri's translation, p. 43,

3 Bk. III, Chap. 1,

of the secret information gathered by spies, reception of envoys, etc.¹

It was the king, who laid down the broad lines of policy and issued rescripts for the guidance of his officers and the people. Control was maintained over the most distant officials by an army of secret reporters and overseers and, in the days of Chandragupta's grandson, by itinerant judges. Communication with them was kept up by a network of roads, and garrisons were posted at strategic points.

Kautilya holds that *liajatva* (sovereignty) is possible only with assistance.² A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ *Sachivas* and hear their opinion. The **Sachivas** or **Amatyas** of Kautilya correspond to the "seventh caste" of Megasthenes which assisted the king in deliberating on public affairs. This class was small in numbers, but in wisdom and justice excelled all the others.³

The most important amongst the *Sachivas* or *Amatyas* were undoubtedly the **Mantrins** or High Ministers, probably corresponding to the **MahSmatras** of Asoka's Rock Edict VI and the "advisers of the kiug" referred to by Diodoros.⁴ They were selected from those *Amatyas* whose character had been tested under all kinds of allurements.⁵ They were given the highest salary, vfe., 48,000 *panas* per annum.⁶ They assisted the king in examining

1 Kautilya, Bk. I, Ch. xvi; xvii; Bk. VIII, Ch. i. Cf. Asoka's Rock Edicts III (regulation about *alpa vyayata* and *alpa bhandata*), V (appointment of high officials), VI (relations with the *Parishad*, and collection of information from the *Pativedaka*), and XIII (diplomatic relations with foreign powers).

2 Cf. Manu, VII. 55.

3 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 413.

4 11,41.

5 *Sarvopadha iuddnl Mantrinah kuryat*.—*Arthasastra*, 1919, p. 17. For *upadha* see also the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

6 Kau.tiia, p. 247. According to Smith (EHI, 4th ed., p. 149) the value of a silver *pana* may be taken as not far from a shilling.

the character of the *Amatyas* who were employed, in ordinary departments.¹ All kinds of administrative measures were preceded by consultation with three or four of them.² In works of emergency (*atyayike karye*) they were summoned along with the *Mantripavuhad*.³ They exercised a certain amount of control over the Imperial Princes.⁴ They accompanied the king to the battle-field, and gave encouragement to the troops.⁵ Kautilya was evidently one of those *Mantrins*. Another minister (or *Pradeshtri* ?) was apparently Maniyatappp, a Jatilian, who helped the king to "confer the blessings of peace on the country by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns."⁶ That there were at times more than one *Mantrin* is proved by the use of the plural *Mantrinah*.

In addition to the *MantHns* there was the **Mantriparishad**, i.e., Assembly of Counsellors or Council of Ministers. The existence of the *Parishad* as an important element of the Maurya constitution is proved by the third and sixth Rock Edicts of Asoka.⁷ The members of the *Mantriparishad* were not identical with the *MantHns*. In several passages of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* the *ManiHw* are sharply distinguished from the *Mantriparishad*.⁹ The latter evidently occupied an inferior position. Their salary was only 12,000 *panas*, whereas the salary of a *MantHn* was 48,000. They do not appear to have been consulted on ordinary occasions, but were summoned

1 *Ibid*, p. 16.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 26. 28.

3 *Ibid*, p. 29 Cf. Asoka's Rock Edict V I.

4 *Ibid*, p. 333.

5 *Ibid*, p. 368. Cf. the Udayagiri Inscription of Asoka.

6 Tatum's *Mahavamsa*. p. xlii. The evidence is late.

7 Note also Pliny's reference to noble and rich Indians who sit in council with the king (Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, 148) ; cf. Mbh. iii, 127.

8 *Amatyaparshad* ; xii, 320. 139 Amity* Samitf.

9 Cf. pp. 20, 29, 247.

along with the *Mantrins* when *Atyayiha karya*,¹ is., works of emergency had to be transacted. The king was to be guided by the decision of the majority (*BhUyishthah*). They also attended the king at the time of the reception of envoys.² From the passage "*Mantriparishadam dvadasamatyan kurvita*"—"the Council of Ministers should consist of twelve *Amatyas*" it appears that the *Parisliad* used to be recruited from all kinds of *Amatyas* (not necessarily from *Mantrins* alone). From Kautilya's denunciation of a king with a "*Kshudraparishad*," a small council, his rejection of the views of the *MSnavas*, *Barhaspatyas* and the *Ausanasas*, his preference for an "*Ahshudra-garishad*," a council that is not small, and his reference to Indra's *Parisliad* of a thousand *Rishis*, it may be presumed that he wanted to provide for the need of a **growing empire**. Such an empire was undoubtedly that of Chandragupta who may have been prevailed upon by his advisers to constitute a fairly big assembly.⁴

Besides the *Mantrins* and the *Mantriparishad*, there was another class of *Amatyas* who filled the **great administrative and judicial appointments**.⁵ The *KautUlya Arthasastra* says⁶ that the "*dmlwopadhasuddha*" *Amatyas*, officers purified by religious test, should be employed in

1 *ArthZlastra*, 29. Cf. *Mbh*, iv. 30, 8. Asoka's R. E. VI.

2 *Arthalastra*, p. 45.

3 P. 259.

4 The *Divyavadana* (p. 372) refers to the five hundred councillors (*Panchamatyaiaatani*) of BindusSra, son and successor of Chandragupta Maurya. PataSjali refers to *Chandragupta Sabha*. But we have no indication as to its constitution.

5 Cf. the *Karma-Sachivas* of the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradhiman I.

6 P. 17. Cf. McCrindle, *Mcgasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, 41, 42,

civil¹ and **crimial**² courts; the "*arthopadhasuddha*" *Amtyas*, officers purified by money-test should be employed as *SamaJiartri* ("Chancellor of the Exchequer Ind Minister of the Interior") and *Sannidhatji* (High Treasurer and Keeper of Stores);³ the "*kamopadhasuddha*" *Amatyas*, officials purified by love-test, should be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, the "*bliayopadhasuddha*" *Amatyas*, officers purified by fear-test, should be appointed to do work requiring immediate attention (*asanna karya*), while those who are proved to be impure should be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests,⁴ and manufactories. Untried *Amatyas* were to be employed in ordinary or insignificant departments (*samanya adhiJcarana*). Persons endowed with the qualifications required in an *Amatya* (*Amatyasampadopeta*) were appointed *Nisyishtarthah* or Ministers Plenipotentiary, *Lehhahas* or Ministers of Correspondence, and *Adhyahshas* or Superintendents.

(The statements of the *kautilya Arthasastra* regarding the employment of *Amatyas* as the chief executive and judicial officers of the realm, are confirmed by the classical writers. rgtrabck for example, observes,⁵ "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors (*Symbouloi* and *Synedroi*) of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole

1 Civil (*Dharmasthiya*) Courts were established "in the cities of *Sahgrahana* (in the midst of a collection of ten villages), *Dronatnukha* (in the centre of four hundred villages), *Sthaniya* (in the centre of eight hundred villages), and at places where districts met (*Janapada-sandhi*; ? union of districts);",¹ and consisted of three *Dharmasthas* (judges versed in the sacred law) and three *Amatyas*.

2 A Criminal (*Kantakaiodhana*) Court consisted of 3 *Amatyas*, or 3 *Pradeshtris*. The functions of the latter will be described later on.

3 For the duties of these officers see *Kaujilya's Arthashastra*, Bk. II, 3-6, 33; Bk. IV, 4; Bk. V, 2. For the revenue system under the *Manryas*, see Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 163 ff.

4 C/. *Nagavana* of Pillar Edict V.

5 H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103. Cf. *Diodoros*, II. 41.

administration of affairs.") Arriftn-also says, "from them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure, and superintendents of agriculture."

The **Adhyakshas** who formed the pivot of the Kautilian administration, are evidently referred to by Strabo as Magistrates in the following passage :¹

"Of, the **Magistrates**, some have the charges of the market,² others of the city, others of the soldiery.³ Some⁴ have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed **reservoirs from which water is distributed** by **canals**, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads, and place a **pillar at every ten stadia** to indicate the byways and distances. **Those who have charge of the city (astynomoi)** are divided into six bodies of five each.⁵ Next to the Magistrates of the city is a third body of **governors, who have the care of military affairs**. This class also consists of six divisions each Composed of five persons.⁶

1 One class of *Adhyakshas*, those in charge of women, are referred to in the Aiokan inscriptions.

2 "District" according to the *Cambridge History of India** I, 417.

3 Cf. the *Durga-rashtra-danda-mukhyas* of Kautilya, Bk. XIII, Chs. III and V.

4 i.e., the district officials (*Agronomoi*).

5 Each body was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., (1) the mechanical arts, (2) foreign residents, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) trade, commerce, weights and measures, (5) supervision and sale of manufactured articles and (6) collection of tithes on dales. In their collective capacity they looked after public buildings, markets, harbours and temples. Prices were regulated by them.

6 Each division or Board was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., the navy, transport and commissariat (cf. *Vishti karmani* oi

The Magistrates in charge of the city and those in charge of military affairs are evidently the same as the **Nagar&dhyakshas** and **Baladhyakshas** of the *Arthasasra*.¹ Dr. Smith remarks,² "the Boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital and the army are unknown to the author (Kautilya), who contemplated each such charge as the duty of a *single* officer. The creation of the Boards may have been an innovation effected by Chandragupta personally." But the historian overlooks the fact that Kautilya distinctly says : "*Bahimuhhyam anityaih ftiadhikaranam sthapayet*" "each department shall be officered by several temporary heads ;³ "*Adhyahshah Sahkhydyaha-Lehhaka-Rupadarsaka* Nivigrahak-Oltaradhyaksha harmani kuryioh*, "the Superintendents shall carry on their duties with the assistance of accountants, scribes, coin-examiners, stock-takers and additional secret overseers." Evidently Dr. Smith notices only the *Adhyakshas* but ignores the existence of the *Uttarddhyakshas* and others. As in regard to the *Arthasasra* Smith notices only the *Adhyakshas*, so in regard to the classical accounts he takes note only of the

Kautilya, Bk. X, Ch. iv), the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants. In the *santiparva* of the *Mahabharata* the divisions are stated to be six (CIII. 38) or eight (LIX. 41-42) :

*Ratha Naga Hayaichaiva Padataschaiva Pandava
Vishtir Navas Charaichaiva Desika iti chashtamam
Anganyetani Kanraya prakasani balasya tu*

"Chariots, elephants, horses, infantry, burden-carriers, ships, spies with local guides as the eighth—these are the open "limbs" of a fighting force, O descendant of Kuru."

The *Raghuvamya* (IV, 26) refers to *Shadvidham balam*. *Of. Mbh.* V. 96.16.

1 Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 55. *Nagara-Dhanya-Vyavaharika-Karmantika-daltdbyaluliib. Of. Balapradhana and Nigamapradhanah of Mbh.*, V. 2. 6.

2 *EHI*, 1914, p. 141. Cf. Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 157-64, Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, pp. 233 ff.

3 *Arthashastra*, 1919, p. 60. On page 57 we have the following passage—*Huty-asva-ratha-padams-aneka-mukliYain-avastliapayet, ix., elephants, cavalry chariots, and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.*

Boards, but ignores the **chiefs** who are expressly mentioned in two passages,¹ viz.—

"One division is associated with the *Chief Naval Superintendent*," "another (division) is associated with the *person who has the charge of the bullock-teams*" The Chief Naval Superintendent and the Person in Charge of the Bullock-teams, doubtless, correspond to the *Navadhyaksha* and the *Go'dhyaksha* of the *Arthashastra*. It is a mistake to think that the *Navadhyaksha* of the early Hindu period was a purely civil official, for he was responsible for the destruction of *Himsrikas* (pirate ships ?) and the *Mahabharata*² clearly refers to the navy as one of the *angas* or limbs of the Royal Forces. The civil duties of the *Navadhyaksha* have their counterpart in those of Megasthenes' Admiral relating to the "letting out of ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize."³

Central popular assemblies like those that existed among the Lichchhavis, Mallas, Sakyas and other *Sahghas* had no place in the Maurya constitution. The custom of summoning a great assembly of *Gramikas* or Village Headmen seems also to have fallen into disuse. The royal council gradually became an aristocratic body attended only by nobles and rich men.⁴

^^Administration of Justice

At the head of the judiciary stood the king himself. Besides the royal court there were special tribunals of Justice both in cities (*nagara*) and country parts (*janapada*) presided over by *Vyavaharika Mahamatras* and *Rajukas* respectively. Greek writers refer to judges who listened

1 H. & F., Strabo, III, p. 104.

2 XII. lix, 41-42.

3 Strabo, XV, 1. 46.

4 Pliny quoted in Monahan's *Early History of Bengal*. 148.

to oases of foreigners. Petty oases in villages **were** doubtless decided by the headmen and the village elders. All our authorities testify to* the severity of the penal *code*. But the rigours of judicial administration were sought to be mitigated by Asoka, grandson of Ohandragupta, who meted out equal justice to all and instituted the system of itinerant *Mahamairas* to check maladministration in the outlying provinces. Considerable discretion was, however, allowed to the *Rajukas*. We are informed by Greek writers that "theft was a thing of very rare occurrence" among Indians. They express their surprise at this for they go on to observe that the people "have no written laws but are ignorant of writing, and conduct all matters by memory." The assertion about the Indians' ignorance of writing is hardly correct. Nearchus and Curtius record that Indians use pieces of closely woven linen and the tender bark of trees for writing on. Strabo tells us that a philosopher who has any useful suggestion to offer, commits it to writing. Attention may also be invited to the marks on Mauryan pillars intended to show the by-roads and distances;¹

Provincial Government

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces which were subdivided into *ciharas* or *vishayas* (districts), because "No single administration could support the Atlantean load." The exact number of provinces in Chandragupta's time is unknown. In the time of his grandson, Asoka, there were at least five, viz. :

1.	Uttarapatha ²	...	capital, Taxila
2.	Avantirajtha ³	...	„ Ujjayini

1 Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 143, 157, 167 f.

2 *Divyavadana*, p. 407.

3 *The Questions of King Milinda*, pt. II, p. 250n. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. XIII ; *MahSbodhivathsa*, p. 98.

3. Dakshinapatha	. . .	capital, Suvarnagiri (?)
4. Kalinga	...	„ Tosali
5. Prachya, Prachina (Prasii) ¹	...	„ Pataliputra.

Of these only the first two and the last one can be said, with any amount of certainty, to have formed parts of Chandragupta's Empire. But, it is not altogether improbable that Dakshinapatha, too, was one of Chandragupta's provinces. The outlying provinces were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were usually styled *Kumaras*. We learn from the Kautiliya *Arthashastra*² that the salary of a *Kumara* was 12,000 panas *per annum*.)

The Home Provinces, *ie.*, Prachya and the Madhyadesa (Eastern India and Mid-India), were directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of *Mahamatras* or High Officers stationed in important cities like Pataliputra, Kausambi, etc.

Besides the Imperial Provinces Maurya India included a number of territories which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Arrian refers to **peoples who were autonomous and cities which enjoyed a democratic Government**.³ The *Kautiliya Arthashastra*⁴, refers to a number of **SaAghas**, *ie.*, economic, military or political corporations or confederations evidently enjoying autonomy in certain matters, *e.g.*, KanjhojV Surashtra, etc.) The Kambojas find prominent mention as a unit in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka. R. E. V. alludes to various *nations or peoples on the western border (Aparitft)* in addition to those named specifically.⁵ It is not improbable that Surashtra was included among these nations which, judged by the title of its local rulers, enjoyed a

1 Cf, the *Questions of Milinda*, II. 250n.

2 P. 247.

3 Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, 130 ; Chinnock, *Arrian*, 413.

4 P. 378.

5 I. H. Q. 1931, 631.

considerable amount of autonomy. The commentary on the *Petavatthu* refers to one of the local *Rajas* named Piiigala,¹ the contemporary of Asoka. Another contemporary,² the Yavana-nlja Tushaspha finds mention in Rudradaman's inscription at Junagadh. The *Yavana-rajā* was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed to look after the affairs of Surashtra by Asoka, just as Raja Man Singh of Amber was appointed *Subadar* of Bengal by Akbar. His relations with Asoka may also be compared to that subsisting between the *Rajti*, of the Sakya state and Pasenadi. In the time of the first Maurya Surashtra had an officer named Pushyagupta, the *Vaisya*, who is described as a *Rashtriya* of Ohandra-gupt-a. In the *Bombay Gazetteer*,³ the word *Rashtriya* was taken-to. mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however, in the *Epigraphia Indica*,⁴ took the term to mean a provincial Provincial Governor This rendering does not seem to be quite adequate because we have already seen that Surashtra had possibly its group of *Rajas* in the Maurya Age and could not be regarded as an Imperial Province under a bureaucratic governor of the ordinary type. The *Rashtriya* of the inscription seems to have been a sort of Imperial High Commissioner,⁵ and the position of Pushyagupta in Surashtra was probably like that of Lord

1 Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 47 ff.

2 Attempts in recent times to assign Tushaspha to the post-Asokan period lack plausibility. In the Junagadh epigraph the name of the suzerain invariably accompanies that of the local ruler or officer. There is no reason to think that the relationship between Asoka and Tushaspha was different from that between Chandragupta and Pushyagupta, or between Rudradaman and Suvisakha.

3 . Vol. I, Part I, p. 13.

4 Vol. VIII, p. 46.

5 Cf. the type met with in the Near East after the First World War. The High Commissioner acted for the *defacto* paramount power. His office does not preclude the possibility of the existence of a local potentate or potentates. Note also Wendel Wilkie observations (*One World*, p. 13) on the British "ambassador". to Egypt who is "for all practical purposes its actual ruler."

Cromer in Egypt. Neither the *Arthashastra* nor the edicts of Asoka mention clearly any class of officials called *Rashtriya*.¹ It is, however, probable, that the *Rashtriya* was identical with the *Rashtrapala* whose salary was equal to that of a *Kumara* or Prince.²

A hereditary bureaucracy does not seem to have come to existence in the early Maurya period at least in the territory of Surashtra. The assumption of the title of *Raja*, by local rulers and the grant of autonomy to the *Rajnas* in the days of Asoka ultimately let loose centrifugal forces which must have helped in the dismemberment of the empire.

Overseers and Spies

The classical writers refer to a class of men called Overseers (*Episkopoi*) who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make report to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the magistrates where the people have a democratic Govern-

1 The Asokan inscriptions however, mention the *Rathikas* and the *Pali English Dictionary* edited by Rhys Davids and Stede compares *Rathika* with *Rashtriya*.

2 *Arthashastra*, p. 247. For *Rashtriya* see also Mbh., XII. 85, 12 ; 87. 9. According to Amara (V. 14) a *Rashtriya* is a *rajaivala* (brother-in-law of the king). But Kshirasvamin says in his commentary that except in a play a *Rashtriya* is a *Rashtradhikrita*, i.e., an officer appointed to look after or supervise the affairs of a *rashtra*, state or province. Cf., the Macedonian *episkopos*. Note the position of Eudamos in relation to the Indian *Rajas* of the Panjab, and that of Pratipara *Tantrapalas* of the tenth century A.D. Dr. Barua draws attention (in *J.C.*, X, 1944, pp. 88 ff.) to several texts including Buddhaghosh's statement that during a royal state-drive the place assigned to the *Rashtriyas* was just between the *Mahamatras* and Brahmins shouting the joy of victory. They themselves were gorgeously dressed holding swords and the like in their hands. This may well be true. But the texts cited by him are not adequate enough to prove that in the days of Chandragupta Maurya the *Rashtrika* or *Rashtriya* was nothing more than the foremost among the bankers, business magnates etc. who functioned as Mayors, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace. The analogy of Tushaspha and Suvisakha mentioned in the same epigraph suggests that the *Rashtriya* here was a more exalted functionary, and that the evidence of Kshirasvamin cannot be lightly brushed aside.

inent."¹ Strabo calls this class of men the *Ephori* or Inspectors. "They are," says he, "intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king...The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of Inspectors."² The Overseer of Arrian and the Inspector of Strabo may correspond to the *Bdshtriya* of the Junagadh Inscription or to the *Pradeshtri* or the *Gudha-Purusliyas* (secret emissaries) of the *Arthasashtra*. *Pradeshtri* may be derived from *Pradis* which means 'to point,' 'to communicate.'³

Strabo speaks of different classes of Inspectors. He tells us that the City Inspectors employed as their co-adjutors the city courtesans ; and the Inspectors of the Gamp, the women who followed it. The employment of women of easy virtue as spies is also alluded to by the *KautUiya Arthasastra*. According to that work there were two groups of spies, viz. :

1. *Samstah*, or stationary spies consisting of secret agents styled *Kapatika*, *Udasthita*, *Grihapatika*, *Vaideliaha* and *Tdpasa*, i.e., fraudulent disciples, recluses, householders, merchants and ascetics.

2. *Sancharah* or wandering spies,⁴ including emissaries termed *Satri*, *Tikshna* and *Bashada*, i.e., class-mates, firebrands and poisoners and certain women described as *Bhikshukis* (mendicants), *Parivrdjikds* (wandering nuns), *Mundas* (shavelings) and *Vrslialis*. It is to the last class, viz., the *Vrklhalls* that Strabo evidently refers.⁵ We

1 Chinnock, *Arrian*, p. 413.

2 H. and F., *Strabo*, III, p. 103.

3 C/., Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 97.

4 C/. Luders, *Ins.* No. 1200.

5 A *Vrshali* is taken to mean a *ganika* or courtesan by the author of the *Bhagavadajjukiyam* (p. 94).

have also explicit references to courtesan (*pumsclwll*, *veṣya*, *rupajiva*) spies in the *Arthashastra*.¹

Care of Foreigners

It is clear from the accounts of Diodoros² and Strabo³ that the Maurya government took special care of foreigners. "Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any one of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned with the greatest care and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them."⁴

Village Administration

The administrative and judicial business of villages was, in Ancient India, carried on by the *Gramikas*,⁵ *Gramabhojakas* or *Ayuktas* who were, no doubt, assisted by the village elders.⁶ The omission of the *Gramika* from the list of salaried officials given in the *Arthashastra*⁷ is significant. It probably indicates that in the days of the author of the treatise the *Gramika* was not a salaried

1 Pp. 224, 316 of the *Arthashastra* (1919).

2 II. 42,

3 XV. I. 50.

4 McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 42.

5 Fick, *Social Organisation*, 162 ; *Arthashastra*, pp. 157. 172. Cf. Lüders, *Ins.* Nos. 48, 69a, The Kalinga Edicts refer to *Ayuktas* who helped the princely viceroys and *Mahamatras* in carrying out Imperial Policy. In the early Post-Mauryan and Scythian Age they are distinctly referred to as village officials (Luders' List, No. 1347). In the Gupta Age the designation is applied to various functionaries including district officers.

6 *Gramavidhas*, *Artha*, pp. 48, 161, 169, 178. Cf. Luders, *Ins.*, No. 1327, Rock Edicts, V and VIII refer to *Mahalakas* and *Vridhas*.

7 Bk V, Ch. III.

servant of the crown, but an elected¹ official of the villagers. The king's servant in the village was the *Qrama-bhritaka*² or *GrcLma-bhojaha*? Above the *Grdmika* the *Arihasastra* places the *Gopa*? who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and the *Sthanika* who controlled one quarter of a *janapada* or district" The work of these officers was supervised, according to that treatise by the *Samaliartri* with the help of the *Pradeshtiris*.⁵ Rural administration must have been highly efficient. We are told by Greek observers that the tillers of the soil received adequate protection from all injury and would devote the whole of their time to cultivation.

Revenue and Expenditure

The cost of civil and military administration even at the centre must have been enormous. The chief sources of revenue from villages were the *Bhaga* and the *Bali*. The *Bhaga* was the king's share of the produce of the soil which was normally fixed at one-sixth, though in special cases it was raised to one-fourth or reduced to one-eighth. *Bali* seems, to have been an extra impost from the payment of which certain tracts were exempted. According to Greek writers husbandmen paid, in addition to a fourth part of the produce of the soil, a land tribute because, according to their

1 There is, however, evidence to show that in early times *adhikritas* were appointed for villages by the paramount ruler (*Praira Upanishad*, III. 4).

2 *Artha*, pp. 175, 248.

3 The *Gramabhojaka* of the *Jatakas* was an *amatya* of the king (Fick, *Social Organization in NE Ind.* p. 160).

4 The *Gopas* proper do not find mention in early epigraphs, but Luders' *Ins. No.* 1266, mentions "*Sena-gopas*."

5 *Artha*, pp. 142, 217. We do not know how far the system described in the treatise on polity applies to the early Maurya period. In the days of *Asofca* the work of supervision was done /argely by special classes of *Mahamatras* (cf. R.E.V. and the Kalinga Edicts), *Pulisa* (agents) and *Rajukas* (Pillar Edict. IV).

belief, "all India is the property of the crown and no private person is permitted to own land." Taxes on land were collected by the *Agronomoi* who measured the land and superintended the irrigation works. Other state dues included tribute and prescribed services from those who worked at trades, and cattle from herdsmen. In urban areas the main sources of revenue included birth and death taxes, fines and tithes on sales. The *Mahabhashya* of Patalrjali has an interesting reference to the Mauryas' love of gold which led them to deal in images of deities. The distinction between taxes levied in rural and in fortified areas respectively is known to the *Arthashastra* which refers to certain high revenue functionaries styled the *Samahartri* and the *Saimidhatri*, No such officials are, however, mentioned in Maurya inscriptions. Greek writers, on the other hand, refer to 'treasurers of the state' or 'superintendents of the treasury*.

A considerable part of the revenue was spent on the array. The artisans, too, received maintenance from the Imperial exchequer. Herdsmen and hunters received an allowance of grain in return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls. Another class which benefited from royal bounty were the philosophers among whom were included Brahmanas as well as *Sramanas* or ascetics. Vast sums were also spent for irrigation, construction of roads, erection of buildings and fortifications, and establishment of hospitals in the days of Chandragupta's grandson.

The Last Days of Chandragupta

Jaina tradition recorded in the *Ilajavallkathē*¹ avers that Chandragupta was a Jaina and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated in favour of his son

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, 157.

Simhasena and repaired to Mysore where he died. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kaveri near Seringapatam of about 900 A.D., describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, i.e., Ohandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadravahu and Chandragupta *Munipati*.¹ Dr. Smith observes :² "The Jain tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists." Chandragupta died about 300 B.C., after a reign of 24 years.³

If the *Parisuhtaparvan*⁴ of Hemachandra is to be believed Chandragupta had a queen named Durdhara who became the mother of Bindusara, the son who succeeded him on the throne. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, the name of the queen cannot be accepted as genuine.

1 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 3-4.

2 The *Oxford History of India*, p. 76. As already stated, Fleet is sceptical about the Jaina tradition (*Ind. Ant.*, 1892, 156 f.). According to Greek evidence Chandragupta was a follower of the sacrificial religion (see p. 277 *ante*). The epithet *Vrishala* applied to him in the *Mudrarakshasa* suggests that in regard to certain matters he did deviate from strict orthodoxy (*Indian Culture*, II, No. 3, pp. 558 ff. See also C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, 135 n, 138).

3 For the date of Chandragupta Maurya see *Indian Culture*, Vol II, No. 3, pp. 560 ff. Buddhist tradition, of Ceylon puts the date 162 years after the *parinirvana* of the Buddha, i.e., in 382 B.C., if we take 544 B.C., to be the year of the Great Decease ; and 324 B.C., if we prefer the Cantonese date 486 B.C., for the death of the Buddha. The earlier date is opposed to Greek evidence. The date 324 B.C., accords with the testimony of Greek writers. The Jaina date' 313 B.C., for Chandragupta's accession, if it is based on a correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti in Malwa, as the chronological datum is found in a verse where the Maurya king finds mention in a list of successors of Palaka, king of Avanti. Cf. I.H.Q.. 1929, p. 402.

4 VIII. 439-443, For another tradition see Bigandet, II. 128.

SECTION II. THE REIGN OF BINDUSARA,

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in or about the year 300 B.C. by his son Bindusara Amitraghata. The name or title *Amitraghata* (slayer of foes) is a restoration in Sanskrit¹ of the *Amitrachates* of Athenaios, and *Allitrochades* of Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus. Fleet prefers the rendering *Amitrakhada* or devourer of enemies, which is said to occur as an epithet of Indra.² In the *Rajavallkath*e the name of Chandragupta's son and successor is given as Simhasena. From Aioka's Rock Edict VIII (e.g. the Kalsi Text) it appears probable that Bindusara, as well as other predecessors of Asoka, used the style *Devanaihipiya*.

If the author of the *Arya-Manjusri Mlila Kalpa*, Hemachandra and Taranatha are to be believed, Kautilya or Chanakya continued to serve as minister for some time after the accession of Bindusara.³ "Chanakya" says Taranatha, "one of his (Bindusara's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen

1 Cf., Weber, *I A*, ii (1873), p. 148, Lassen, and Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 92). The term *Amitraghata* occurs in Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*, III. 2. 2. Cf., also *Mbh.* 30. 19 ; 62. 8 ; VII. 22.16, where *Amitraghatin* occurs as an epithet of princes and warriors. Dr. Jarl Charpentier observes (in *Le Monde Oriental*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, May-June, 1926, p. 399), "that the Greek word *Amitrachates* as a synonym of Bindusara, should be rendered *Amitraghata* seems clear not only from the *Mahabhasya* but also from the royal title *amitratanahanta* in *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 17." In *JRAS*, 1928, January, however, he prefers to restore *Amitrachates* as *Amitrakhada* (p. 135). Cf. *Ilig-veda*, X. 152.1.

2 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 24.

3 Jacobi, *Pariishtaparvan*, p. 62 ; VIII. 446 ff ; *Ind Ant.*, 1875, etc. For the alleged connection of Bindusara and Chanakya with another minister named Subandhu, the author of the *Vdsavadatta Nityadhara*, see *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 208-11 and *Parisishta*, VIII. 447. The *Divyavadana* (p. 372) mentions Khallataka as Bindusara's *agramatya* or chief minister.

towns,¹ **and** made the king master of **all** the territory between the eastern and western seas." The conquest of the territory between the eastern and western seas has been taken by some scholars to refer to the annexation of the Deccan.² But we should not forget that already in the time of Chandragupta the Maurya Empire extended from Surashtra to Bengal (Gangaridae), *i.e.*, from the western to the eastern sea. Taranatha's statement need mean nothing more than the suppression of a general revolt. No early tradition expressly connects the name of Bindusara with the conquest of the Deccan.³ The story of the subjugation of sixteen towns may or may not be true, but we are told in the *Divyavadana*⁴ that at least one town of note, *viz.*, Taxila, revolted during the reign of Bindusara. The king is said to have despatched Asoka there. While the prince was nearing Taxila with his troops, the people came out to meet him, and said, "We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusara, but the wicked ministers (*Dushtamatyah*) insult us", The high-handedness of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces is alluded to by Asoka himself in his Kalinga Edict.⁵ Addressing his *Mahamatras* the Emperor says :

"All men are my children : and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. *Yon, however, do*

*

1 Were these the capitals of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*?

2 *Qf.* Smith, E H I, 3rd ed., p. 149, JRAS., 1919, 598 ; Jayaswal, *The Empire of Bindusara*, JBORS., ii. 79ff.

3 See, however, Subramaniam, JRAS., 1923, p. 96, "My Guru's Guru had written in his commentary on a *Sangam* work that the Tulu-nSda was established by the son of Chandragupta," perhaps Tuliyan (Tuli= Bindu).

4 Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 371.

5 Smith, *Asoka*, third edition, pp. 194-95.

not grasp this truth to its full extent.¹ Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture₃ and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved. In such a case you must desire to do justice² ...and for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons (*Mahamatras*) as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instructions.³ From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials and will not over-pass three years. In the same way from Taxila."

Taxila made its submission to Asoka. The Maurya prince is further represented as entering the "Svasa rajya" (Khasa according to Burnouf).⁴

Foreign Relations

In his relations with the Hellenistic powers Bindusara pursued a pacific policy. We learn from the classical

1 "You do not learn how far this (my) objects reaches." (Hultzs, *Inscriptions of Atoka*, p. 95).

2 "It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer, In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially." (Hultzs, p. 96).

3 "I shall send out every five years (a *Mahamatra*) who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (*viz.*, in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers) paying attention to this object...are acting thus, as my instruction (implies)." (Hultzs p. 97).

4 *Divyavadana*, p. 372. The emendation Khasa is supported by the testimony of Taranatha (IHQ. 1930, 334). For fte Ifctas see JASB, (Extra No. 2, 1899).

writers¹ that the king of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deimaehos. Pliny² tells us that (Ptolemy II) Philadelphos, King of Egypt (B. C. 285-247), sent an envoy named Dionysios. Dr. Smith points out that it is uncertain whether Dionysios presented his credentials to Bindusara or to his son and successor, Asoka. It is, however, significant that while Greek and Latin writers refer to Chandragupta and Amitraghata they do not mention Asoka. This is rather inexplicable if an envoy whose writings were utilized by later authors, really visited the third of the great Mauryas. Patrokles,³ an officer who served under both Seleukos and his son, sailed in the Indian seas and collected much geographical information which Strabo and Pliny were glad to utilize. Athenaios tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos (I, Soter), king of Syria, and Bindusara which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness. We are told on the authority of Hegesander that Amitrochates (Bindusara), the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochos asking that king to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist, and Antiochos replied : We shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold.⁴ In connection with the demand for a Greek sophist it is interesting to recall the statement of Diodoros that one Iamboulos was carried to the king of Palibothra (Pataliputra) who *had a great love for the Oraecians*. , Dion Chrysostom asserts that the poetry of Homer is sung by the Indians

1 *e.g.*, Strabo.

2 McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*. p. 108,

3 Smith, *Asoka*, third edition, p. 19.

4 McCrindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 409. Hultzs, *Asoka*, p. xxxv. Bindusara's interest in philosophy is also proved by his association with AjIva-parivrSjakas, (*Divyavadana*, 370 ff). Cf . also the first lines of Pillar Edict - VII,

who had translated it into their own language and modes of expression.¹ Garga and Varahamihira in a later age testify to the honour that was paid to Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy.²

Bindusara's Family

Bindusara had many children besides Asoka, the son who succeeded him on the throne. We learn from a passage of the Fifth Rock Edict in which the duties of the *Dharma-mahamatras*³ are described, that Asoka had many brothers and sisters. The *Divyavadana* mentions two of these brothers, namely, Susima and Vigatasoka.⁴ The Ceylonese Chronicles seem also to refer to these two princes though under different names, calling the former Sumana and the latter Tishya. Susima-Sumana is said to have been the eldest son of Bindusara and a step-brother of Asoka, while Vigatasoka-Tishya is reputed to have been the youngest son of Bindusara and a co-uterine brother of Asoka, born of a Brahmana girl from Champa.⁵ Hiuen Tsang mentions a brother of Asoka named Mahendra. Ceylonese tradition, however, represents the latter as a son of Asoka. It is possible that the Chinese pilgrim has confounded the story of Vigatasoka with that of Mahendra.⁶

1 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 177. Cf. Grote, *XII. p. 169, *Possible representation of a Greek drama on the Hydaspes*.

2 *Br ihat Samhita*, II, 14. Aristoxenus and Eusebius refer to the presence in Athens, as early as the fourth century B. C., of Indians who discussed philosophy with Socrates. (A note by Rawlinson quoted in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. 22-11-36, p. 17).

3 "High Officers for the Establishment and Propagation of the Law of Duty."

4 Pp. 369-73 ; Smith, *Asoka* 3rd ed., pp. 247 ff.

5 According to R. L. Mitra (*Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, 8) and Smith the name of Asoka's mother was Subhadra, Digandeti II. 128 mentions Dhamma as the mother of Asoka and Tissa.

6 Cf. Smith. *Asoka*, 3rd ed., p. 257.

Bindusara died after a reign of 25 years according to the *Puranas*, and 27 or 28 years according to Buddhist tradition.¹ According to the chronology adopted in these pages his reign terminated about 273 B.C.²

1 Hultzsch points out (p. xxxii) that Burmese tradition assigns 27 years to Bindusara, while Buddhaghosha's *Samanta-pasadika* agrees with the *Mahavathsa* in allotting 28 years to that king.

2 Cf. Smith, *Atoka*, p. 73.

SECTION III. THE EARLY YEARS OF ASOKA,

Both the *Divyadana* and the Ceylonese Chronicles agree that there was a **fratricidal struggle** after the death of Bindusara. Asoka is said to have overthrown his eldest step-brother with the help of Radhagupta whom he made his *Agramatya* (Chief Minister). Dr. Smith observes,¹ "the fact that his formal consecration or coronation (*abhisheha*) was delayed for some four years² until 269 B.C., confirms the tradition that his succession was contested, and it may be true that his rival was an elder brother named Susima." In his *Akoka** published a few months later, he says, "it is possible that the long delay may have been due to a disputed succession involving much bloodshed, but there is no independent evidence of such a struggle." Dr. Jayaswal⁴ gave the following explanation for the delay in Asoka's coronation: "it seems that in those days for obtaining royal *abhisheha*⁵ the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Asoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession." The contention can hardly be accepted. The *Mahabharata*, for instance, informs us that the *abhisheha* of king Viohitravirya took place when he was a mere child who had not yet reached the period of youth :

*Vichitravrlryanciba tada
balam aprWptayaiwanam*

1 *The Oxford History of India*, p. 93.

2 *Mahavamsa*, Geiger's translation, p. 28.

3 Third edition.

4 JBORS., 1917, p. 438.

5 There were other kinds of *abhisheka* also, e.g., those of *Yuvataja*, *kumara*, and *Senapati*, as we learn from the *epios* and the *Kautiliya* (trans.v pp. 377. 391).

*Kururajye mahabahur
abhyashinchadanantaram.*¹

Dr. Smith characterises² the Oeylonese tales which relate that Asoka slew many of his brothers as silly because Asoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his reign, whose households were objects of his anxious care. But we should remember that the Fifth Rock Edict refers only to the family establishments of his brothers (*olodlianesio bhatinam*) as existing. This does not necessarily imply that the brothers themselves were alive. We should, however, admit that there is nothing to show, on the contrary, that the brothers were dead. The Fifth Rock Edict, in our opinion, proves nothing regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese tradition. In the Fourth Rock Edict Asoka himself testifies to the growth of unseemly behaviour to kinsfolk and slaughter of living creatures.

The first four years of Asoka's reign is, to quote the words which Dr. Smith uses in another connection, "one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history ; vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is at the best, unprofitable."

Like his predecessors³ Asoka assumed the title of *Devanqihpiya*. He generally described himself as *Devariampiya Piyadasi*.⁴ The name Asoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, viz., the Maski Edict of Asoka himself, and the Junagadh inscription

1 Mbh., 1.101. 12. As the *Adiparva* refers to Dattamitra and Yavana rule in the lower Indus valley its date cannot be far removed from that of Asoka and KhSavela. Cf. also the cases of Samprati, *Parisista parvan*, IX. 52, who was anointed icing though a baby in arms, and of Amma I I, Eastern Chalukya.

2 EHI.3rded., p. 135.

3 Cf. Rock Edict VIII, Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi and Mansahra Texts.

4 We have already seen that the epithet '*Piadathsana*' is sometimes applied to Chandragupta also (Baudhakar, *Asoka*, p. 5 ; Hultzsch, C II, Vol. I, p. xxx),

of the *Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman I* The name Dharmasoka is found in one Mediaeval epigraph, viz., the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi.¹

During the first thirteen years of his reign Asoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India, and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers, which was in vogue after the Seleukidan war. Like Chandragupta and Bindusara he was aggressive at home but pacific abroad. The friendly attitude towards non-Indian powers is proved by the exchange of embassies and the employment of *Yavana* officials like Tushaspha.² In India, however, he played the part of a conqueror. The *Divyavadana* credits him, while yet a prince with the suppression of a revolt in Taxila and the conquest of the Svasa (Khasa ?) country. In the thirteenth year of his reign (eight years after consecration), he effected the **conquest of Kalinga**. We do not know the exact limits of this kingdom in the days of Asoka. But if the Sanskrit epics and *Puranas* are to be believed, it extended to the river Vaitarani in the north,³ the Amarakantaka Hills in the west⁴ and Mahendragiri in the south.⁵

An account of the Kalinga war and its effects is given in Rock Edict XIII. We have already seen that certain places in Kalinga formed parts of the Magadhan dominions in the time of the Nandas. Why was it necessary for Asoka to reconquer the country? The question admits of only one answer, viz., that it

1 *Dhannakoka-naradhipasya samaye Sri Dharmachakrc Jino yadrik tannaya rakshitah puna ray anchakre tatopyadbhutam,*

2 Note also the part played by the Yona named Dhammarakkhika (*Mahavamsa*, trans., p. 82).

3 *Mbh.*, III. 114.4.

4 *Kurtna Purana*, 11. 39, 9. *Vayu*, 77, 4-13.

5 *Raghuvamsa*, IV. 38-43 : VI, 53-54.

severed its connection with Magadha after the fall of the Nandas. If the story of a general revolt in the time of Bindusara be correct then it is not unlikely that Kalinga, like Taxila, threw off the allegiance of Magadha during the reign of that monarch. It appears, however, from Pliny, who probably based his account on the *Indika* of Megasthenes, that Kalinga was already an independent kingdom in the time of Chandragupta. In that case there can be no question of a revolt in the time of Bindusara. Pliny says,¹ "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea...the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in 'procinct of war.'"²

The Kalinga kings probably increased their army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes to that of Asoka, because during the war with Asoka the casualties exceeded 250,000. It is, however, possible that the huge total included not only combatants but also non-combatants. The existence of a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army 'in procinct of war,' could not be a matter* of indifference to the kings of Magadha, Magadha learnt to

1 Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 338.

2 If, as is probable, Kalinga included at this time the neighbouring country of Asmaka, then Parthalis may be the same as "Potali." For an interesting account of Kalinga and its early capitals Dantakura and Tosali, see Sylvain Levi, "*Pri-Aryen et Pri-Dravidien dans l'Inde*," J. A., Juillet-Septembre 1923 ; and *Indian Antiquary*, 1926 (May), pp. 94, 98. "The appellation of Kalinga, applied to Indians throughout the Malay world, attests the brilliant role of the men of Kalinga in the diffusion of Hindu civilisation." Not far from the earliest capital (Paloura-Dan tapura-Dan takura) lay the *apheterion*, "where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea." Note, in this connection, the name Holing (Po-ling, Kalinga) applied by the Chinese to Java (Takakusu, *Itsing*, p. xlvii), an island which was known by its Sanskrit name to Ptolemy (150 A. D.) and even to the *RantSyana* (*Kishk.* 40. 30), For the connection of early Kalinga with Ceylon, see *IA*, VIII. 2, 225,

her cost what a powerful Kalinga meant, in the time of Kshatrapa.

We learn from the Thirteenth Rock Edict that Asoka made war on the Kalinga country and annexed it to his empire. "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times that number died." Violence, slaughter, and separation from their beloved ones befell not only to combatants, but also to the *Brahmanas*, ascetics, and householders.

The conquered territory was constituted a viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family stationed at Tosali,¹ apparently situated in the Puri district. The Emperor issued two special edicts prescribing the principles on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes should be treated. These two edicts are preserved at two sites, now called Dhauli² and Jaugada.³ They are addressed to the *Mahamatras* or High Officers at Tosali and Samapa.⁴ In these documents the Emperor makes the famous declaration "all men are my children," and charges his officers to see that justice is done to the people.

The conquest of Kalinga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisara's annexation of Aiiiga. It

1 Toasali (variant Tosala) was the name of a country as well as a city. Levi points out that the *Qandavyuha* refers to the country (*Janatada*) of *Amita-Tosala* in the *Dahshtnapatha*, "where stands a city named Tosala." In Buddhist literature Tosala is constantly associated with (South) Kosala and is sometimes distinguished from Kalinga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some mediaeval inscriptions (Ep. Ind., IX. 286; XV 3) refer to *Dakshina* (South) Tosala and *Uttara* (North) Tosala.

2 In Puri.

3 In Ganjam.

4 For the identification of Samapa, see Ind. Ant., 1923, pp. 66 ff.

opens a **new** era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or *Digvijaya*¹ was over, the era of spiritual conquest or *DJiamma-vijaya* was about to begin.

We should pause here to give an account of the **extent of Asoka's dominions** and the manner in which they were administered before the Emperor embarked on a new policy.

Asoka mentions Magadha, Pataliputra, Khalatikapavata (Barabar Hills), Kosambi, Lummini-gama, Kalinga (including Tosali, Samapa and Khepimgalapivata or the Jaugada Rock), Atavi (the forest tract of Mid-India perhaps identical with Alavi of the Buddhist texts), Suvarnagiri, Isila, Ujjayini and Takshasila expressly as being among those places which were under his rule.

Beyond Takshasila the empire stretched as far as the confines of the realm of "*Amtiyako Yonaraja*," usually identified with Antiochos II Theos of Syria (261-246 B. C.), and included the wide territory round Shahbazgarhi² and Mansahra³ inhabited by the Yonas, Kambojas and the Gandharas. The exact situation of this **Yona** territory has not yet been determined. The *Mahavamsa* evidently refers to it and its chief city Alasanda which Cunningham and Geiger identify with the town of Alexandria (Begram, west of Kapisa)

1 Cf. *sara-sake vijaye* (Biibler, cited in Hultasch's *Inscriptions of Atoka*, P. 23).

2 In the Peshawar District.

3 In the Hazara District.

founded by the Macedonian conqueror near Kabul.¹ **Kamboja**, as we have already seen, corresponds to Rajapura or Rajaur near Punch in Kasmira and some neighbouring tracts including Kafiristan. The tribal territory of the **Gandharas** at this time probably lay to the west of the Indus, and did not apparently include Takshasila which was ruled by a princely Viceroy, and was the capital of the province of Uttarapatha.² The capital of Trans-Indian Gandhara was Pushkaravati, identified by Coomaraswamy with the site known as Mir Ziyarat or Bala Hisar at the junction of the Swat and Kabul rivers.³

The inclusion of **Kaimlra** within Asoka's empire is proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang's *Records*⁴ and Kalhana's *Bajatarahgint*⁵ : Kalhana says : "The faithful Asoka, reigned over the earth. This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of the *Jina* covered Sushkaletra and Vitastatra with numerous *Stupas*. At the town of Vitastatra there stood within the precincts of the *Dharmarayya Vihara* a *Ghaitya* built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye. That illustrious king built the town of orinagari. This sinless prince after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of *Vijayesvara* built in its stead a new one of stone. He...erected within the enclosure of *Vijayem*, and near it, two temples which were called *Aiokesvcvra*." The description of Asoka as a follower of the *Jiwa*, i.e., *Buddha*, and the builder of numerous *stupas* leaves no room for doubt that the

1 Cunn. AGI, 18. Geiger, *Mahavamsa*, 194. The Yona territory probably corresponds to the whole or a part of the Province of the *Paropamisadae*.

2 Cf. Kalihga Edict; *Divyavadana*, p. 407, *Rajno'Sokasy-ottarapatht Takshasila nagaram*, etc.

3 Cf. Carm. Lee. 1918. p. 54. *Indian and Indonesian Art*, 55,

4 Watters, Vol. I, pp. 267-71.

9 1.102-06.

great Maury a monarch is meant. We are' told by **Kalhana** himself that he is indebted for much of the above account to an earlier chronicler named Ohhavillakara.

The inscriptions near Kalsi and those on the Rummindei and the Nigali Sagar pillars prove the inclusion of the Dehra-Doin District and the Tarai within the limits of Asoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapatan and Rampurwa attest his possession of the valley of Nepal and the district of Champaran. Further evidence of the inclusion of the **Himalayan region** within Asoka's empire is possibly furnished by Rock Edict X I I I which refers to the Nabhapamtis of Nabhaka, probably identical with Na-pei-kea of Fa Hien,¹ the birthplace of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.²

According to Blihlér, Rock Edict X I I I also mentions two vassal tribes Visa (Besatae of the *Periplus* ?) and Vajri (Vrijikas ?). More recent writers do not accept Blihlér's reading and substitute (*Raja*) *Visayamhi*, 'in the (king's) territory,' in its place. There is, thus no indubitable reference either to the Vrijikas or the 'Besatae' in the inscriptions of Asoka.

We learn from the classical writers that the country of the **Gangaridae**, i.e., Bengal,³ formed a part of

1 Legge, 64.

2 "The *Brahma* (*vaivarta* ?) *putana* assigns Nabhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus" (Hultzsch, C I I, Vol. I. p. xxxixn). Mr. M. GovindaPai (*Aiyangar Com. Vol. 36*), however, invites attention to the Nabhakananas, apparently a southern people, mentioned in the Mbh. vi. 9. 59. In connection with the, northern limits of the Maurya empire attention may also be invited to the statement in the *Divyavadana* (p. 372) about ASoka's subjugation of the Svasa (Khasa ?) country. According to a legend narrated by the Chinese pilgrims (Waiters*, *Yuan Ckwang*, I I, p. 295) exiles from Takshasila settled in the land to the east of Khoten in the days of Asoka.

3 For early references to Vafrga, see Levi "Pri-Aryen et Pri-Dravidién dans V Inde," For its denotation, see *Manasi o Harmavanh* Sravana, 1336.

the dominions of the king of the Prasii, i.e., Magadha, as early as the time of Agrammes, i.e., the last Nanda king.¹ A passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the "Palibothri," i.e., the rulers of Pataliputra, dominated the whole tract along the Ganges.² That the Magadhan kings retained their hold on Bengal as late as the time of Asoka is proved by the testimony of the *Divyavadana** and of Hiuen Tsang who saw *Stupas* of that monarch near Tamralipti and Karnasuvarna (in West Bengal), in Samatata (East Bengal) as well as in Pundravardhana (North Bengal). Kamarupa (Assam) seems to have lain outside the empire. The Chinese pilgrim saw no monument of Asoka in that country.

We have seen that in the south the Maurya power at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevely district.⁴ In the time of Asoka the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennar river near Nellore as the Tamil Kingdoms are referred to as "*Prachamta*" or border states and are clearly distinguished from the imperial dominions (*Vijita* or *Raja-visliaya*), which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. The major part of the

Several scholars find it mentioned in the *Aitareya Aranyaka*. But this is doubtful. Bodhayana brands it as an impure country and even Patanjali excludes it from *Aryavarta*. The country was, however, Aryanised before the *Manusainhita* which extends the eastern boundary of *Aryavarta* to the sea, and the Jain *Prajhapana* which ranks Anga and Vanga in the first group of Aryan peoples. The earliest epigraphic reference to Vanga is probably that contained in the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions.

1 McCrindle, *Inv. Alex.*, pp. 221, 281.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1877, 339. *Megasthenes and Arrian* (1926) p. 141-2.

3 P. 427. Cf. Smith's *Aioka*, 3rd ed., p. 255. The MahSsthSna Inscription which is usually attributed to the Maurya period, contains no reference to Asoka.

4 Mr. S. S. Desikar thinks that the last point reached by the Mauryas was the Vehkata hill (IHQ, 1928, p. 145).

Deccan was ruled by the viceroyal princes of **Suvanagiri**¹ and **Tosali**, the *Mahamfttras* of Isila and SamapS and the officers in charge of the **Atavi** or Forest Country.² But in the belt of land on either side of the Nerbudda, the Godavarf and the upper Mahanadi there were, in all probability, certain areas that were technically outside the limits of the empire proper. Asoka evidently draws a distinction between the forests and the inhabiting tribes which are in the dominions (*vijita*) and peoples on the border (*anta avijita*) for whose benefit some of the *special* edicts were issued. Certain vassal tribes are specifically mentioned, *e.g.*, the Andhras, Palidas (Paladas, Parimdas), Bhojas and Kathikas (Ristikas, Rashtrikas ?). They enjoyed a status midway between the Provincials proper and the unsubdued borderers. The word Petenika or Pitinika mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII should not, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and some other writers, be read as a separate name but as an adjective qualifying Rishtika (Edict V) and Bhoja (Edict XIII). They draw our attention to certain passages in the *Anguttara Nihaya*³ where the term *Pettanilca* occurs in the sense of one who enjoys property given by his father.⁴ The view that *Pitinika* is merely

1 A clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of the Kohkan and KhSndesh, apparently the descendants of the Southern Viceroy (*Ep. Ind.*, III. 136). As these later Maurya inscriptions have been found at Vada in the north of the ThSna district (*Bomb. Gas.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 14) and at WSghll in Khandesh (*ibid*, 284), it is not unlikely that Suvarnagiri was situated in that neighbourhood. Curiously enough, there is actually in Khandesh a place called Songir. According to Hultzsch, (*CII*, p. xxxviii) Suvarnagiri is perhaps identical with Kanakagiri in the Nizam's dominions, south of Maski, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. Isila may have been the ancient name of SiddSpura.

2 Edict XIII.

3 III. 76, 78 and 300 (P.T.S.).

4 *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 80. Cf. Hultzsch, *Asoka*. 10 ; IHQ, 1925, 387. Other scholars, however, identify the Pitinikas with the PaithSnakas or natives of

an adjective of Rathika (Ristika) or Bhoja is not, **however**, accepted by Dr. Barua who remarks that "it is **clear from** the Pali passage, as well as from Buddhaghosha's explanations, that *Batthika* and *Pettanika* were two different designations."

The **Andhras** are, as we have already seen, mentioned in a passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana*. The **Bhojas** are also mentioned in that work as rulers of the south.¹ Pliny, quoting probably from Megasthenes, says that the Andarae (Andhras) possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.² The earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavaha river which, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is either the modern Tel or Telingiri, both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. But the identification is by no means certain.³ The Palidas were identified by B\hler with the

Paithan, and some go so far as to suggest that they are the ancestors of the Satavshana rulers of Paithan. See Woolner, *Asoka Text and Glossary*, II, 113 ; also JRAS., 1923, 92. Cf. Barua, *Old Brahmi Ins.*, p. 211.

1 For other meanings of Bhoja, see Mbh., Adi., 84, 22 ; IA. V. 177 ; VI 25-28 ; VII. 36. 254.

2 Ind. Ant. 1877, pp. 339.

3 P. 92 *ante*. In historical times the Andhras are found in possession of the Krishna and Guntur districts as we learn from the Mayidavolu plates and other records. The earliest capital of the Andhra country or "Andhrapatha" known from the inscriptions is apparently Dhamnakada at or near Amaravati (or Bezvada). Kubiraka of the Hhattiprolu inscription (c. 200 B.C.) is the earliest known ruler. One recension, in the *Brahmi* script, of the Rock Edicts of Asoka, has recently been discovered in the Kurnool District (IHQ. 1928, 791 ; 1931, 817 ff ; 1933, 113ff. ; IA, Feb., 1932, p. 39) which falls within the "Andhra" area of the Madras Presidency. Recent discoveries of the Asokan epigraphs include, besides the Yerragudi inscriptions (Kurnool District) two **new** rock edicts at Kopbal in the s. w. corner of the Nizam's dominions. **The** Kopbal inscriptions are found on the Gavlmath and the PSikigundu Hills. They **belong** to the class of Minor Rock Edicts,

Pulindas¹ who are invariably associated with the Nerbudda (Reva) and the Vindhyan region :—

Pulinda-raja swndarl nabhimandala nipita salila
(Reva),²

*Pulinda Vindhya Pushika(?) Vaidarbha Daydakaihsaha*³
*Pulinda Vindhya Mulika Vaidarbha Dandakaih saha*⁴.

Their capital Pulinda-nagara lay not far from Bhilsa and may have been identical with Rupnath, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict I .⁵

Hultzsch, however, doubts the identification of the "Palidas" of Shahbazgarhi with the Pulindas, for the Kalsi and Girnar texts have the variants Palada and Parimda—names that remind us of the **P&radas** of the *Vayu Pnra*,⁶ the *Harivanisa*⁷ and the *Brihat Samhita*.⁸ In those texts the people in question are mentioned in a list of barbarous tribes along with the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas, Khasas, Mahishikas, Oholas, Keralas, etc. They are described as *muktakesa* ("having dishevelled hair"). Some of the tribes mentioned in the list belong to the north, others to the south. The association with the Andhras in Asokan inscriptions suggests that in the Maurya period they may have been in the Deccan. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled. It is interesting to note in this connection that a river Parada (identified

1 Hultzsch, *Aioka*, 48 (n. 14).

2 Subhandu's *Vasavadatta*.

3 *Matsya P.* 114, 48.

4 *Vayu*, 55, 126.

5 The Navagrama grant of the *Maharaja* Hastin of the year 198 (A. D. 517) refers to a Pulinda-raja-rashtra which lay in the territory of the Parivrajaka kings, i.e., in the Dabhala region in the northern part of the present Central Provinces (*Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 126).

6 Ch.88.

7 1,14.

8 XIII. 9.

with the Paradi or Par rivet in the Surat District) is mentioned in a Nasik inscription.¹

The **Bhojas** and the **Rathikas** (Ristikas) were evidently the ancestors of the Mahabhojas and the Maharajhis of the Satavahana period.² The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar,³ and the Rathikas or Ristikas possibly in Maharashtra or certain adjoining tracts.⁴ The former were, in later ages, connected by matrimonial alliances with chieftains of the Kanarese country.

In the west Asoka's Empire extended to the Arabian Sea and embraced all the **Aparantas**⁵ including no doubt the vassal state (or confederation of states) of Surashtra the affairs of which were looked after by the *Yavana-rclja* Tushaspha with Giri-nagara (Girnar) as his capital. Dr. Smith says that the form of the name shows that the *Yavana-rajā* must have been a Persian. But according to this interpretation the *Yavana* Dhammadeva, the Saka Ushavadata (Risahabha-datta), the *Parthian* Suvisakha and the *Kushan* Vasudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Iranic appellations. There is, then, no good ground for assuming that Tushaspha was not a Greek, but a Persian.⁶

1 Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, Ivi. Pargiter places the Paradas in the north-west, *AIHT*, p. 268.

2 Smith, *Asoka*, third ed., pp. 169-70.

3 Cf. Bhoja-kata, Bhat kuli in Amraoti.

4 The *Ramayana*, IV. 41. 10, places the Rishtikas between the Vidarbhas of (Berar) and the MShishakas of the Nerbudda valley or of Mysore. *Raihtka* is also used as an official designation and it is in that sense that the expression seems to be used in the Yerragudi inscription (*Ind. Culture*, I, 310 ; *Aiyangar Com. Vol. 35* ; *IHQ*, 1933, 117).

5 Surparaka, Nasik, etc., according to the *Markandeya* P. 57, 49-52.

6 Cf. *IA*, 1919, 145 ; *EHVS*, 2nd, ed. pp. 28-29,

Rapson¹ seems to think that the Gandham', Kambojas, Yavanas, Rishtikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Paladas and Andhras lay beyond Asoka's dominions, and were not his subjects, though regarded as coming within his sphere of influence. But this surmise can hardly be accepted in view of the fact that Asoka's *Dharma-mahamatras* were employed amongst them "on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release" (Rock Edict V).² In the Rock Edict XIII, they seem to be included within the *Raja-Vishaya* or the King's territory, and are distinguished from the real border peoples (*Amta*, *Prachamta*), viz., the Greeks of the realm of Antiochos and the Tamil peoples of the south (*Nlcha*). But while we are unable to accept the views of Rapson, we find it equally difficult to agree with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar³ who denies the existence of Yonas and others as feudatory chieftains in Asoka's dominions. The case of the *Yavana-raj*a Tushaspha clearly establishes the existence of such vassal chiefs whose peoples undoubtedly enjoyed partial autonomy though subject to the jurisdiction of special Imperial officers like the *Dlbarma-mahamatras*.

Having described the extent of Asoka's empire we now proceed to give a brief account of its administration. Asoka continued the Council government of his predecessors. There are references to the Emperor's dealings with the *Parisha* or *Parishad* in Rock Edicts III and VI. Senart took *Parisha* to mean *Sahglw*, and Btthler understood by it the Committee of caste or sect.

1 CHI., pp, 514, 515.

2 "They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (tltir) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free" (Hultctcb, *Asoka*, p. 33).

3 *Asoka*, 28.

But Dr. K. P. Jayaswal pointed out that the *Parisha* of the Edicts is the *Mantriparishad* of the *Arthashastra*. The inscriptions prove that Asoka retained also the system of Provincial Government existing under his forefathers. Tosali, Suvarnagiri, Ujjayini and Takshasila were each under a prince of the blood (*Kumala* or *Ayaputa*).²

The Emperor and the Princes were helped by bodies (*Nikaya*) of officials who fell under the following classes :—

1. The *Mahamatms** and other *Mukhyas*.
- 2-3 The *Bajukas* and *Rathikas*.
4. The *PradeHkas* or *Pradesikas*.
5. The *Yutas*.⁴
- 6, *Pulisa*.
7. *Pativedaka*.
8. *Vachabhumilca*.
9. The *Lipikaras*.
10. The *Dutas*.
- 11-12. The *Aynktas* and *Karanakas*.

1 Compare the references to the "*Sarajika Parisha*" in the *Mahavastu*, Senart, Vol. III, pp. 362, 392, For different kinds of *Parisha*, see *Ahuttara* 1.70,

2 That *Ayaputa* or *Aryaputra* meant a member of a ruling house or clan appears probable from the evidence of the *Balacharita*, attributed to Bhasa, in which Vasudeva is addressed by a *Bhata* as *Aryaputra*. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri further points out that in the *Svapnanataka* the term *Aryaputra* is employed as a word of respect by the chamberlain of Vasavadatta's father in addressing King Udayana (*Introduction to the Pratima-nataka*, p. 32). An interesting feature of Asoka's administration was the employment of a Yavana governor or *episkopos* in one territory to which reference has already been made.

3. Of. also *Arthashastra*, pp. 16, 20, 58, 64, 215, 237-39; Rajasekhara, *KM*, XLV, 53.

4 The *Yuktas* of the *Arthashastra*, pp. 59, 65, 199. *Ramayana*, VI, 217, 34 ; *Mahabharata*, II, 56, 18, *Manu*, VIII. 34 ; cf. the *Raja-yuktas* of the *Santiparva*, 82. 9-15.

There was a body of *Mahamatras* in each great city and district of the empire.¹ The inscriptions mention the *Mahamatras* of Pataliputra, Kausarabi, Tosali, Samapa, Suvarnagiri and Isila.² In the Kalniga Edicts we have certain. *Mahamatras* distinguished by the terms *Nagalaha* and *Nagala-Viyohalakd*. The *Nagalaka* and *Nagala-Viyohalaka* of the Edicts correspond to the *Nagaralca* and *Panra-vyavaharika* of the *Arthasastra*³ and no doubt administered justice in cities.⁴ In Pillar Edict I mention is made of the *Arata Mahamatras* or the Wardens of the Marches, who correspond to the *Antapalas* of the *Arthamstra*⁶ and the *Ooptris* of the age of Skanda Gupta. The *Kautillya* tells us that the salary of an *Antapala* was equal to that of a *Kumara*, a *Paura-vyavaharika* a member of the *Mantriparishad* or a *Rashtrapala*.⁶ Iju Edict XII mention is made of the *Ithljhaha Mahamatras* who, doubtless, correspond to the *Stry-adhyakshas* (the Guards of the Ladies) of the epics.⁷

1 The Empire, as already [stated, was divided into a number of provinces (*disa*, *desa* etc). Each province seems to have been further subdivided into *ahalas* or districts under regular civil administration, ttnd *kotta-vishayas* or territories surrounding forts (Hultzsch. p. xl). Each civil administrative division had a *pura* or *nagara* (city) and a rural part called *janapada* which consisted of *gramas* or villages. An important official in each *janapada* was the *Rajuka*. The designations *Pradesika* and *Rathika* possibly suggest the existence of territorial units styled *pradeia* and *rattha* or *rashtra*.

2 *Mahamatras* of SravastI are, according to certain scholars, mentioned in the Sohgaure copperplate inscription found in a village on the Rapt!, not far from Gorakhpur. But the exact date of the record is not known (Hoernle, JASB, 1894, 84 ; Fleet, JRAS, 1907. 523 fl. ; Barua, Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst., xi, i (1930), 32ff. ; IHQ, 1934. 54ff. ; Jayaswal, Ep. Ind., xxii, 2).

3 P. 20, 143 f. Cf. the royal *epistates* or city governor in the Antigotfid realm (Tarn, GBI., 24).

4 Cf. also *Nagara-dhanya Vyavaharika*, p. 55. The *Nagalaka* may have had executive functions as well, as is suggested by the evidence of the *Artha-hastra* (II. Ch'. 36).

5 Pp. 20, 247.

6 P. 247.

7 Ram. II. 16. 3 *Vnddhan vetrapanIn...stryadhyakshan* ; Mbb. IX, 29, 68.90 ; XV. 22, 20 ; 23, 12. Cf. the *Antarvamsika* of the *Arthasastra*.

As to the *Rajukas* Dr. Smith takes the word to mean a governor next below a *Kumara*.¹ Biihler identifies the *Rajuka* of the Asokan inscriptions with the *Rajjuha* or the *Rajjugahaka amachcha* (Rope-holder, Field-measurer or Surveyor) of the *Jatakas*.² Pillar Edict IV refers to the *Rajukas* as officers "set over many hundred thousands of people," and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of the *Janapadas* to whom Asoka granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. The reference to the award of penalties (*Danda*) probably indicates that the *Rwjukas* had judicial duties. In the Rock Edict III as well as in Pillar Edict IV they are associated with the *Yutas*, and in the Yerragudi inscriptions with the *Rathikas*.³ Strabo⁴ refers to a class of Magistrates (*Ayronomoi*) who "have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, have charge also of hunters and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either/' The measuring of the land connects those Magistrates with the *Rajjugahaka Amachcha* of the *Jatakas*,⁵ while the power of rewarding and punishing people connects them with the *Rajukas* of Aioaka. It is probable, therefore, that the *Agronomoi* referred to by Strabo were identical with the *Rwjukas* and the *Rajjugahaka Amachchas*. The *Arthasastra** refers to a class of officials called "*Chora Rajjukas*" but there

1 *Asoka*, 3rd ed., p. 94.

2 *The Social Organisation in North-East India* by Fick, translated by S. Maitra, pp. 148-51.

3 IHQ. 1933, 117 ; Barua takes the expressions *Janapada* and *Rathika* of the Yerragudi copy of the Minor Rock Edict to mean 'people of the district' and 'citizens of the hereditary tribal states' respectively. But *Rathika* of the record probably corresponds to *Rashfriya* of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman so that the expressions *Janapadas* and *Rathikas* mean 'people of the country parts,' and 'officials of the district.' Cf. *Rathika Mahamcitra of Brihat Saim*, XV. 11.

4 H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103,

3 Cf. Maitra, *Pick*, pp. 148-49.

6 P. 234.

is no reference to the *Rajjukas* proper although on p. 60 "*Rajjn*" is mentioned in conjunction with "*CJwra Rajjti*,"

As regards the *Pradesikas* or *Pradesikas*, Senart, Kern and Btthler understood the term to denote **local** governors or local chiefs. Smith took it to **mean** District Officers. Hultzsch compares it with *Prade-Hkesvara* of Kalhana's *Rajatarangint*.¹ The word occurs only in the Third Rock Edict where the functionaries in question are included with the *Rdjukas* and the *Yutas* in the ordinance of the *Anusamyana* or oircuit. Thomas derives the word from *pradesa* which means report³ and identifies the *Pradesikas* or *Pradesikas* of the Edict with the *Pradeshttris* of the *Arthasctstra*. The most important functions of the *Pradeshttris* were *Bali-pragraha* (collection of taxes or suppression of recalcitrant chiefs), *Rantaka-sodhana* (administration of criminal justice), *Chora" margana*, (tracking of thieves) and *Adhyakshana]**m adhyaksha pnrushanam cha niyamanam* (checking superintendents and their men). They acted as intermediaries between the *Samahartri* on the one hand and the *Gopas*, *Sthanikas* and *Adhyakshas* on the other.³ It is, however, doubtful if the *Pradesikas* can really be equated with Reporters. The more probable view is that they correspond to the subordinate governors, the *nomarchs*, *hyparchs* and *meridarchs* of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

As to the *Yutas* or *Yuktas*, they are described by Mann⁴ as the custodians of *Pranashtadhighata dravya*

1 IV. 126.

2 JRAS, 1915, p. 97. *Arthaiastara*, p. 111. In the Vishnu PurSna, V, 26 3. *Pradeia* has apparently the sense of counsel, instruction. S. Mitra suggests, (*Indian Culture*, I, p. 310) that the *Pradesikas* were *Mahftmatras* of the provincial governments, while the *Rajjukas* were *Mahanjatras* of the central government.

3 Cf. *Arthaiastara*, pp. 142, 200, 217, 222. *Pradeshttris* also occur in the Irda grant. Ep. Ind. XXII. 150 ff.

4 VIII 34.

(lost property which was recovered). In the *ArtliaSastra*, too, they are mentioned in connection with *Samudaya* or state funds¹ which they are represented as misappropriating. Hultzscht suggests that they were 'secretaries' employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahamatras*. The *Pulisa* or Agents are apparently identical with the *Purushas* or *Raja Purushas* of the *Arthasastra*-² Hultzscht prefers to equate them with the *Gtidha-purushas* and points out that they were graded into high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank.³ They were placed in charge of many people⁴ and controlled the *Rajulcas*. The *Pativedaka* or Reporters are doubtless the *Olmras* mentioned in Chapter 16 of the *Arthasastra*? while the *Vachabhumikas* or "Inspectors of cowpens" were evidently charged with the superintendence of "*Vraja*" referred to in Chapter 24.⁶ The *Lipikaras* are the royal scribes one of whom, Chapada, is mentioned by name in Minor Rock Edict II. *Dutas* or envoys are referred to in Rock Edict XIII. If the *Kautiliya* is to be believed, they were divided into three classes, viz., *Nisrishtarthah* or Plenipotentiaries, *Parimitarthah* or Charges d'Affaires and *Sasanaharas* or conveyers of royal writ.⁷ The *Aynktas* possibly find mention in the Kalinga Edicts. In the early Post-Mauryan and Scythian Age Ayuttas appear as village officials.⁸ In the Gupta Age they figure as officers in charge of

1 Cf. also *Mbh*, ii. 5. 72. *Kachchichchaya vyaye yuktah sarve ganaka lekhakah.*

2 Pp. 59, 75.

3 The three classes of *Purushas* are also known to the Great epic (*Mbh*). ii. 5. 74.

4 Pillar Edict VII.

5 P. 38.

6 Pp. 59-60. .

7 With the *Sasanaharas* may be compared the *Lekha-harakas* of the *Harshacharita*, *Uchchhasa* II, p. 52.

8 Liidert' List, No. 1347.

Vishayas or districts,¹ and also as functionaries employed in restoring the wealth of conquered kings. The full designation of the officers in question was *AyuMa-Piirusha*.² They may have been included under the generic name of *Pulisa* referred to above. The *Karanakas* who appear to be mentioned in the Yerragucli copy of Asoka's Minor Rock Edict, probably refer to judicial officers, teachers, or scribes.³

1 *Ep. Ind.*, XV, No. 7, 138.

2 Fleet, CII, pp. 8. 14.

3 Cf. *Karanika*, Officer-in-Charge of Documents or Accounts (IHQ, 1935, 586). In inscriptions of the seventh century A.D. the word *Karana* stood for *Adhikarana* (Departmental or District Secretariat). *Prabasl*, 1350 B.S. *Sravana*, 294. In Mbb. ii. 5. 34, *Karanika* has, according to the commentary, the sense of teacher. In the text itself the officers in question instruct the *Kumaras* and have to be *dharme sarvaiastreshu kovidah*, implying that their duties included among other things, those relating to *Dharma* (law, justice ?).

CHAPTER V. THE MAURYA EMPIRE :

THE ERA OF DHAMMAVIJAYA AND DECLINE.

SECTION 1. ASOKA AFTER THE KALINGA WAR.

*Chakkavatti ahum raja Jamhusandassa issaro
mnddhcibhisitto khattiyo manussadhipatl ahum
adandena asaithena vijeyya patJiavim imam
asahasena dhammena samena manusasiya
dJiammena rajjam karetvā asmim pathavimandale*

—*Ahuttara Nikaya.*

We have already seen that the Kalinga war opened a new epoch in the history of Magadha and of India. During the first thirteen years of his reign Asoka was a typical Magadhan sovereign—the inheritor of the policy of Bimbisara, of Mahapadma and of Chandragupta—conquering peoples, suppressing revolt, annexing territory. After the Kalinga war all this is changed. The older political philosophy which tradition associates with the names of Vassakara and Kautilya gave way to a new statecraft inspired by the teaching of the sage of the Sakyas. Before proceeding to give an account of the remarkable change we should say a few words about the religious denominations of India and the condition of society during the reign of the great innovator.

In the days of Asoka the people of India were divided into many sects of which the following were the most important:—

1. The orthodox *Deva*-worshippers.¹
2. The *Ajivikax* or the followers of Gosala Mankhaliputta.²

1 Among the *Devas* worshipped in the Maurya period, Patanjali makes special mention of Siva, Skanda and Visakha.

2 This teacher was born in Saravana, probably near Savatthi or Sravasti. Jaina, writers represent him as a person of IQW parentage and of contemptible

3. The *Nirgranthas* or *Jainas*, i.e., the **followers of** Nigantha Nataputta who is commonly called Mahavira or Vardhamana.

4. The followers of G-autama Buddha Sakyamuni.

5. Other sects alluded to in Pillar Edict VII.

In Edict IV we have the following account of the prevailing state of society : "for a long period past, even for many hundred years, have increased the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, unseemly behaviour to *Brahmanas* and ascetics (*Sramanas*)."¹ Kings used to go out on so-called *Vihara yatras*² in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.³ The people performed various ceremonies (*mamgala*)⁴ on occasions of sickness, weddings of sons,⁵ the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and

character. The attitude of Buddhist authors is also not friendly. In reality he was one of the leading sophists of the sixth century B. C. and, for a time, was a close associate of Mahavira. According to the *Ajivika* belief as expounded in the *SamannB-phala Sutta* "the attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend on human effort (*purisa-kare*). There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour (*purisaparakkamo*). All beings...are bent this way and that by their fate (*nlyati*)."⁶ (*Dialogues*, Pt. I, p. 71 ; Barua, *The Ajivikas*, 1920, p. 9.) An *Ajlvaparivrajaka* appears as a court astrologer of Bindusara in the *Divyavadana* (pp. 370 ff.). A tax on "Xjivakas" is deferred to in an inscription of the twelfth century A. D. (Hultzsch, SII. I. 88) showing that the sect flourished in S. India even in that late age.

1 Of. Ajatasatru's treatment of Bimbisara, Vidudabha's massacre of the Sakyas, Udayana's cruelty towards Pindola, and Nanda's haughty demeanour towards Chanakya.

2 Tours of pleasure, cf. Kautilya, p. 332. *Mahabharata*, XV. I. 18:
Viharayatrasu punah Kururajo Yudhishtirah
sarvati kaman tnahatejahpradav-Antbikasute,

3 R. Edict VIII.

4 For "*Mamgala*" see also *Jatakas* No. 87, and No. 163 (*Hatthi-mamgala*), and *Harsha-charita*, II (p. 27 of Parab's edition, 1918).

5 For *Avaha* and *Vivaha* see also *Mbh.*, V. 141. 14 ; Kautilya, VII. 15.

departure on journeys. The womankind performed many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies.¹

From the references in the Edicts to Brahmanas, Kaivartas (of Kevata *bhoga*) and Sramanas, *Bikshu* and *Bikshunl-Samgltas* it may be concluded that *Varna* (social gradation) and *Asrama* (stages of socio-religious discipline) were established institutions. The position of the slaves and labouring poor in general (*dasa*, *bhataka*) was, in some cases at any rate, not enviable. Women had to tolerate the *purdah* as well as polygamy. Ladies of the harem were under special guards (*stry-adhyaksha*). As will be seen in the following pages, the policy of Asoka in regard to social matters was, in the main, one of mitigation and not, except in respect of certain kinds of *Samaja* and sundry obnoxious practices, of radical reform.

The Change of Asoka's Religion

Asoka had doubtless inherited the traditional devotion of Hindu kings to the gods (*devas*) and the Brahmanas and, if the Kasmira chronicle of Kalhana is to be believed, his favourite deity was Siva. He had no scruples about the slaughter of men and animals : "formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries." The hecatombs of thousands of men and women sent to their doom during the Kalinga war have already been mentioned. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anusochana*, "remorse, profound sorrow, and regret". About this time he came undeir' the influence of Buddhist teaching. We read in Rock Edict XIII "after that, now that the Kalingas had been annexed, began His Sacred Majesty*s zealous practice of the Law

of Piety (*dhramasilana*), his love of that Law (*dhramakamata*), and his inculcation of that Law (*dhramanusasti*)"¹

Although Asoka became a Buddhist² he was not an enemy either of the *Devas* or of the *Brahmanas*. Up to

1 The view held by some recent writers that the conversion of Asoka took place *before* the Kalihga war rests on the evidence of the *Mahavathsa* (Ch. V) and on certain assumptions, viz., that Asoka's *dhramakamata* became *tivra* (intense) immediately after the Kalinga war (there being no interval) and that Asoka was indifferent during the period of *Upasakatva* (when he was only a lay disciple) which, therefore, must have preceded the Kalihga war, immediately after which his devotion became *tivra*. But the so-called indifference or want of activity is only relative. On the other hand, the supporters of the new theory have to explain why a recent convert to Buddhism should engage in a sanguinary conflict involving the death of countless *Sramanas*. Why again do the Minor Rock Edicts refer to contact with the *Samgha*, and not the Kalihga war, as the prelude and cause of more intense activity? It is to be noted that activity in the period of *Upasakatva* is also described as *parakrama*, though it was surpassed by the greater energy of the period after contact with the Holy Order. Note also the explicit reference to *dhramakamata* as the result of the annexation of Kalihga *sometime after (tato pachha adhutta)* the war. The use of the expressions *tato pachha* and *adhuna* suggests that an interval supervened between the war and the intensity of Asoka's *dhramasilana* and *dhramakamata*. Moreover, we learn from the Minor Edicts and Pillar Edict VI that pious proclamations began to be issued a little more than 2½ years after Asoka became an *Upasaka* and 12 years after his coronation. This would place his conversion a little less than 9½ years after his *Abhisheka*, i.e., a little less than 1½ years after the Kalihga war.

2 *Sakya* (Rupnath), *Buddha Sakya* (Maski), *Upasaka* (Sahasram) ; see Hultzsch, CII, p. xlv. Cf. also Kalhana, *Rajatarahgitti*, 1. 102ff. That Asoka did become a Buddhist admits of no doubt. In the Bhabru Edict he makes an open confession of his faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* (Doctrine) and the *Samgha* (Order of Monks). He called the Buddha *Bhagavat*. He went on pilgrimage to the places of the Blessed One's nativity and enlightenment and worshipped at the former place. He declared that whatsoever had been spoken by the Buddha, all that was quite well spoken. He also believed in the cult of the "former" Buddhas. He took much interest in the exposition of the Buddhist Doctrine so that it might endure long. As to the *Samgha* he kept in close touch with it since his memorable visit to the Fraternity a year or so after his conversion. He impressed on the clergy the need of a correct exposition of the true doctrine and appointed special officers to busy themselves with the affairs of the Brotherhood. He also laid emphasis on *Vinaya-samutkarsha* and took steps to maintain the integrity of the Church and prevent schism within its fold.

the last he took pride in calling himself *Devanampiya*, beloved of the gods.¹ He found fault with unseemly behaviour towards Brahmanas² and inculcated liberality to the same class. He was perfectly tolerant. "The king does reverence to men of all sects."³ He reprobated *atmapasamla-ptija*, honour to one's own sect, when coupled with *para-pasamda-garaha*, disparagement of other sects. That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barabar Cave Dedications to the *Ajivika* monks. His hostility was chiefly directed not towards the *Devas* and the Brahmanas, not even towards *Varnasrama*, but the killing of men in war and *Samajas* (festive gatherings), ill-treatment of friends and acquaintances, comrades and relatives, slaves and servants, the slaughter of animals in sacrifice, and the performance of vulgar, useless and offensive ceremonies.

The Change of Foreign Policy

The effect of the change of religion was at once felt in foreign policy. The Emperor declared that "of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in Kalinga, if the hundredth part or the thousandth part were now to suffer the same fate, it would be a matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with." In Kalinga Edict I, the Emperor expressed his desire that the unsubdued peoples in the frontiers of the imperial dominions (*Amta avijita*) "should not be afraid of him, that they should trust him, and should receive from him happiness not sorrow." The chiefest

1 The title is reminiscent of the age of Hammurabi (Camb. Anc. Hist. I. p. 511).

2 Edict IV.

3 Edict XII

conquest in the Emperor's opinion was the conquest by righteousness (*Dhamma-vijaya*). In Edict IV he exultingly says, "the reverberation of the war-drums (*Bherighoso*) has become the reverberation of the Law of Piety (*Dhammaghoso*)." Not content with what he himself did he called upon his sons and even his great grandsons to eschew new conquests—*putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma vijetaviyam*. Here we have a complete renunciation of the old policy of military conquest or *Digvijaya* and the enunciation of a new policy, viz., that of *Dhammavijaya*.¹ The full political effects of this change of policy became manifest only after the death of Asoka, perhaps even after the 27th year of his consecration. From the time of Bimbisara to the Kalinga war the history of India was the story of the expansion of Magadha from a tiny state in South Bihar to a gigantic Empire extending from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kalinga war ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire gradually dwindled down in extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisara and his successors had raised it.

1 The Asokan conception of *Dhamma-vijaya* was similar to that described in the *Chakkavatti Sihanada Stutta*, "conquest not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, p 59). It was different from the Hindu conception explained and illustrated by the *Mahabharata* (XII, 59,38-39), the *Harivamsa* (I. 14.21), the *Kautilya* (p. 382), and the *Raghuvamsa* (IV. 43). Attention may be invited in this connection to a statement of Arrian that "a sense of justice prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India" (*Camb. Hist Ind*, I. 321); M'crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 209. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the discourse entitled the *Chakkavathi Sihanada* (Lion Roar of the *Chakravartiot* emperor who 'conquers by righteousness') possibly affords a clue to proper appreciation of the famous Sarnath Capital with its *Chakra* and crowning lions. Cf. also *Ratnayana* II. 10. 36. *Yavada vartate chakram tavat me vasundhara*.

True to his principle Asoka made no attempt to annex the frontier (*Prachihta*, *amta*, *samanta*, *samlpa*), kingdoms, viz., Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra Tambapamni (Ceylon) and the realm of *Amtiyaleo Yonaraja*, who is usually identified with Antiochos II Theos, King of Syria and Western Asia. On the contrary, he maintained friendly relations with them.

The **Chola** country was drained by the river Kaveri and comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. We learn from a South Indian inscription¹ that Hara, i.e., the god Siva, asked Gunabhara (Mahendravarman I, Pallava), "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kaveri ?" When Pulakesin II Chalukya strove to conquer the Cholas "the Kaveri had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants." The Chola capital was Uraiyyir (*Sanskrit* Urugapura) or Old Trichinopoly.² The principal port was at Kaviripattinam or Pugar on the northern bank of the Kaveri.³

The **Pandya** country corresponded to the Madura, and Tinnevely districts with perhaps the southern portions of Ramnad and the Travancore state. It had its capitals at Kolkai and Madura (*Dalcshina* Mathura). The rivers Tamraparni and Kritamala or Vaigai flowed through it. Katyayana derives Pandya from Pandu. The Pandus are

1 Hultisch, SII. Vol. I, p. 34.

2 Aelian, however, has the following reference to the realm of Soras (Chola ?) and its chief city: "There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimuda (city of Perumal ?). It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who go off with nets and catch oysters." For Urugapura in Cholika Vishaya. see *Ep. Ind.* X. 103.

3 For the early history of the Chola Kingdom and other Tamil states see CHI., Vol. I, Ch. 24; Smith, EHI, Ch. XVI; Kanakasabhai Pillay, *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History and Ancient India*; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom, The Colas*, etc.

mentioned as the ruling race of **Indraprastha** in the *Mahabharata* as well as in several *JMahas*.¹ Ptolemy (cir. 150 A. D.) speaks of the country of the Pandououi in the Panjab. There can be no doubt that Pandu was the name of a real tribe or clan in northern India. Katyayana's statement regarding the connection of the Pandyas with the Pandus receives some support from the fact that the name of the Pandya capital (Madura) was identical with the famous city of Mathura in the Surasena country which, according to Epic tradition, was the seat of a family intimately associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Pandus of Indraprastha. The connection between the Pandus, the Silrasenas and the Pandyas seems to be alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes regarding Herakles and Pandaia.²

Satiyaputra is identified by Mr. Venkatesvaraiyar³ with *Satya-vrata-kshetra* or Kauchipura. But Dr. Aiyangar points out that the term *Satya-vrata-hshetra* is applied to the town of Kanchi or a part of it, not to the country dependent upon it. There is besides the point whether *vrata* could become *puta*. Dr. Aiyangar supports Bhandarkar's identification with Satpute. He takes Satiyaputra to be a collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nayars of Malabar.⁴ According to Dr. Smith⁵ Satiyaputra is represented by the Satyamangalam Taluk of Coimbatore. **Mr. T. N. Subramaniam**⁶ prefers Kongunadu ruled by the

1 I find it difficult to agree with Dr. Barua, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Part II (1943), p. 232, that the "line of Yudhishtira"...that ruled at Indraprastha in the Kuru country "has nothing to do with Pamlu's eldest son."

2 Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 249.

3 JRAS, 1918, pp. 541-42.

4 JRAS. 1919, pp. 581-84.

5 *Aioka*, Third Ed., p. 161

6 JRAS. 1922. 86.

KoSar people famous for their truthfulness. Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar¹ takes Satiyaputra to be the equivalent of Atiyaman, chief of Kutiraimalai with his headquarters at Takadilr, now in Mysore. Mr. P. J. Thoma, however, gives reasons for identifying it with "Satyabhumi" of the *Keralolpatti*, a territory which corresponds roughly to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara."²

Keralaputra (Ketalaputo or Chera) is "the country south of Kilpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Milshika."³ It was watered by the river Periyar, perhaps identical with the Churnl of the *Arthasastra* on the banks of which stood its capital Vanji (near Cochin) and at its mouth the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).

Ceylon was known in ancient times as Parasamudra⁵ as well as Tamraparm (Greek Taprobane).⁶ Tambapamni,

1 *Cera kings of the Sangam period*, 17-18

2 JRAS, 1923, p. 412, B. A. Saletore is, however, inclined to disparage the authority of the *Keralolpatti* (*Indian Culture*, I. 668). But Kirfe[^] points out (*Die Kosmographie Der Inder*, 1920, p. 78) that Satya (variants Satlratha, Sanipa) finds mention in the list of southern *Janapadas*, along with the Mushakas, in the *Jambukhandā* section of the *Mahabharata* (Bk. VI.). For other views see, *hid. Cult.*, Vol. II, 549 ff.; *Aiyangar, Com. Vol.*, 45-47. Mr. M. G. Pai suggests that 'Satiya' corresponds to *Santika* of the *Markandeya Purana*, 58.37, and the *Brihat Samhita*, xiv, 27, and included South Kanara. Cf. Setae of Pliny, (*Bomb, Gaz. Gujrat*, 533).

3 JRAS, 1923, p. 413.

4 P. 75. Cf. *Suka sathdesa* (Aiyar, *Cera kings*, 94).

5 Greek Palaesimundu, see Ray Chaudhuri, *Ind, Ant.*, 1919, pp., 195-96. commentary on the *Kautiliya*, Ch. XI; *Ramayana*, VI. 3. 21 (Lanka described as *sthita "pare samttdrasya"*).

On reading Law's *Ancient Hindu Polity* (p. 87 n.) I find that the identification was also suggested by Mr. N. L. Dey. The equation Parasamudra = Palaesimundu is not less plausible than the equations Sstavahana = Salivahana; Kataha = Kadaram = Kidaram = Kantoli (cf. Dr. Majumdar, *Suvarnavdipa*, 56, 79, 168).

6 For other names of Ceylon see "*Megasthenes and Arrian*" published by Chqckerverty and Chatterjee, 1926, p. 60 n. For a short history of the island

i.e., Tamraparni is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Asoka. Dr. Smith lately¹ took the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tamraparni in Tinnevely. He referred to the Girnar text "*a Tambapamn?*" which according to him indicated that the river was meant, not the island. Now, in Edict II the phrase "*a Tambapamni*" comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pada. The expression "Ketalaputo as far as the Tamraparni" is hardly appropriate because the Tamraparni is a Pandyan river.² We, therefore, prefer to take Tamraparni to mean Ceylon. Asoka's Oeylonese contemporary was Devanampiya Tissa whose accession may be dated about 250 or 247 B.C.

Asoka maintained friendly relations not only with the Tamil powers of the south, but also with his **Hellenistic frontager**, Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia (B.C. 261-246); and even with the kings the neighbours of Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of Egypt (B.C. 285-247); Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa (who probably died not later than B.C. 258)³; Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (B.C. 277 or 276-239); and Alexander who ruled over Epirus (B.C. 272-c.255) according to Norris, Westergaard, Lassen, Senart, Smith and Marshall.⁴ Beloch and Hultzsck, however,

see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Chap XXV, and *IHQ*, II. 1, p. 1 ff. According to tradition recorded in the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa* the first Aryan immigrants were led by Prince Vijaya of Lala, whom the chronicles represent as a grandson of a Princess of Vafiga. The identification of Lala is, however, open to controversy, some placing it in Gujarat, others identifying it with Radha or Western Bengal. Barnett may be right in his assumption that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya. See also *IHQ*, 1933, 742 ff.

1 *ASoka*, 3rd Ed., p. 162.

2 Even those who prefer to see in the passage a reference to a kingdom in the Valley of the Tamraparni river, have to prove that such a kingdom did **exist** in the Maurya age apart from "Pada" and Taprobane, and to explain the particular way in which it is mentioned in Edict II.

3 Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 449 f.

4 *Monument of Sanchi*, I, 28 n.

suggest¹ that Alikasudara of Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus (B.C. 252—*cir.* 244) and not Alexander of Epirus (272—*cir.* 255), the son of Pyrrhus.

Though Asoka did not covet the territories of his neighbours, there is evidence that he gave them advice on occasions, and established philanthropic institutions in their dominions. In other words, he regarded them as objects of spiritual conquest (*Dhamma-vijaya*).

"My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson."²

"Among his frontagers the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satyaputra, the Ketalaputra as far as Tamraparni, Antiochos, the Greek king, and even the kings the neighbours of that Antiochos, everywhere have been made healing arrangements of His Sacred and- Gracious Majesty the King."

In Edict XIII Asoka declares that the "conquest of the Law of Piety, ... has been won by His Sacred Majesty. among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and beyond (the realm) of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings (*rajano*) severally Ptolemy (Turamayo), Antigonos (Amtekina), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudaro)—(likewise) in the south (*nicha*), the Cholas and the Pandyas as far as Tambapamni. . . . Even where the envoys (*data*) of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate,³ those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in the Law, practise

1 JRAS, 1914, pp. 943 ff. *Ins. of Asoka*, xxxi.

2 M. R. Edict I.

3 Have we here a reference to countries like Suvannabhumi named in the list of territories to which missionaries were sent according to the *Mahavamsa* ?

and will practise the Law."¹ Buddhism doubtless made some progress in Western Asia and influenced later sects like the Manichaeans. But Greeks apparently were not much impressed by lessons on non-violence. When the strong arm of Asoka, "who possessed the power to punish in spite of his repentance," was withdrawn, the Yavanas poured once more into the Kabul valley, the Panjab and the *Madhya-desa* and threw all the province into confusion. The southern missions were more successful. Curiously enough, the Ceylonese chronicles do not seem to refer to the envoys sent to the *independent* Tamil and Hellenistic kingdoms² but name the missionaries sent to Ceylon and **Suvarjrabhumi** (Lower Burma and Sumatra). The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra who secured the conversion of Devanaiipiya Tissa and many of his people. No direct reference to Suvannabhumi occurs in the Edicts hitherto discovered.

The Change in Internal Policy

The effects of Asoka's change of religion after Kalinga war were felt not only in foreign policy but also in internal affairs. The principal objects of his complaint according to Rock Edict IV and the Kalinga Edicts were :

1 For Buddhism in Western Asia, see Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I I . 378 ; and Alberuni, p. 21 ; JRAS, 1913, 76; M'Crimble, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 185; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, pp. 3, 450 f. ; c/. Smith, EHI, 4th ed., 197 ; Burlingame, trans., *Dhammapadam Commentary*, Introduction.

2 Mention is however made of the Yona country along with Kasmlra, Gandhara and Himalaya (Geiger, 82). This Yona territory is perhaps to be identified with the homonymous land in the Kabul valley associated with Kamboja and Gandhara in the Asokan Inscriptions. But reference in a vague way to the Levantine world is not completely ruled out. The Deccan lands mentioned in connection with the traditional missionary activity of the Asokan age include Mahishamandala, Vanavasa (in the Kanarese area), Aparantaka (on the west coast), and Maharattha (Maharashtra) in the upper valley of the GodSvarj.

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1. The sacrificial slaughter (*drambho*) of living creatures.
2. Violence (*vihimsa*) to animate beings.
3. Unseemly behaviour to (*asampratipati*) to kinsmen (*jñati*).
4. Unseemly behaviour to *Brāhmanas* and *Sramanas*.
5. Maladministration in the Provinces.

According to Rock Edict I, Asoka saw much offence not only in the sacrificial slaughter of animals, but also in certain *Samdjas* or festive gatherings which, as we learn from the *Kautiliya*,¹ were often witnessed by kings and emperors.² The *Samaja*, says Smith, was of two kinds. The popular festival kind, accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat, was necessarily condemned by Asoka, as being inconsistent with his principles. The other kind, the semi-religious theatrical performance, sometimes given in the temples of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was apparently not included among offensive *Samdjas*. Dr. Thomas³ describes the disapproved *Samdja* as "a celebration of games or contests taking place in an arena or amphitheatre surrounded by platforms (*maṭiḥa*) for spectators (*prekṣhā*)." This kind of *Samdja* is apparently referred to in the following lines of the *Virata parva* of the *Mahabharata* :—

*Ye elm heohinniyotsyantt Samdjeshu niyodhahdh.*⁴

"Those combatants who will take part in wrestling in the *Samdjas*"

1 p. 45.

2 For the holding of *Samajas* in Magadha and in neighbouring countries see *Vinaya*, IV. 267 ; *Mahāvastu*, III. 57 and 383.

3 *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 392 ff.

4 *Virata*, 2,7.

*Tatra Mallah samapetur digbhyo rajan sahasrasah
samaje Brahmano rajan tatha Pasupater apt
Mahahayah rnahavlryah Kalalcanja iva surah*¹

"0 king, there arrived, by thousands, boxers from all quarters, in that festive gathering in honour of Brahman as well as Pasupati(Siva). They possessed gigantic bodies and immense strength like the Titans styled Kalakanja."

The harmless *Samaja* is well illustrated by the gathering in the temple of the goddess of learning referred to in Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra* (*Pahshasya masasya va prajntite' hani Sarasvatya bhavane niyulctanam nityam Samajah*)* According to Hultzsch the harmless *Samaja* refers to edifying shows.²

Asoka determined to put a stop to the practices, referred to above, which he did not approve. At the same time he sought to improve the moral and material condition of the people to such an extent as to effect the "association of gods with men".³ He did all this "in order that he might discharge the debt (which he owed) to living beings (that) he might make them happy in this (world) and (that) they might attain heaven in the other (world)." The means employed to achieve this object may be classed under four heads :

1. Administrative reforms.
2. Dissemination of instructions in the *Dhamma* (Law of Piety or Duty).
3. Benevolent activity ; promotion of the welfare of man and beast.

1 *Virata*, 13, 15-10.

2 See also I H Q, 1928, March, 112 ff.

3 Cf. Minor Rock Edict I. Cf. The description in the *Harivamia* of a prosperous realm where (*rajye mahodaye*) gods and men dwelt together (*Bhavishyaparva*, Ch. 32.1) "*Devatanam manushyanam sahavasav' bhavattada*." Hultzsch, however, compares (xlv) *Deva* with *Divyani rupani* of Rock Edict IV,

4. Religious toleration and prevention of schism in the Buddhist church.

J Administrative Reforms

In the first place, Asoka instituted the Quinquennial **and** Triennial *Anusaihyana* or Circuit of the *Yutas*, *Bajakas* *Pradesikas*, and *Mahamatras*. Jayaswal and Smith¹ were of opinion that the whole administrative staff from the *Rajilkas* and the *Pradesikas* down to the *Yutas* could not possibly have gone on circuit at once every five years. They interpreted the term as signifying a regular system of transfers from one station to another. But there is nothing in the text to show that *all* the officers were required to go on circuit *at once*. The *amisamyana* of the *Yutas*, *Rajukas* and *Pradesikas* was quinquennial and was mainly intended for propaganda work. The *annsamyana* of the *Mahamatras* was specially instituted for the purpose of checking miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment **and** torture in the outlying provinces (*Kaliinga*, and the *Ujjayini* and *Takshasila* regions).

Secondly, Asoka created a number of new posts, e.g., *Dharma-mahamatras* and possibly *Dharma-yutas*.² The *Dharma-mahamatras* were given a protective mission among people of all sects including the *Brahmanas* and the *Nirgranthas* or *Jainas*, and among the *Yavanas*, *Kambojas*, *Grandharas*, *Ristikas* and all the *Aparantas*. "Among

1 *Asoka*, 3rd edition, p. 164; Mr. A. K. Bose (IHQ, 1933, 811) takes *annsamyana* in the sense of 'a court-house or a citadel.' But the epic reference to *punyatirthanusamyanam* (Mbh. i. 2. 123). 'going forth to holy places of pilgrimage,' suggests that the interpretation proposed by Kern and Buhler is the one least open to objection. See also Barua, *Asoka Edicts in New Light*, 83 ff.

2 *Dhammayuta* may not be an official designation. It may mean simply one devoted to Dhamma' (morality, righteousness), Cf. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 2nd.ed.pp. 311, 343,

servants and masters, Brahmanas and the wealthy (*Ibhyas*),¹ among the helpless and the aged, they are employed in freeing from worldly cares their subordinates (in the department) of the Law of Piety. They are also employed on the revision (of sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having children, instigation, or advanced years... At Pataliputra and in all provincial (*bahira*) towns, in the family establishments of the king's brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives, they are everywhere employed." The *Dharma-mahamatras* were further engaged everywhere in the imperial dominions (*vijita*) or indeed in the whole world (*Prithivi*) as known to the Mauryas, among the *Dharma-yutas* with regard to "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of almsgiving." The border countries (*desa*) were placed under the special care of the *Avutilcas*?

(The emperor was naturally anxious to keep himself fully informed without delay about all public affairs, specially about the doings of the *Mahamatras* on whom the success of his mission mainly depended. He, therefore, gave *special directions to the Pativedalcas* or Reporters that when a matter of urgency committed to the *Mahamatras* and discussed in the *Parishad* or Council occasioned a division of opinion or *nijhatl* (adjournment ?)³ he must be informed without delay.)

1 We have here a reference probably to the fourfold division of society into Brahmanas, Kshatriyas or nobles (*Ibhyas*), Vaisyas (*Aryas*), and Sudras (*Bhata*).

2 Cf. Hultsch, *Asoka*, 100 n 7.

3 For procedure in cases of disputations in an Assembly see also *Jaitn*, *Up. Br.* III. 7.6. Can *Nijhatl* imply reference to the *Upadrashtis* hinted at in the *Brahmana* passage? The help of *Upadrashtis* was invoked by the Kuru-Paochalas to arrive at a satisfactory agreement or understanding in case of dispute. (Cf. also Barua, *ASoka Edicts in New Light* p. 78.)

It is apparent from the Kalinga Edicts and Rock Edict VI that Asoka kept a watchful eye on the *Mahamatras* especially on those who administered justice in cities. But he was more indulgent towards the *Bajnlcas* for whose intelligence he apparently entertained great respect. To the *Eajuhas* "set over many hundred thousands of people" the emperor *granted independence* in the award of honours and penalties in order that those officials might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly. He wanted, however, to maintain some uniformity in penalties as well as in procedure. For this reason he issued the following rule :—

(“To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted.”)

Lastly, Asoka issued certain regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals, and up to the twenty-seventh year of his coronation effected twenty-five jail deliveries. This suggests, as has been pointed out by Hultzsch, that the emperor used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation.

Measures adopted to disseminate Instructions in the Law of Piety.

Though himself convinced of the truth of the Buddha's teaching, of the efficacy of worship at Buddhist holy places, of the necessity of making a confession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity, of keeping in close touch, with the Buddhist Order of monks and maintaining its discipline and solidarity, Asoka probably never sought to impose his purely sectarian belief on others. He attempted, however, to put an end to practices and institutions that he considered to be opposed to the fundamental principles of morality which, according to him, constituted the essence of all religions. The prospect that he held

before the people at large is not that of *sambodhi* (or of *nirvana*) but of *svarga* (heaven) and of mingling with the *devas*. *Svarga* could be attained and the gods could be approached by all people, high or low, if only they showed *parakrama*, zeal, not in adherence to a sectarian dogma or the performance of barren ritual (*mamgala*) but in following the ancient rule (*porana pakiti*), the common heritage of Indians of all denominations, viz., "obedience must be rendered to parents and elders ; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards living creatures ; truth must be spoken ; these same moral virtues must be practised. In the same way the teacher must be revered by the pupil, and fitting courtesy should be shown to the relatives.*' In Edict XIII we have the following : "hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or elders), and proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves¹ and servants, with steadfastness of devotion." Edict VII lays stress on "mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steady devotion". In the Second Pillar Edict it is declared that the Law of Piety consisted in *Apasi7iave*, *bahuhayane*, *day a*, *dane*, *sache*, *sochaye*, "little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity".

In the Pillar Edicts again prominence is given to self-examination and spiritual insight. Towards the end of his career Asoka seems to have been convinced that reflection and meditation were of greater efficacy than moral regulations. But the need for such

1 For the question of slavery in Maurya India, see Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 164-65. It is to be noted that Asoka did not abolish slavery, just as he did not do away with caste or *purdah*. He simply wanted to mitigate the rigours of the existing social polity.

regulations was keenly felt by him in the early years of his reign.

We learn from Minor Rock Edict I that for more than two-and-a-half years Asoka was a lay disciple (*Upasaha*). During the first year he did not exert himself strenuously. Later on he seems to have *entered*¹ the *Sahgha*, and begun to exert himself strenuously.² He issued the famous proclamation, "Let small and great exert themselves/" and caused to be engraved the imperishable record of his purpose on the rocks and upon stone pillars wherever there were stone pillars in his dominions.

1 "*Approached*," according to Hultzsck, in whose opinion the two-and a half years of *Upasakatva* include the period which followed his "visit" (not "entry") to the *Sahgha*. The view that Asoka actually joined the Holy Order is, however, supported by I-tsing who mentions an image of Asoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, 73). That rulers and statesmen could be monks as well, even in early times, appears probable from Luders Ins. No. 1144 which refers to a *hramana tnahamatra* of Nasik in the days of the early Satavahana king Krishna. Cf. Milinda, IV. 6. 49 (ref. to a Sramana King); Geiger, trans., *Mahavamsa*, 240 (Kutakarina Tissa).

2 Rock Edict IV has been interpreted by scholars to mean that Asoka sought to promote the observance of the Buddhist doctrine by exhibiting spectacles of aerial chariots (*Vimanadasana*), of elephants (*Hastidasana*), masses of fire (*Agikhatndhani*) and other representations of a *divya*, i.e., divine (not terrestrial) nature. Dr. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant., 1912. p. 26), refers to the Pali *Vimanavattu* which describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes (*Vimanas*) in order to induce listeners and spectators to live good and unblemished lives, and thereby attain to these. Asoka is said to have made representations of these *Vimanas* and paraded them in various places. *Hasti*, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, is *Sveto hasti*, i.e., Buddha himself, who is also described as "*Gajatama*," i.e., *Gajottama*, the most excellent elephant. As regards *Agikhamdha* (*Agniskandha*) Dr. Bhandarkar draws our attention to *Jataka* No 40 which refers to a blazing fire-pit created by Mara on the surface of which the *Bodhisattva* strode and gave a bowl to a hungry *Pachcheka Buddha* and extolled alms-giving. Hultzsck suggests that *Hasti* may refer to the vehicles of the four "*Maharajas*" (*lokapalas* or guardians of quarters). He takes *Agikhamdha* to refer to 'radiant beings of another world' while Jarl Charpentier (IHQ, 1933, 87) understands it to mean piles of (hell-)fire. The interpretation of Hultzsck accords better with the testimony of the commentary on the *Ramayana* (II. 63. 16) which explains *diviyath* as *vihishta devatadhishthitam*. The celestial elephant figures prominently in the Taravaloaka story of the *Hatha sarit-sagara* (Penzer, VIII. 131), and

Asoka at first utilised the existing administrative machinery for religious propaganda.¹ He commanded his Council (*Parishad*) to inculcate the *Dharma* on the subordinate officials styled *Yidas* and ordered the latter as well as the higher officials styled *lIdjulcas*, and *Pradesilcas* to inculcate the same while they set out for tour (*anasamyana*). The *Dharma* which they were to preach was explained thus : "An excellent thing is the hearkening to father and mother ;² an excellent thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmanas and ascetics ; excellent is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures ; excellent is small expense with small accumulation."

mountain of fire, *ibid* 50, 51 ; III. 6, 17 ; Cf. also *aggi-khando* in *Jataka*, VI 330, Coomaraswamy in B. C. Law, vol. I. 469 ; Note the *Sutta* referred to in Geiger, *Mahavathsa*, trans. pp. 85, 110.

The passage containing the words *Vimanadasana*, *Hastidasana*, etc., has been explained differently in *A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E.J. Rapson*, pp. 546 f. According to the interpretation that finds favour with some recent writers, the spectacles in question were exhibited not by Asoka, but by previous rulers to the accompaniment of the sound of drums. But thanks to Asoka "the sound of the *bheri* had become the sound of *dharma*," that is to say, instruction in *dharma* took the place of martial music that used to be heard on the occasion of pompous shows of edifying subjects in bygone times. What former kings could not accomplish by gaudy spectacles, was achieved by Asoka by the simple unostentatious teaching of the true Doctrine. The *bheri* was now used to announce the king's rescripts on morality,—cf, the Yerragudi copy of the Minor Rock Edict—*Rajuke anapitaviye bherina jdnapadain anapayisati rathikanam cha* (*Ind. Culture*, I, p. 310 ; IHQ, 1933, 117).

1 According to one view Asoka sent special missionaries styled *Vyutha* to expound his teaching. The interpretation of *Vyutha* as missionary was suggested by Senart and accepted by Smith (*Asoka*, Third Ed., p. 153). Dr. Bhandarkar takes *Vyutha* or *Vivutha* to mean "officials on tour." Hultzsch thinks that *Vyutha* refers to Asoka himself while he was on tour (p. 169, note 8). The word has also the sense of dawn, day-break, day, in other words, it has a chronological significance. Other interpretations are also suggested by scholars. The least plausible is the one offered by Dr. Barua (*D. R. Bhandarkar* volume, 369.) who finds in the expression reference to the copies of the particular proclamation sent forth from the capital.

2 Cf. *Sigalovada Suttanta* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, 173 ff).

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When he had been consecrated thirteen years, Asoka created the new officials called *Dharma-mahamatras* who were specially entrusted with the work of "*dhamrnadhi-thana*" and "*dhammavadhi*", i.e., the establishment and increase of Piety.

While his officers were busy preaching the new Gospel, the emperor himself did not remain idle. Already in his eleventh regnal year he had "started on the path" leading to *Sambodhi* (*ayaya Sathbodhim*)¹ and commenced the tours of Piety (*Dhanma-yata*) in the place of the old tours of pleasure (*Vihara-yata*). In the tours of Piety this was the practice—visiting ascetics and Brahmanas, with liberality to them; visiting elders, with largess of gold; visiting the people of the country or perhaps rural areas (*Janapada*) with instruction in the Law of Piety, and discussion of that Law. The memory of a pious tour in Asoka's twenty-first regnal year² (B. C. 219 according to Smith) is preserved by the Rummindei and Nigali Sagar epigraphs in the Nepalese Tarai. These records prove that Asoka visited the birth-place of Gautama and paid reverence to the *stupa* of Konakamana, one of the former Buddhas.³

(In 242 B.C., according to Dr. Smith, Asoka issued the Seven Pillar Edicts which contain, among other things, a review of the measures taken during his reign for the "promotion of religion, the teaching of moral duty".

1 Some scholars take *Sambodhi* to mean 'supreme knowledge*. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar contends that *Sambodhi* is equivalent to the Bodhi Tree or the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodhi Gaya. According to the *Divyavadana* (p. 393) Asoka visited Bodhi in the company of the *Sthavira* or Elder Upagupta (Hultzsch, CIIxliii).

2 Were these tours decennial?

3 He had enlarged the stupa of Konakamana six years earlier, but his personal presence on that occasion is by no means clear.

Benevolent Activity. Promotion of the Welfare of Man and Beast.

Asoka abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals, offensive *Samu/jas* and the massacre of living creatures to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the *vihara-yatras* or tours of pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations¹ restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals. Dr. Smith" points out that the prohibitions against animal slaughter in this edict coincide to a considerable extent with those recorded in the *Arthashastra*[^]

The emperor established healing arrangements in two kinds, namely, healing arrangements for men and healing arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also both for men and for beasts, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. Roots also and fruits,² wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. On the roads wells were dug, probably at intervals of 8 *kos*, flights of steps built for descending into the water, and banyan trees and mango groves planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

/Pillar Edict V I I refers to the employment of superior officers (*Mukhyas*) in the distribution of alms, both the emperor's own and those of the queens and princes. One of the Minor Pillar Edicts refers to the donations of the second Queen Karuvaki,³ mother of Tivara : "whatever gift has been given here by the second Queen—be it a mango-garden, or pleasure-grove (*drama*) or alms-house

1 *Dhatntna-niyama*, cf. Patanjali I, I, I.

2 Cf. reference to figs in Bindusara's correspondence with Antiochos.

3 Dr. Barua suggests the identification of this lady with Asandhimitta of the *Mahavathsa* and the *Sumangalavilasini* (*Indian Culture*, I, 123). The suggestion, though ingenious, is hardly convincing.

(*danagriha*) or aught else—is reckoned as proceeding from that queen."

Mention may also be made of remission of taxes by the emperor himself, *e.g.* in *Lumminigama*, and money-grants (*hirannapatividhana*) to old men. The people of *janapadas* (districts), doubtless including the *gramas*¹ (villages), were also sought to be benefited by the grant of autonomy and the establishment of uniformity of punishment and procedure (*dandasamata* and *vyavaharasamata*) as well as diffusion of moral instruction (*dhramanusasti*).

Religious Toleration and the Prevention of Schism in the Buddhist Church.

In Rock Edict XII the emperor declares that he "does reverence (*Puja*) to men of all sects (*Pasamdani*) whether ascetics (*Pavajitani*) or householders (*Oharastani*) by gifts and various forms of reverence". That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barabaf cave dedications in favour of the Ajivika ascetics, who were more closely connected with the Jainas than with the Buddhists.

The emperor only cared for the "growth of the essence (*Sara-Vadhi*) of the matter in sects". He says that "he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." Concord (or concourse, *Samavayo*) is praised by him as meritorious (*Samavayo eva sadhu*).

Just as Asoka tried to secure concord among the various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the

¹ References to *gramas* are found in the compounds *Lumminigama* and *gama-kapota* (Pillar Edict V).

Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist Council was convened at Pataliputra in the seventeenth year of his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy and making a compilation of the true Buddhist doctrine (*Saddhammasamgaha*). The Sarnath Edict and its variants may perhaps be regarded as embodying the resolution of this Council.¹

Atoka as a Builder.

The gift of cave dwellings to the Ajivika monks affords us 3 glimpse into another side of Asoka's activity. As late as the fifth century A.D., sojourners in Pataliputra were struck with wonder at the magnificence of the emperor's architectural achievements. Tradition credits him with the construction of a splendid palace besides numerous relic mounds, monasteries and temples. He is actually known to have enlarged the *stupa* of Konakamana, a 'former Buddha' and a predecessor of Sakyamuni. He also set up 'pillars of morality' *Dharma-stambhas*. Modern critics are eloquent in their praise of the polished surface of his columns and the fine workmanship of their crowning sculptures.²

Character of Asoka. His Success and Failure.

Asoka is one of the most interesting personalities in the history of India. He had the energy of a Chandragupta, the versatility of a Samudragupta and the catholicity of an Akbar. He was tireless in his exertion and unflagging in his zeal—all directed to the promotion of the spiritual and material welfare of his people whom he looked upon as his children. His illustrious grandfather

1 Smith, *Asoka*, third., ed. p. 55.

a For Asoka's achievements in the domain of art, see Smith, HFAIC, 13, 57 ff.; *Asoka*. pp. 107 ff. ; CHI, 618 ff : Havell, ARI, 104 ff., etc.

was accustomed to dispose of cases even when indulging in the luxury of a massage of the limbs. Similarly, Asoka used to listen to reports about the affairs of his people even while 'he was eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin and in the parks'. The great soldier who had brought under subjection a huge territory unconquered even by his ever victorious grandfather, could, at the same time, argue points of doctrine and discipline with a fraternity of erudite monks. The statesman who could pilot an empire through the storm and stress of a war that involved the death and deportation of hundreds of thousands of men was, at the same time, capable of organizing religious missions the sphere of whose activities embraced three continents, and transforming a local sect in the Ganges Valley into one of the great religions of the world. The man who penetrated into the jungles of the Nepalese Tarai to pay homage to the birth-place of the Buddhas, bore no ill-will towards the descendants of their Brahmana and Jaina opponents, and granted cave-dwellings to the adherents of a rival sect. The king who undertook tours with the object of granting largesses of gold to Brahmanas and *Sramanas*, admitted to office *Yavanas* in whose country there were neither Brahmanas nor *Sramanas*. He preached the virtues of concord and toleration in an age when religious feeling ran high and disruptive influences were at work within the fold of the Jaina and Buddhist churches. He preached non-violence when violence in war, religious ritual, royal pastime and festive gatherings was the order of the* day. He eschewed military conquest not after defeat but after victory and pursued a policy of patience and gentleness while still possessed of the resources of a mighty empire. The forbearance of this strong man was only matched by his truthfulness, and he describes in burning words

which no Kalinga patriot could have improved upon, the terrible misery that he had inflicted on a hapless province. The example of Dharmasoka, the pious king, exercised an ennobling influence on posterity. In the second century A.D. Queen Gautami Balasri takes pride in the fact that her son was "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy" (*Kitaparadhe pi satujane apanahisaruchi*). Even in the fifth century A.D., the rest-houses and free hospitals of Magadha excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners. The benefactions of Dharmasoka were a source of inspiration to royal personages as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty.

We have already seen that the political record of the great Maurya's early years was brilliant. His reign saw the final triumph of those centripetal forces that had been at work since the days of Bimbisara. The conquest of Kalinga completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha. The dream of a United Jambudvīpa was nearly realised.

But the policy of *Dhamma-vijaya* which he formulated after the Kalinga War was not likely to promote the cause for which a long line of able sovereigns from Bimbisara to Bindusara had lived and struggled. The statesman who turned civil administrators into religious propagandists, abolished hunting and jousts of arms, entrusted the fierce tribesmen on the North-West Frontier and in the wilds of the Deccan to the tender care of "superintendents of piety" and did not rest till the sound of the war-drum was completely hushed and the only sound that was heard was that of moral teaching, certainly pursued a policy at which Chandragupta Maurya would have looked askance. Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection

against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer. Magadha after the Kalinga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ikhnaton. The result was politically disastrous as will be shown in the next section. Asoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson,

According to Dr. Smith's chronology Asoka died in 232 B.C., after a reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the great Emperor breathed his last at Taxila.¹

1 *The Oxford History of India*, p. 116. I cannot vouch for the authenticity of this tradition.

SECTION II. THE LATER MAURYAS AND THE* DECLINE OF THEIR POWER.

\ The Magadha Empire under Asoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. But the withdrawal of the strong arm of Piyadasi was perhaps the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand." The provinces fell off one by one. Foreign barbarians began to pour across the north-western gates of the empire, and a time came when the proud monarchs of Pataliputra and Rajagriha had to bend their knees before the despised provincials of 'Andhra' and Kalinga.

Unfortunately, no Megasthenes or Kautilya has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Asoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist works.

Asoka had many children. In Pillar Edict VII, he pays attention to the distribution of alms made by all his children, and in particular to those made by the "Princes, sons of the Queens". It is to this last category that belonged some of the *Kumaras* who represented the Imperial authority at Takshasila, Ujjayini, and Tosali. **Tivara**¹ the son of queen Karuvaki, the only prince actually named in the inscriptions, does not appear to have mounted the imperial throne. Three other sons, namely, Mahendii, Runala (Dharma-vivardhana, Suyasa?), and **Jalauka** are mentioned in literature. It is, however, **uncertain whether Mahendra was a son of Asoka or his brother.**

1 For Tivara as a Magadhan name see *the Book of Kindred Sayings, It*, pp. 128-30.

The *Vayu Purana* says that after Asoka's death his son **Kunftia** reigned for eight years. Kunala's son and successor was Bandhupalita, and Bandhupalita's *dayada* or heir was Indrapalita. After Indrapalita came Devavarman, Satadhanus and Brihadratha.

The *Matsya Purana* gives the following list of Asoka's successor:—Dasaratha, Samprati, Satadhanvan and Brihadratha.

The *Vishnu Purana* furnishes the following names :—Suyasas, Dasaratha, Sangata, Salisuka, Somasarman Satadhanvan and Brihadratha.

The *Divyavadana*¹ has the following list :—Sampadi, Vrihaspati, Vrishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra.

Jaina writers refer to a Maurya King- of Rajagriha, named Balabhadra.²

The *Rajatarahgini* mentions **Jalauka** as the successor of Asoka in Kasmira, while Taranatha mentions another successor Virasena who ruled in Gandhara and was, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably the predecessor of **Subhagasena** of Polybius.³

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence of Kunala is established by the combined testimony of the Puranio and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Sampadi) as well as the evidence of Hemachandra and Jinaprabhasuri, the well-known Jaina writers. The names Dharma-vivardhana occurring in the *Divyavadana* and the Records of Fa Hien and Suyasas found in the *Vishnu* and the *Bhagavata Puranas* were probably *birudas* or epithets of this prince. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunala to the imperial

1 P. 433.

2 Jacobi, *Introduction to the Kaipasutra of Bhadrabahu*, 1879, p. 9.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 362 ; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 512.

throne. He is reputed to have been blind. His position was, therefore, probably like that of Dhritarashtra of the Great Epic and, though nominally regarded as the sovereign, he was physically unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Asoka.

Kunala's son was Bandhupalita according to the *Vayu Parana*, Sampadi (Samprati) according to the *Bivyavadana* and the *Pataliputrakalpa* of Jinaprabhasuri,¹ and Vigatasoka according to Taranatha.² Either these princes were identical or they were brothers. If the latter view be correct then Bandhupalita may have been identical with **Dasaratha** whose reality is established by the brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings at the Nagarjuni Hills which he bestowed upon the *Ajivikas*. Dasaratha, who receives the epithet "*devanampiya*" in the inscriptions, was a grandson of Asoka according to the *Matsya* and *Vishnu Puranas*, and the predecessor of Samprati (variant Sangata) according to the same authorities.

Indrapalita must be identified with **Samprati** or Salisuka according as we identify Bandhupalita with Dasaratha or Samprati. "In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records do of Asoka." The *Pataliputrakalpa* of Jinaprabhasuri³ says, "in Pataliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunala, lord of Bharata with its three continents (*trikhandam Bliarata-kshetram Jinayatanamanditam*), the great Arhanta who established Viharas for Sramanas even in non-Aryan countries."

1 See also *PariHshtaparvan*, IX, 51-53.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, 362.

3 *Bomb. Gas. I. i*, 6-15. *Parisishta*, XI. 65,

Dr. Smith shows good grounds for believing that the dominions of Samprati included Avanti and Western India.¹ In his *Atoka*² he admits that the hypothesis that Asoka left two grandsons, of whom one (Dasaratha) succeeded him in his eastern and the other (Samprati) in his western dominions, is little more than a guess.³ The Jaina writers represent Samprati as ruling over Pataliputra as well as Ujjayini. His name is mentioned in the Puranic list of Asoka's *Magadhan* successors.

The existence of Salisuka is proved not only by the testimony of the *Vishnu Purana* but also by that of the *Gargi Samhita*⁴ and the *Vayu* manuscript referred to by Pargiter. He may have been identical with Vrihaspati, son of Samprati, according to the *Divyavadana*, unless Vrihaspati represented a different branch of the imperial family.

Devavarman and Somasarman are variant readings of the same name. The same is the case with Satadhanus⁵ and Satadhanvan. It is not easy to identify Vrishasena and Pushyadharman; they may be merely *birudas* or secondary names of Devavarman and Satadhanvan. But the possibility that they represent a distinct branch of the Maurya line is not entirely excluded.

1 *Paris'ishtaparvan*, xi. 23. *itascha Samprati nripo yayavUjjayim purim*,

2 Third ed. p. 70.

3 Curiously enough, Prof. Dhruva maintains in spite of this and the clear evidence of jaina literature that "historians say that on the death of Kunala there was a partition of the Maurya Empire between his two sons Dasaratha and Samprati (JBORS, 1930,30)." Prof. Dhruva's emendations of the text of the *Yugapurana* are largely conjectural and of little probative value.

4 Kern's *Brihatsamhita*, p. 37. The *Gargi Sathhita* says, "There will be salisuka, a wicked quarrelsome king. Unrighteous, although theorising on righteousness, *dhartnavadi adharmikah* (sic) he cruelly oppresses his country".

5 For an interesting account of a King named Satadhanu see *Vishnu Purana* I I I. 18. 51; *Bhag* I I. 8. 44. His identity is, however, uncertain,

The last of the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha, **Brihadratha**, is mentioned not only in the *Puranas* but also in Sana's *Harsha-oharita*. He was crushed by his general Pushyamitra who is perhaps wrongly described by the *Divyamdana* as of Maurya descent. A Maurya minister is said to have been imprisoned by the regicide family.

•Petty Maurya kings continued to rule in Western India as well as Magadha long after the extinction of the Imperial line. King Dhavala of the Maurya dynasty is referred to in the Kanaswa inscription of A. D. 738.¹ Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar identifies him with Dhavalappadeva, the overlord of Dhanika, mentioned in the Dabok (Mewar) inscription of *cir.* A. D. 725.² Ma'urya chiefs of the Konkan and Khandesh are referred to in Early Chalukya • and Yadava epigraphs.³ A Maurya ruler of Magadha named Purnavarman is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

There can be no doubt that during the sovereignty of the later Mauryas the Magadha Empire experienced a gradual decay. Asoka died in or about the year 232 B. C. Within a quarter of a century after his death a Greek army crossed the Hindukush which was the Maurya frontier in the days of Ohandragupta and his grandson. The *Yuga Purdna* section of the *Gtirgi Samhitd* bears testimony to the **decline of the Maurya power** in the *Madhyadesa* **after the reign of Sdlisuka :**

1 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 163; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. Part 2, p. 284. Kanaswa is in the Kotah state, Rajputana. It is not unlikely that Dhavala was a descendant of some princely Viceroy of Ujjain. See also reference to the Mauryas in the Navasarika grant Fleet, *DKD*, 375.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 11. But see *Ep.* XX. 122. The date A. D. 725 is not accepted by other scholars who prefer A. D. 813.

3 *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. Part 2. pp. 283, 284. Buhler suggests (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 136) that these Maurya chieftains of the Konkan were probably descendants of the princely viceroy of the Deccan. He also draw3 our attention to the family name 'More' which is met with in the Mahratta country, and is apparently a corruption of 'Maurya.'

*Tatah Saketam akramya
 Panchalan Mathuramstatha
 Yavana dushtavikrtintah
 prapsyanti Kusumadhvajam
 tatah Pnshpapure prapte
 kardame prathite hits
 akula vishayah sarve
 bhavishyanti na samsayah. ¹*

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Saketa (in Oudh), the Panchala country and Mathura, will reach (or take) Kusumadhvaja. Pushpapura (Pataliputra) being reached....all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

Where was now the power that had expelled the prefects of Alexander and hurled back the battalions of Seleukos ?

According to Maharnahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri² a **reaction promoted by the Brahmatjas** had sapped the foundations of the Maurya authority and dismembered the empire.

Among the causes of the alienation of the Brahmarias the foremost place is given to Asoka's Edict against animal sacrifices. The Edict, in Pandit Sastrf's opinion, was certainly directed against the Brahmanas as a class and was specially offensive because it was promulgated by a *Sudra* ruler. As to the first point we should remember that prohibition of animal sacrifices did not necessarily imply hostility towards Brahmarias. Long before Asoka Brahmana sages whose teachings have found a place in the Holy *Sruti*, the most sacred literature of the Brahmanas, declared themselves in no uncertain terms against sacrifices, and in favour of *Ahimsa* (non-violence).

1 Kern. *Brihat Samhita*. p. 37.

2 JASB. 1910, pp. 259 ff,

In the *Mundaka Upanishad*¹ we have the following *Sloka*:—

*Plava hyete adr̥fya yajnarapd
ashtadasoktam avaram yeshu karma
etaehchhreyo ye'bhinandanti mudha
jaramrityum te punareviipi yanti.*

"Frail, in trutli are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Pools, who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death." In the *Ghhandogya Upanishad*² Ghora Afigirasa lays great stress on *Ahimsa*.

As to the second statement we should remember that tradition is not unanimous in representing the Mauryas as of *Sudra* extraction. Certain *Puranic* texts assert no doubt, that after Mahapadma there will be kings of *Sudra* origin.³ But this statement cannot be taken to mean that *all* the post-Mahapadman kings were *Slidras*, as in that case the. Suiigas and the Kanvas also will have to be classed as *Sudras*.⁴ The *Mudraralcshasa*, the evidence of which is cited to prove that Chandragupta was a *Sudra*,⁵ is a late work, and its evidence is contradicted by

1 1. 2, 7 ; S. B. E. *The Upanishds*, pt I I . p. 31.

2 III. 17. 4.

3 *Tatah prabhritirajano bhavishyah Sudrayonayah*, The reading in other texts is, however, *Tata nripa bhavishyanti Sudraprayastvadharmikah* (DKA, 25).

4 Among real *Sudra* (or partially *Sudra*) kings may be included the Nandas, a few rulers mentioned in the *Garuda Purana* (Ch. 145. 4) and the *Siy'u-ki* of Hiuen Tsang (Watters, I. 322; II. 252), and certain princes of Western India and the Indus Valley mentioned on pp. 54-55 of Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali age*.

5 In the play Chandragupta is styled '*Nandanvaya*' and *Vrishala*. As to the former appellation we should note that the play describes Nanda as *abhijana*. Further it calls Chandragupta *Mauryaputra*, and though commentators try to reconcile the epithets *Nandanvaya* and *Mauryaputra*, we learn from early Buddhist writers that Maurya is not a metonymic of Chandragupta or of his father, but the designation of an old clan. The Greeks, too, refer to a tribe called Morieis (Weber I A. ii. (1873) p 148; Max Muller, *Sans. Lit.*, 280 ; Cunn. *JASB*, XXIII, 680). As to the epithet *Vrishala* it should be remembered

earlier authorities. As already pointed out above¹ the *Mahaparinibbana sutta* represents the Moriyas (Mauryas) as belonging to the *Ksliatriya* caste. The *Mahavarhsa*² refers to the Moriyas as a noble (*ksliatriya*) clan and represents Chandragupta as a scion of this clan. In the *Divyavadana*³ Bindusara, son of Chandragupta, said to a girl, "Tvam Napini aharh Raja Ksliatriya Murdhabliisliiktah kathammaya sardham samagamobhavishyati ?" Thou art a barber girl, I am a consecrated *ksliatriya* (king). How can I unite myself with thee ?" In the same work⁴ Asoka says to one of his queens (T ishyarakshita), "Devi aharh Kshatriyah Icatham palandwh paribhakshayami ?" 'Queen, I am a *ksliatriya*, how can I take onion ?' In a Mysore inscription Chandragupta is described as "an abode of the usages of eminent kshatriyas."⁵ The *Kautiliya*'s preference of an "*abhijata*" king seems also to suggest that the sovereign of the reputed author was born of a noble family.⁶

Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices Pandit Sastri goes on to say : "this was followed by

that a Puranic text applies it even to the founder of the so-called Andhra dynasty (Pargiter, DKA., 38). But we learn from contemporary epigraphs that the dynasty regarded itself as '*Bamhana*.' According to Manu (X.43) the epithet *Vrishala* could be applied to degraded *Kshatriyas* (cf. IHQ., 1930, 271 ff. Cf. also Mbh. XII. 90, 15ff., "The Blessed *Dharma* is *Vrishala*. He who deals with it in such a way that it ceases to be of any use, i.e., transgresses it, is called a *Vrishala*, *Vrishohi Bhagavan Dharmo yastasya kurute hyalam*). The Mauryas by their Greek connection and Jaina and Buddhist leanings certainly deviated from the *Dharma* as understood by the great Brahmana law-givers. Attention may be invited in this connection to the epithet *Vasalaka* (*Vrishala*) applied by Brahmanas to the Buddha himself (Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, 264).

1 p. 267 *supra*.

2 Geiger's Translation, p. 27.

3 P. 370.

4 P. 409.

5 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 10.

6 Cf. *Arthashastra*, p. 326. See also *supra*, 266 f. (the reign of Chandragupta).

another edict in which Asoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brahmanas who were regarded as *Bhudevas* or gods on earth had been shown up by him."

The original passage referred to above runs thus :—

Y (i)-imaya kalaya Jambudipasi amisa deva husn te dani m (i) s-kata.

Pandit Sastri followed the interpretation of Senart. But Sylvain Levi¹ has shown that the word *amisa* cannot stand for Sanskrit *amrisha*, for in the Bhabru edict we find *Musa* and not *Misa* for Sanskrit *mrisha* (falsely or false). The recently discovered Maski version reads *misibhuta* for *misaihlcata*, showing that the original form was *miiribhnta*. It will be grammatically incorrect to form *misibhuta* from Sanskrit *mrisha*. The word *mtira* means mixed. And *misribhnta* means "made to mix" or made to associate. The meaning of the entire passage is "during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated with them."² There is thus no question of "showing up" anybody.³

Pandit Sastri adds that the appointment by Asoka of *Dliarma-mahamatras*, i.e., of superintendents of morals,

¹ Hultzsch, *Asoka*, 168.

² Cf. *Apastamba Dharmasutra*, II. 7. 16. 1 : "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell with the gods and Brahma in heaven." My attention was first drawn to this passage by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Cf. also *Harivamsa* (III. 32. 1) : '*Devatdnath ntanushyham sahasasobhavattada*' ; and SBE, XXXIV, p. 222-3 (Sankara's Com. on the *Vedantasutras*): "The men of ancient times, in consequence of their eminent religious merit, conversed with the gods face to face. *Smriti* also declares that 'from the reading of the *Veda* there results intercourse with the favourite divinity.' " •

³ The true import of the passage was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 170.

was a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brahmanas. It is hardly correct to represent the *Dharmamahamatras* as mere superintendents of morals when their duties consisted in the establishment of the Law of Piety (which included liberality to Brahmanas), the promotion of the welfare of the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Ristikas, Brahmanas and others, revision of sentences of imprisonment or execution, the supervision of the family establishments of the Emperor's brothers and other relatives, and the administration of alms-giving.¹ These duties were not essentially those of a mere superintendent of morals, and were not a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brahmanas. Moreover, there is nothing to show that the *Dharmamahamatras* were wholly recruited from non-Brahmanas.

Our attention is next drawn to the passage where Asoka insists upon his officers strictly observing the principles of *Danda-samata* and *Vyavahara-samata*. Pandit Sastri takes the expressions to mean 'equality of punishment' and 'equality in lawsuits'⁵ irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order was very offensive to the Brahmanas who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.

The passage containing the expressions *Danda-samata* and *Vyavahara-samata* should not be divorced from its context and interpreted as if it were an isolated ukase. We quote the passage with the context below :—

"To my *Rajukas* set over many hundred thousands of people I have granted independence (or discretion) in the award of honours and penalties. But as it is desirable that there should be uniformity in judicial procedure

(*Vyavahara-sdmata*) and uniformity in penalties (*Danda-samata*). from this time forward my rule is this—"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me."

It is clear from the extract quoted above that the order regarding *Vyavahara-samata* and *Danda-samata* is to be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation which the Emperor introduced. Asoka allowed discretion to the *Bdjuhas* in the award of penalties, but he did not like that the *Danda* and *Vyavahara* prevalent within the jurisdiction of one *Bdjuha* should be entirely different from those prevailing within the jurisdiction of others.¹ He wanted to maintain some uniformity (*samata*) both in *Danda* (penalties) as well as in *Vyavahara* (legal procedure). As an instance he refers to the rule about the granting of a respite of three days to condemned men. The *Samata* which he enforced involved a curtailment of the autonomy of the *Bdjuhas* and did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brahmanas from capital punishment.

But were the Brahmanas really immune under all circumstances from capital punishment in ancient India ? "We learn from the *Pancliavimsa Brahmana*² that a *Pwrohita* (priest) might be punished with death for treachery to his master. The *Kautttiya*? tells us that a Brahmana guilty of treason was to be drowned. Readers of the *Mahabharata* are familiar with the stories of the punishments inflicted on Mandavya and Likhita.⁴ The life of a Brahmana was not so sacrosanct in ancient as in mediaeval and modern India. We learn from the

1 I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr. S. N. Majumdar.

2 *Vedic Index*, II. p. 84. The story of Kutsa and his chaplain, Caland, *Parich. Br.*, XIV. 6.8 ; cf. *Brihadaranyaka Up.*, III, 9. 26.

3 P. 229.

4 *Adi*, 107 **and Santi**, 23, 36.

Aitareya Bralmana that king Harischandra of the Ikshvaku family did not scruple to offer a Brahmana boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Against the surmises regarding the anti-Brahmanical policy of Asoka we have the positive evidence of some of his inscriptions which proves the Emperor's solicitude for the well-being of the Brahmanas. Thus in Rock Edict III he inculcates liberality to Brahmanas. In Edict IV he speaks with disapproval of unseemly behaviour towards the same class. In Edict V he refers to the employment of *Dharma-mahdmatras* to promote the welfare and happiness of the Brahmanas.

Pandit Sastri says further that as soon as the strong hand of Asoka was removed the Brahmanas seemed to have stood against his successors. We have no evidence of any such conflict between the children of Asoka and the Brahmanas. On the other hand, if the Brahmana historian of Kasmira is to be believed, the relations between Jalauka, one of the sons and successors of Asoka, and the Brahmanical Hindus were entirely friendly.¹

In conclusion Pandit Sastri refers to the assassination of the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha by Pushyamitra Suriga and says, "We clearly see the hands of the

1 Note also the employment of Brahmana officers, *e.g.*, Pushyamitra, by the later Mauryas. Kalhana has nothing but praise for Asoka. Another Brahmana writer, Bana, applies the epithet *anarya* (ignoble) not to the Maurya kings, but to the Brahmana general who overthrew the last of them. Visakhadatta compares Chandragupta with the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu. Certain epic and Puranic writers, it is true, refer to the Mauryas as *asuras*, and the *Gargi-Samhita* draws pointed attention to the oppressive rule of some of the later members of the family. But there is little to suggest that the Brahmanas were special victims of Maurya tyranny. On the contrary, members of the class were freely admitted to high office as evidenced by the case of Pushyamitra. The epithet *asura* or *sura-dvish* was applied not only to the Mauryas but to all persons 'beguiled by the Buddha'. The testimony of the Puranas in this respect is contradicted by that of contemporary epigraphs which refer to Asoka and **the** only one among his imperial descendants who has left any epigraphic record as *devanampiya*, that is, the beloved (and not the enemy) of the gods.

Brahmanas in the great revolution." But the Buddhist remains at Bharhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Sungas" do not bear out the theory which represents them as the leaders of a militant Brahmanism. Are inferences deduced from uncorroborated writings of late authors like the compiler of the *Divyavadana* and perhaps Taranatha, to be preferred to the clear testimony of contemporary monuments ? Even admitting that Pushyamisra was a militant Brahmanist we fail to see how the

decay and dismemberment of the Maurya empire can be attributed primarily to him or to his Brahmanist followers. The empire was a shrivelled and attenuated carcase long before Pushyamitra's *coup d'etat* of c. 187 B.C. We learn from the *Rajatarahgini* that immediately after the death of Asoka one of his own sons, **Jalauka**, made himself independent in Kasmira and conquered the plains including Kanauj. If Taranatha is to be believed another prince, Virasena, apparently wrested Gandhara from the hands of the feeble successor of the great Maurya at Pataliputra. The virtual secession of Vidarbha or Berar is vouched for by the *Malavihagnimitram* of Kalidasa. The loss of the northern provinces is confirmed by Greek evidence. We learn from Polybius that about 206 B.C., there ruled over them a king named Sophagasenus (**Subhagasena**, probably a successor of Virasena). We quote the passage referring to the king below :—

"He (Antiochos the Great) crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India ; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians ; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androstenes of Oyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this **king** had agreed to hand **over** to him."

It will be seen that Subhagasena was a king and not a petty chief of the Kabul valley as Dr. Smith would have us believe. He is called "king of the Indians," a title which was applied by the classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrios. There is nothing in the account of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary, the statement that Antiochos "renewed his friendship (or alliance) with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians" proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established between them. The renewal of friendship on the part of the Greek king, and the surrender of elephants on the part of his Indian brother, only remind us of the relations subsisting between Chandragupta and Seleukos. Further the expression "renewal of friendship" seems to suggest that Subhagasena had had previous dealings with Antiochos. Consequently "he must have come to the throne sometime before 206 B.C. The existence of an independent kingdom in the north-west before 206 B.C. shows that the Maurya Empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Pushyamitra.

We have seen that the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire to a Brahmanical revolution led by Pushyamitra does not bear scrutiny. Was the Maurya disruption due primarily to the Greek invasion? The earliest Greek invasion after Asoka, that of Antiochos the Great, took place about 206 B.C., and we have seen that the combined testimony of Kalhana and Polybius leaves no room for doubt that the dissolution of the empire began long before the raid of the Hellenistic monarch.

What then were the primary causes of the disintegration of the mighty empire? There are good grounds

for believing that the government of the outlying provinces by the imperial officials was oppressive. Already in the time of Bindusara ministerial oppression had goaded the people of Taxila to open rebellion. The *Divyavddna* says¹

"*Atlia Rajno Vindusarasya Takshasild ndma nagaram viruddham. Tatra Rajna Vindusdren Asoko visarjitah... yavat Kumdrasolbaturahgena balakdyena Takshasilam gatah, srutvd Takslasila nivdsinah paurdh....pratyudgamy cha kathayanti 'na vayam Kumarasya viruddhah napi Rajno Vindusarasya api tu dushtmdtyd asmdkam paribJiavarh kurvanti.' "*

"Now Taxila a city of king Bindusara's revolted. The king Bindusara despatched Asoka there..while the prince was nearing Taxila with the fourfold army, the resident *Pauras* (citizens of Taxila), on hearing of it...came out to meet him and said :—'We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusara. But these wicked ministers insult us.'"

Taxila again revolted during the reign of Asoka and the cause was again the tyranny of the ministers. *Rajnosokasy-ottarapathe Takshasild nagaram viruddham.,."*². Prince Kunala was deputed to the government of the city. When the prince went there the people said "*na vayam Kumarasya viruddha na rajno'-sokasy-api tu dushtatmdno' matya dgatydsmdkam apamdnam kurvanti.*"

The *Divydvaddna* is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression to which it refers, is affirmed by Asoka himself in the *Kaliiga Edicts*. Addressing the High officers (*Mahdmatras*) in charge of Tosali he says : "All men are my children ; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind

1 P. 371.

2 *Divyavadana*, 407f.

of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole., See then to this, for the principle of government is well-established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved....Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard.... The restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life...From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. In the same way—from Taxila."¹

From the concluding words of the, Edict it appears that official maladministration was not confined to the province of Kalinga. The state of affairs at Ujjain and Taxila was similar. It is thus clear that the loyalty of the provincials was being slowly undermined by ministerial oppression long before Pushyamitra's *coup d'état* of c. 187 B.C.² and the Greek invasion of c. 206 B.C. Asoka no doubt did his best to check the evil, but he was ill served by his officers. It is significant that the provincials of the north-west—the very people who complained of the oppression of the *dushtamatyas* as early as the reign of Bindusara, were among the first to break away from the Maurya empire.

1 Smith, *Asoka*, Third Ed., pp. 194-96.

2 The Jaina date 313-108=205 B.C. for Pushyamitra's accession may refer to the assumption of power by Pushyamitra in Avanti, while the date c. 187 B.C. refers to the dynastic revolution in Magadha.

The Magadhan successors of Asoka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption.¹ The martial ardour of imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battle-fields of Kalinga. Asoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of *Dhamma-vijaya* which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire.² He had called upon his sons and even great-grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and forbearance as far as possible. These latter had heard more of *Dhamma-ghosha* than of *Bheri-ghosha*. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pataliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chanakya.

1 On the contrary, if the *Gargi Samhita* is to be believed, one of his successors, namely Salisuka, actually quickened the pace by his tyranny—*Sarashtra mardate ghoram dharmavadiadharmikah* (sic). Some of Asoka's descendants (e.g., Jalauka) set up independent sovereignties, and were thus directly responsible for the dismemberment of the empire.

2 Cf. the events narrated on page 353 f ante, and "Garga's" attack on the policy of so-called Dharmavijaya, "conquest conformable to Dharma" attributed to Salisuka, which, in the opinion of the present writer, is hard to dissociate from *Dhamma-Vijaya* as promulgated by Asoka himself and recommended for adoption by his "sons and even great-grandsons." Attention to the passage in the *Gargi Samhita* was also drawn by Jayaswal (JBORS, IV, 261)—*sthapayishyati tnohatma vijayam riama dhamikam*, "the fool will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma." The expression *tnohatma* reminds one of the later meaning of '*Devanathpiya*' (fool, idiot like a brute, beast, Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 510). An eminent writer takes Vijaya to be a proper name, the appellation of the elder brother of Salisuka, whom the latter established on the throne. But it is not clear why the enthronement of a righteous (*dharmika*) man should earn for the person responsible for the action the opprobrious epithet *mohatma*. Besides, Vijaya does not occur as a royal name in any of the lists of later Maury as known to tradition. (For reference to divergent views see *Cal. Rev.*, Feb. 1943, p. 123 ff; Feb. 1946 p. 79 ff). As pointed out by Dr. Sircar, conjectural emendations of the text of the *Gargi Samhita* in support of a particular theory do not carry conviction (*Cal. Rev.* 1943, April, 39ff).

(Contd.)

The disintegration which set in before 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the *Yavanas* referred to in the *Gargi Samhita* and the *Mahabhashya* of Patalijali. The final *coup de grace* was given by Pushyamitra,

The royal hunt and jousts of arms in *Samajas* were abolished. The army seems to have been practically inactive during the last 29 years of Asoka's reign as the emperor himself declares with a feeling of exultation that 'the sound of the *bheri* had become the sound of the True Law, *Dharma*'. The Chinese *Hou Hanshu* (quoted by S. Konow, CII, Vol. II, p. lxvii) testifies to the fact that people of India "practise the religion of the Buddha ; it has become a habit with them, not to kill and not to fight". The ease with which general Pushyamitra overthrew his king, in the very sight of the army, shows that unlike the earlier kings of the dynasty who took the field in person, the last of the Mauryas lost touch with his fighting forces, and ceased to command their affection. The largesses of gold lavished on the religious must also have crippled the financial resources of the empire. The system of autonomous Rajukas instituted by Asoka must have let loose centrifugal forces that his successors were unable to check.



CHAPTER VI. THE SUNGA (?) EMPIRE AND THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

SECTION I. THE REIGN OF PUSHYAMITBA.

*Satatam kampayamasa Yavananeka eva yah
balapawushasampannan kritastranamitaujasah
yathasuran Kalakeyan devo vajradharastatha.*
—*Mahabharata*.¹

*Audbhijjo bhavitd kaschit senanih Kdsyapo dvijah
asvamedham Kaliyuge punah pratyaharishyati.*
—*Harivamsa*.²

The Mauryas had done much for Indian unity by bringing the greater part of the country under "one umbrella," by defending it against the generals of Alexander and Seleukos, by establishing a uniform system of administration, by using *Prakrit* for official purposes throughout the length and breadth of the empire and attempting to knit together the different sections of its composite population by the strong tie of a common *Dharma*. With the fall of the dynasty Indian history for the time being loses its unity. The command of one single political authority is no longer obeyed from the snowy heights of the Hindukush to the verdant plains of Bengal and the Upper Carnatic. Hordes of outlanders pour through the north-western gates of the country and establish aggressive monarchies in Gandhara, Western Malwa and neighbouring regions. The Palrjab is seized by foreigners and the Deccan by local dynasts. The political connection of the *Madhyadesa* with the valleys

¹ II. 4. 23.

² III. 2. 40.

of the Indus and the Grodavari is temporarily snapped, and the splendour of the Magadhan metropolis is dimmed by the rising glory of Sakala, Vidisa, Pratishthana and other cities. Brahmanism gains ground in the Ganges valley and the Deccan, while Jainism flourishes in Orissa. The sects of the *Mahesvaras* and the *Bhagavatas* become powers to reckon with. The study of Sanskrit receives an impetus at the hands of the grammarians of the Madhyadesa, while Prakrit literature enjoys the patronage of the courts of Pratishthana and Kuntala in Southern India.

Brihadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, was, according to the *Puranas* and the *Harsha-charita*, assassinated by his general, Pushyamitra, who usurped the throne, and founded a new line of kings.

The origin of the usurping family is wrapped up in obscurity. According to the *Divyavadana* Pushyamitra was lineally descended from the Mauryas. The *Malavikagnimitram*, on the other hand, makes Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, a scion of the **fiimbika** family,¹ while the *Puranas*, and apparently the *Harsha-Charita*² represent

1 In the *Malavikagnitratn* (Act IV. Verse 14 ; Tawney's translation, p. 69) Agnimitra claims to belong to the Baimbika-kula. A king named Bimbaki is mentioned in *The Ocean of Story*, Penzer I, 112, 119. Mr. H. A. Shah suggests (*Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, p. 379) that the Baimbikas were connected with the family of Bimbissara. It is more probable that the epithet 'Baimbika' (in the passage *dakshinyam nama bimbosthi Baimbikanam kulavratam*) is connected with *bimbika*, a kind of plant (IC, 1938, Jan. 365) and also perhaps with the river Bimbika mentioned in the Bharhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 8). Cf. *Padma*, *Bhumikhand* 90, 24 ; Baimbaki in Patanjali, IV, 1. 97. In the *Harivamsa* (*Bhavishya*, II. 40) the Brahmana *Senani* who is to restore the *Asvattheda* in the Kali yuga is represented as an *Andbhijja*. 'Plant-born', and a Kasyapa. Jayaswal identifies him with Pushyamitra. Curiously enough, the *Baudhayana Sruta Sutra* (ed. Caland, Vol. III, p. 449) represents the *Baimbakayah* as Kasyapas.

2 It is, however, to be noted that the *Harsha-charita* never applies the designation Sunga to Pushyamitra himself, but only to one of the latest kings in the Puranic list. The *Puranas* may have combined the Baimbikas and Gungas under the common name of Sunga.

these kings as **Sungas**. One writer suggests that the Sungas whose names ended in *Mitm* were Iranians, worshippers of Mithra (the Sun).¹ Others, regard them as Indian Brahmanas. Curiously enough, Panini² connects the Suiigas with the well-known Brahmana family of the Blmradvajas. Saungiputra, "son of a female descendant of Sunga," is the name of a teacher in the *Briliadaranyaka Upanishad*.³ Saungayani, "descendant of Saunga" is the name of a teacher in the *Vamsa Bralmaya*. Macdonell and Keith point out that the Suiigas are known as teachers in the *Ahalayana Srauta Sutra*.⁴ In view of the conflicting statements in the *Malavikdgnimitram*, the *Purayas*, etc., it is difficult to say whether Pushyamitra and his known descendants (down to Vasumitra) were Sungas of the Bharadvaja Ootra or Baimbikas of Kasyapa lineage. The historic "Sungas" of the time of Dhanabhfiti are assigned by competent scholars, to the period B.C. 100-75. This accords with the testimony of the *Harsha-charita* which, while denying this dynastic epithet to Pushyamitra, applies it to the latest kings of the Puranic list, the immediate predecessors of Vasudeva Kanva.

It is not known for certain when and why the family of Pushyamitra, like the Kadambas of a later date, exchanged the quill for the sword. There is no reason to think that Asoka tyrannised over the Brahmanas and that his oppression forced them to engage in non-priestly pursuits. Brahmana *Senapatis* were by no means rare in

1 JASB, 1912, 287. Cf. 1910. 260.

2 In *Sutra* IV, 1, 117. Also *Kramadisvara*, 763.

3 VI. 4. 31.

4 XII. 13. 5, etc. The *Vamsa Brahmana* seems to associate the Sungas with the Madra country. *Ved. Index*, II, p. 123. For Taranatha's reference to Pushyamitra, see JBORS, IV, pt. 3, 258. For Bharadvajas as champions of autocracy and of ministerial usurpation, see *Kautiliya*, 31, 316.

ancient India.¹ The fact that officers of this class found employment under the Later Mauryas proves conclusively that the latter could not have pursued an anti-Brahmanic policy.

The **Dominions of Pushyamitra** extended to the river Narmada, and included the cities of Pataliputra, Ayodhya, Vidisa, and, if the author of the *Divyavadana* and Taranatha are to be believed, Jalandhara and Sakala.² It appears from the *Divyavadana*,³ that the Emperor himself continued to reside in Pataliputra. The *Malavikagnimitram* tells us that Vidisa (Besnagar in Eastern Malwa) was governed by Prince Agnimitra, probably as his father's viceroy (*Goptri*).⁴ Another viceroy, also a relation of the emperor, may have governed Kosala.⁵ Agnimitra's queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Vlrasena. He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmada (*Atthi devie vannavaro*

1 Cf. the cases of Drona. Kripa and Asvatthaman in the *Mahabharata*, of Ravidava in the *Indian Antiquary*, VIII. 20, of Kholesvara, the commander of Yadava kings, and of Somesvara, the Brahmana general of the Pala kings.

2 Jaina writers, e.g., Merutunga, include Avanti within the dominions of Pushyamitra. This province was lost to the Satavahanas, and Sakala to the Greeks.

3 P. 434.

4 *Malavikagnimitram*, Act V, pp. 370, 391 of G. Vidyanidhi's ed. esp. verse 20. *Sampadyate na khalu Goptari na Agnimitre*.

5 The possible existence of this viceroyalty is disclosed by an inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhya, which records the erection of a "ketana" (abode) by a *Kosaladhipa* who was the sixth (brother, son or descendant ?) of *Senapati* Pushyamitra, the performer of two horse-sacrifices (*Nagari Pracharint Patrika*, *Vaisakha*, Sam. 1981 ; JBORS, X (1924) 203 ; XIII (1927) facing 247. *Mod. Review*, 1924, October, p. 431 ; *IHQ*, 1929, 602f. ; *Ep. Ind.* XX. 54ff.). It is interesting to note that the title, 'Senapati' clung to the *deva* (king) Pushyamitra even after the performance of the *Asvamedha*. Cf. the epithet *Vahinipati* applied to king Virata in the *Mahabharata* and the title *Yavuga* applied to Kushan emperors besides other epithets. Cf. also the style *Maharaja Mahasenapati* in CII., Vol. 3, p. 252, and the title *Mahamandaleivara* applied to Bijjala and others even after the assumption of the full royal style (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I I . ii. 474ff).

bhada Viraseno nama, so bltattina antav (p) aladugge Nammadatire¹ thavido).

Affairs in the Deccan.

It appears from the *Malavikagnimitram* that the foundation of the dynasty of Pushyamitra almost synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, viz., **Vidarbha** or Berar. Agnimitra's *Amatya* (Minister) refers to the kingdom, as "*achiradhishtitha*" "(established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and, therefore, not firm (*nava-saihropana-Hthila-staruh*). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation (sister's husband) of the Maurya minister (*Sachiva*) and a natural enemy (*Prahrityamitra*) of the family of Pushyamitra. It appears that during the reign of Brihadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the king's *Sachiva* or minister, the other headed by his *Senapati* or general. The minister's partisan Yajnasena got the rulership of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra obtained the viceroyalty of Vidisa. When the general organised his *coup d'etat*, killed the king, and imprisoned the minister, Yajnasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the usurping family. This is why he is called *achiradhishtitha-rajya* and *pralcrity-amitra* by Agnimitra and his *Amatya*.

1 Act I. Some manuscripts mention MandakinI as the name of the river (c/. *IHQ.* 1925, 214). A stream called MandakinI lies 5 miles south of the Tapti (*Ind. Ant.*, 1902, 254). Another MandakinI flowed near Cbitrakuta (*Ram** 92. 10-11). Luders' Inscriptions, Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bharhut (in Baghelkhand) was governed by a Sunga feudatory. If Pushyamitra was a Suhga Baghelkhand must have formed part of the empire of his family. In the *Monuments of Satichl*, I. iv. 271, the author does not agree with Buhler in assigning the ins. to the middle of the second-century B.C. He prefers B.C. 100-75. palaeographically the epigraphs are classed with the ins. of Indraganimitra, Brahmanimitra and Vishnumitra.

The *Malavikagnimitram*, says that when *Kumara Madhavasena*, a cousin of *Yajliasena* and a partisan of *Agnimitra*, was secretly on his way to *Vidisa*, he was captured by an *Antapaia* (Warden of the Marches) of *Yajuasena* and kept in custody. *Agnimitra* demanded his surrender. The *Vidarbha* king promised to give him up on condition that his brother-in-law, the *Maurya* minister, should be released. This enraged the ruler of *Vidisa* who ordered *Virasena* to march against *Vidarbha*. *Yajliasena* was defeated. *Madhavasena* was released and the kingdom of *Vidarbha* was divided between the two cousins, the river *Varada* (*Wardha*) forming the boundary between the two states. Both the rulers seem, to have accepted the suzerainty of the House of *Pushyamitra*.

In the opinion of several scholars an enemy move formidable than *Yajliasena* threatened *Pushyamitra's* dominions from *Kalinga* (*Orissa*). In his *Oxford History of India*¹ Dr. Smith accepts the view that **Kharavela, king of Kalinga**, defeated *Pushyamitra* who is identified with *Bahapatimita* or *Bahasatimita*, a prince supposed to be mentioned in the *Hathigumpha* Inscription of the *Kalinga* monarch. Prof. *Dubreuil* also seems to endorse the view that *Kharavela* was an antagonist of *Pushyamitra*, and that the *Hathigumpha* Inscription is dated the 165th year of *Raja-Muriya-kala* (era of king *Maurya*) which corresponds to the 13th year of the reign of *Kharavela*.

Dr. R. C. *Majumdar*, however, points out² that of the six letters of the *Hathigumpha* Inscription which have been read as *Bahasatirmitam*, the second letter seems to have a clear *u* sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like *pa* and *sa*. Even if the reading

1 Additions and corrections, and p. 58n. C/. also S. Konow in *Acta Orientalia*, I. 29. S. Konow accepts *Jayaswal's* identification, *Bahasatimita* = *Pushyamitra*.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1919. p. 189. Cf. Allan *CICAL*, p. xcvi.

Bahasati-mitam, or *Bahapati-mitam*, be accepted as correct, the identification of Bahasati (Brihaspati-mitra) with Pushyamitra merely on the ground that Brihaspati (Jiva) is the regent, *nakshatradhipa*, of the *nahsJiatra* or zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab, cannot be regarded as final in the absence of more convincing evidence.¹ In this connection we should note that the *Vivdvaddna*² distinguishes between a king named "Vrihaspati" and king Pushyamitra,³ and represents Pataliputra as the residence of the latter whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Kharavela is possibly called "*Rdjagahanapa*"⁴, and apparently resided in the city of Rajagriha.

The date "165th year of the *Muriyalcdla*" was deduced from a passage of the Hathigumpha Inscription which was read as follows :⁵—"Pdnandariya-sathi-vasa-sate Raja-Muriya-kdle vochchhirte...". There is another passage in the same inscription which runs thus :—*Panicltame clia* (or *che*) *ddnl vase Namda-raja ti-vasa-sata* (m ?)—*oghdtitam Tanasuliya-vata-panadim nagaram pavesayati*.⁶ If *Panark-tariya-sathi-vasa-sate* be taken to mean "in the 165th year",

1 C/. Chandra in *IHQ*, 1929, p. 594 ff.

2 Pp. 433-34.

3 It is not suggested that Vrihaspati of the *Divyavadana* is necessarily to be identified with any king named Brihaspatimitra mentioned in inscriptions, though the possibility is not entirely excluded. What we mean to point out is that the name "Brihaspati" is not to be equated with Pushyamitra, simply because Brihaspati is the "regent" of the asterism *Pushya*, because in literature 'Vrihaspati,' 'Pushyadharman' and 'Pushyamitra' occur as names of distinct individuals. Regarding the proposed identification of Pushyamitra with Brihaspatimitra, see also *IHQ*, 1930, p. 23.

4 Cf. Luders' reading, Ep. Ind., X, App. No. 1345. With Jayaswal, S. Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, I. 26) reads "*Rajagahatn upapidapayati*," though he admits that "*Rajagahanapa* (m) *pvdapayati*" is also possible.

5 Cf. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Actes du sixieme congres international des Orientalistes*. Pt. III, Section 2, pp. 133 ff. ; Jayaswal *JBORS*, 1917, p. 459.

6 *Ibid.* p. 455. For the interpretation of the passage, see p. 229 *supra*. S. Konow translates it differently :—"And now in the fifth year he has the

ti-vasasata should be taken to mean 103 years, and we shall have to conclude that Kharavela flourished some 165 years after a Maurya king, and only 103 years after Nandaraja, which is impossible as the Nandas preceded the Mauryas. If, on the other hand, *ti-vasa-sata* be taken to mean 300 years, *panamtanya-sathi-vasa-sata* should be taken to mean not 165 but 6,500 years. In other words Kharavela will have to be placed 6,500 years after a Maurya which is also impossible. Jayaswal himself subsequently gave up the reading "... *Panamtariya-sathUvasa-sate Raja-Muriya-kale vochchhine cha chhe-yathi Argasi ti kamtariyam upadiyatf*" in line 16, and proposed to read "*Pataliko chatare cha vedn-riyagabhe tharhbhe patithapayati panatariya sata-sahasehi. Muriya kalarh vochhimnam cha choyathi agasatikanrtariyarh upadayati.*" He translated the passage thus :—"on the lower-roofed terrace (i.e., in the verandah) he establishes columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of 75,00,000 (*Panas*), he (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted and being of an interval of 64 with a century."¹ With regard to this new reading and translation Mr. R. P. Chanda observed² "the rendering of *vochhine* as 'counted' is even more far-fetched than 'expired'. The particle *cha* after *vochhine* makes it difficult to read it as *vochhinam* qualifying the substantive *Muriyakalam*. Even if we overlook *vochhine*, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still

aqueduct which was shut (or opened) in the year 103 (during the reign of) the Nanda king, conducted into the town from Tanasuliya Vata."

1 JBORS, Vol. IV, Part iv, p. 394 f. for Dr. Barua's suggestions see IHQ, 1938, 269.

2 M. A. S. I. . No. 1. p. 10. Cf, also S. **konow** in *ActaOrientalia*, I. 14-21. Like Fleet S. **Konow** finds no date in the passage but regards the reading *Raja Muriya kala* as certain. According to him Kharavela restored some texts missing in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Dr. Barua does not regard the reading Muriya as certain.

more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a *prasast*⁹ According to Fleet the use of the term "*vochchhina*" which is applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off,' 'interrupted'—quite prohibits the existence of a date. It may be added that there is no reliable evidence of the existence of a *Raja-Mimya-hala* in the sense of an era founded by the first Maurya. The use of regnal years by Asoka points to the same conclusion.¹ Jayaswal himself admits in the *Epigraphia Indica*,² that "there is no date in a Maurya era in the 16th line," of the Hathigumpha inscription.³

Dr. Jayaswal at one time took *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years and placed Kharavela and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandaraja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Saisunaga king

1 An era of Samprstti, grandson of Asoka, is however, mentioned in an ancient Jain MS. (EHI 4, p. 202n). If we refer the year 164 to this era, the date of Kharavela must be brought down to (cir 224—164=) 60 B. C. In "A note on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela" Barnett suggests the following rendering of the passage which is supposed to contain the words *Muriya-kala* :. "And when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning.....which consisted of lustres (*antara*) of five (years) each, had broken down, he found (a new time-reckoning) consisting of lustres of 7 years each (*saptikantarlyam*) and mounting up to the 64th year (*chatuh shashtyagram*)." To reform the calendar Kharavela introduced anew cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 *Yugas* of 7 years each. According to Dr. F. W. Thomas (JRAS. 1922, 84) *antara* = *antargriha* = cell. The passage means that cells which had been left unfinished during the time of the Maurya kings were constructed by Kharavela.

2 XX. 74.

3 His latest reading of the inscriptional passage is as follows :—
"PatalakOj chaturō cha veduriya-gabhe thambhe patithapayati, panatariya satasahase(hi) ; Muriya-kala-vochhinath cha choyath(i) Amgasatika (m) turiyam upadayati."

"Patalaka(?).....(he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands ;...(he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the sevenfold *Am gas* of the sixty-four (letters)." *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 80, 89.

and that the Saisunagas do not appear to have had anything to do with Kalinga. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahapadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas' or the old reigning families. So we should identify 'Narkdaraja' of the Hathigurapha inscription, who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahapadma Nanda or one of his sons."¹ Professor Barua objects to the identification of "Namdaraja" the conqueror of Kalinga, with a king of the pre-Asokan Nanda line on the ground that in the Asokan inscriptions it is claimed that Kaliinga was *not* conquered (*avijita*) before Asoka. But such claims are on a par with the Gupta boast that Samudra Gupta was *ajita-rajajeta*, conqueror of unconquered kings,² and that the *Asvamedha* sacrifice had been revived, after a long period of abeyance, by him. We know that as a matter of fact the claims, if taken too literally, had very little substance in them. The suggestion in the *Cambridge History of Ancient India* that Nandaraja may have been a local ruler of Kalinga is negated by the internal evidence of the Hathigumpha Inscription.³ A post-Asokan "neo-Nanda" line of **Magadha** is also unknown to sober history.⁴

1 M. A. S. I., No. I, p. 12.

2 Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. ex. Cf. Jahangir's boast that "not one of the mighty emperors has conquered" Kangra, (ASI, AR, 1905-6. p. 11). *Avijita* may simply refer to the fact that Kalinga was not included within the limits of Asoka's *Vijita* (empire) or *Raja-vishya* (Royal Dominions).

3 Cf. the passage—"Namdaraja nitaim cha Kalimga Jinasamnivesam" which proves clearly that Nanda was an outsider.

4 A late Nanda or *Nandodbhova* line is known to epigraphy. But it ruled in Orissa. See R. I). Banerji. Orissa, 1. 202; Kumar Bidyadhara Singh **Deo**, *Nandapur*, 1. 46; Ep, Ind. xxi, App. Ins. No. 2043.

As Mahapadma Nanda and his sons ruled in the fourth century B. C., Kharavela is to be assigned either to the third century B. C., (taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103)¹ or to the first century B.C. (taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300). In neither case could he be regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra who ruled from about 187 to 151 B.C.

J The Yavana Invasion.

The only undoubted historical events of Pushyamitra's time, besides the *coup d' etat* of c. 187 B. C., and the Vidarbha war, are the Greek invasion from the North-West referred to by Patanjali and Kalidasa, and the celebration of two horse-sacrifices.

Patanjali is usually regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Sir R. Gr. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the passage in the *Mahabhashya*—*iha Pushyarnitram yajayamah* : "here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra"—which is cited as an illustration of the *Varttika* teaching the use of the present tense to denote an action which has been begun but not finished.² The instances given by Patanjali of the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, "*arunad Yavanah Saketam: arunad Yavano Madhyamilcam.*" This, says Sir R. Gr. Bhandarkar, shows that a certain *Yavana* or Greek chief had besieged Saketa or Ayodhya

1 Konow (*Acta Orieritalia*, Vol. I, pp. 22-26) accepts the date 103, but refers it (along with another date, 113, which he, with Fleet, finds in line 11) to a Jaina era. This era he is inclined to identify with that of Mahavira's *Nirvana*. Apparently he is not aware of the existence of another Jaina reckoning, viz., the era of Samprati. Dr K. P. Jayaswal (*Ep.Ind.*, XX. 75) now assigns the date 103 to a Nanda era and says that the date refers to the time when the Tanasuliya Canal, which Kharavela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 300,

and another place called Madhyamika¹ when Patanjali wrote this. It is, however, possible that the instances cited by the great grammarian are stock illustrations (*murdhabhishikta udaharana*) which are simply quoted by him from earlier authorities. But a war with Greeks in the days of Pushyamitra is vouched for by Kalidasa. In his *Malavilcagnimitram* the poet refers to a conflict between prince Vasumitra, grandson and general of Pushyamitra, and a Yavana on the southern (or right) bank of the Sindhu.² Unfortunately the name of the leader of the invaders is not given either in the *Mahabhashya* or in the *Mtilavikagnimitram*. There is considerable divergence of opinion with regard to his identity. But all agree that he was a Bactrian Greek.

The **Bactrian Greeks** were originally subjects of the Seleukidan Empire of Syria (and Western Asia). We learn from Strabo, Trogus and Justin that "about the middle of the third century B. C. when the Seleukid rulers were pre-occupied in the west" Diodotos, "Governor of the thousand cities of Bactria" (Balkh region to the south of the Oxus), revolted and assumed the title of king. He was succeeded, according to Justin, by his son Diodotos II who entered into an alliance with Arsakes who about this time (c. 247 B.C.) tore Parthia in Northern Iran from the Seleukidan Empire.

The successor of Diodotos II was Euthydemos. We learn from Strabo³ that Euthydemos and his party occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana. We are told by Polybius that Antiochos 111(223-187 B.C.) of Syria made an attempt to recover the lost provinces but afterwards made peace with Euthydemos.

1 Nagari near Chitor ; cf. *Mbh.*, II. 32.8 ; *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 267.

2 The Indus or possibly a stream of the same name in Central India (Cf. *IHQ*, 1925,215).

3 H. & F.'sTr., Vol. II. p. 251.

The historian says, "Antiochos the Great received the young prince (Demetrios, son of Euthydemos) and judging from his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal honour he first promised to give him one of his daughters,¹ and secondly conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemos. He crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India ; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenos, the king of the Indians ; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

Not long after the expedition of Antiochos the Great, the Bactrian Greeks themselves formed the design of extending their kingdom by the conquest of the territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. Strabo says, "the Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodoros of Artemita.² Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis³ to the east and reached Isamus⁴) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests

1 Tarn's scepticism (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, 82, 201) about the marriage is not warranted by cogent evidence. His arguments are in part of a negative character. He seems to prefer his own interpretation of certain coins of Agathokles to the clear testimony of Polybius.

2 Artemita lay to the east of the Tigris. The books of Apollodoros are assigned to a date between C. 130 B.C. and 87 B.C. (Tarn, *Greeks*, 44 ff) ;

3 i.e., the Hyphasis or Vipasa (the Beas).

4 The Trisama ? In the *Bhagavata Purana* (V. 19, 17) a river of this name is mentioned in conjunction with the Kausiki, Mandakini, Yamuna, etc.

were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene (the Indus Delta), but of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surasbtra or Kathiawar), and Sigerdis (probably Sagaradvipa)¹ which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodoros in short says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni."²

Strabo gives the credit for spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the east into India partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great.

Menander has been identified with the king Milinda who is mentioned in the *Mttinda-panko* as a contemporary of the Buddhist *Thera* (Elder) Nagasena, and also in the *Avadana-halpalata* of Kshemendra.³ This monarch was born at Kalsigrama⁴ in the "Island" of Alasanda or Alexandria⁵ and had his capital at Sagala or Sakala, modern Sialkot, in the Panjab,⁶ and not at Kabul as Dr. Smith seemed to think.⁷ The extent of his conquests is indicated by the great variety and wide diffusion of his coins which have been found over a very wide extent of country as far west as Begram near Kabul and as far east as Mathura.⁸ The author of the *Penplus* states

1 *Mahabharata*, II. 31. 66, Cutch ?

2 *Strabo*, Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-53. The Chinese and peoples of the Tarim basin are apparently meant.

3 *Stupa avadana* (No. 57) -, Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, *Indian Museum*, p. 3 ; SBE, 36, xvii.

4 Trenckner. *Milindapanho*, p. 83.

5 *Ibid*, p. 82 (CHI, 550). The identity of this "Alexandria" is uncertain. Tarn (p. 141) seems to prefer Alexandria in the Kabul Valley. The *Milinda*, V I. 21. seems to suggest location on the sea unless a different Alexandria is meant.

6 *Milinda*, pp. 3, 14.

7 EHI., 1914, p. 225.

8 SBE., Vol. XXXV, p. xx. Tarn, 228.

that small silver coins, inscribed with Greek characters and bearing the name of Menander were still current in his time (ar. 60-80 A.D.) at the port of Barygaza (Broach). Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The statement of Plutarch is important as showing that Menander's dominions included many cities. The recently discovered Bajaur Relic Casket Inscription confirms the numismatic evidence regarding the westward extension of his empire.¹

Demetrios has been identified by some with king Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahabharata*,² the "great Emetreus, the king of Inde" of Chaucer's *Knights Tale* and Timitra of a Besnagar seal.³ The wide extent of his conquests is 'proved by the existence of several cities named after him or his father in Afghanistan as well as India. Thus in the work of Isidor of Charax⁴ we have a reference to a city named Demetriaspolis in Arachosia. The *Vyakarana* (grammar) of Kramadisvara mentions a city in Sauvira called Dattamitri.⁵ Ptolemy the Geographer

1 Ep. Ind. XXIV. 7 ff. The King's name is given as Minadra.

2 I, 139, 23.

3 E H I \ p. 255n

4 JRAS., 1915, p. 830. *Parthian Stations*, 19.

5 Ind. Ant., 1911. *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*; Bomb. Gaz. I. ii. 11, 176, Kramadisvara, p. 796. The reference is probably to a Demetrias in the lower Indus Valley. Johnston differs from the view (JRAS, April, 1939; IHQ, 1939). We should, however, not ignore the evidence of *Mbh.* I. 139, verses 21-23 which clearly refer to a *Yavanadhipa* and Dattamitra in connection with Sauvira. If Dattamitra is not Demetrios and Dattamitri not a city founded by him, it will be interesting to know with whom Dattamitra and the *Yavanadhipa* of the epic are proposed to be identified. A Nasik (Deccan) Inscription (No. 1140 Ltiders'List) makes mention of a Yonaka from the north (*Otaraha*), a native of Dattamitri. Thus epic and epigraphic evidence together with that of Sanskrit grammarians clearly establishes the connection between the Yonas or Yavanas (Greeks), Dattamitri and Sauvira.

mentions the oity of Euthymedia (? Euthydemia¹) which was identical with Sakala,² and was, according to the *MUinda-panho*, the capital of an Indo-Greek kingdom in the time of Menander.

It is permissible to conjecture that one of the two conquering kings, viz. 9 Menander and Demetrios, was identical with the Yavana leader who penetrated to Saketa in Oudh, Madhyamika near Chitor, and the river Sindhu possibly in Central India, in the time of Pushyamitra. Goldstiicker, Smith and many other scholars identified the invader with Menander who crossed the Hypanis (Beas) and penetrated *as far as* the Isamus (Trisama³ ?). On the other hand, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested, in his *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, the identification of the invader with Demetrios. We learn from Polybius that Demetrios was a young man at the time of Antiochos III's invasion (between 211 and 206 B.C.). Justin says that Demetrios was "king of the Indians" when Eukratides was king of the Bactrians and Mithradates was the king of the Parthians. "Almost at the same time that Mithradates ascended the throne among the Parthians, **Eukratides** began to reign among the Bactrians ; both of them being great men...Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrios, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of 60,000 enemies".

1 We are hardly justified in rejecting the reading 'Euthyde' (Tarn, p. 486) simply on the ground urged by Tarn (p. 247) which do not appear to be convincing, and accept a reading which is "meaningless and wrongly accentuated". See also Keith in *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 221f.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, pp. 349-50.

3 As already stated, Trisama is a river mentioned in the *Bhagavata Purana*. Note the absence of any reference to the Ganges in the account of Menander's conquests.

DP. Smith assigns Mitradates to the period from 171 to 136 B.C. (to 138/37 B.C. according to Debevoise). Eukratides and Demetrios must also be assigned to that period, that is the middle of the second century B.C.¹

We have seen that Demetrios was a young man and a prince in or about 206 B.C. We now find that he ruled as king of the Indians about the middle of the second century B. C. He was, therefore, the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra who ruled from c. 187 to 151 B. C. Menander, on the other hand, must have ruled over the Indo-Greek kingdom much later, as will be apparent from the facts noted below. Justin tells us that Demetrios was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides.² Eukratides was killed by his son with whom he had shared his throne.³ The identity of the parricide is uncertain but no one says that he was Menander.⁴

Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. We know that Greek rulers who reigned conjointly sometimes issued joint coins. Thus we have joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato, of Strato I and Strato II, and of Hermaios and Kalliope. The only Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a

1 The activity of Mithradates I began after the death of Antiochus IV in 163 B.C. See Tarn, pp. 197 ff. According to Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, p. 20 ff, Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, crossed the Euphrates in 165 B.C. Mithradates I died in 138/37 B.C., the first Parthian date fixed by numismatic and cuneiform evidence. Eukratides assumed the title "Great" before 162 B.C. (date of Timarchus) (*The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 64). His coins are copied by Plato (165 B.C.) as well as Timarchus.

2 Watson's tr., p 277.

3 *Ibid*, p. 277.

4 According to Cunningham and Smith the parricide was Apollodotos. But Rapson shows good reasons for believing that Appollodotos did not belong to the family of Eukratides, but was, on the other hand, a ruler of Kapisa who was ousted by Eukratides (JRAS, 1905, pp. 784-85). Rawlinson points out (*Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p, 73) that Apollodotos uses the epithet

coin or medallion together with those of Eukratides are **Heliokles** and his wife Laodike. Cunningham and Gardner suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides. But Von Sallet¹ proposed an entirely different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that they were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliokles with a Laodike whom Von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Dernetrios by the daughter of Antiochos III. If Von Sallet's conjecture be accepted then it is permissible to think that Heliokles was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

It is clear from what has been stated above that Dernetrios was succeeded by Eukratides, who, in his turn, was probably followed by Heliokles. Metroandros could not in that case have reigned earlier than Heliokles. It may, however, be argued that after Dernetrios the Indo-Greek kingdom split up into two parts: one part which included the Trans-Jhelum territories was ruled by Eukratides and his son, the other part which included "Euthymedia" (Euthydemia ?) or Hakala was ruled by Menander who thus might have been a younger contemporary of Eukratides (*cir.* 171-165 B.C.) and consequently of Pushyamitra (*cir.* 187-151 B.C.).

Now, the disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Dernetrios may be accepted as an historical fact. The existence of two rival Greek kingdoms in India and their

Philopator, and the title would be somewhat incongruous if he were a parricide. It may be argued that the parricide was Apollodotos Soter and not Apollodotos Philopator, but we should remember that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin (Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 48) and therefore it is impossible to justify the separation of Apollodotos Soter and Apollodotos Philopator as two entities.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1880, p. 256.

mutual dissensions are proved by literary and numismatic evidence. The *Puranas* say:

*Bhaviṣyāntīḥ Yavana dharmataḥ kamato'rthataḥ
naiva mūrdhabhishikṭas te bhaviṣyanti narādīḥpāḥ
yuga-dosha-dharmachara bhaviṣyanti nrijaḥ tu te
śrinam bṛta-vadhenāiva hatva clāiva paraspāram.*

"There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder ; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children¹ and *hilling one another*, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the *Kali age*"²

The *Gargi Sāhita* informs us :

*Madhyadēma na sthāsyanti Yavana yuddha dūrmadāḥ
tēṣāṃ anyonya sambhava (?) bhaviṣyanti na samsāyāḥ
atma~chakrotthitam ghoraṃ yuddham parama-darṇnam.*

"The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in the *Madhyadēma* (Mid-India) ; there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves."³

Coins bear testimony to struggles between kings of the **house of Eukratides** and rulers of the **family of Euthydemus**. But the evidence which we possess clearly indicates that the contemporaries and rivals of Eukratides and Heliokles were **Apollodotos**, **Agathokleia** and **Strato I**, and not Menander. Certain square bronze coins of Eukratides have on the obverse a bust of the king and the legend "*Basileus Megaton Eukratidon*" On the reverse there is the figure of Zeus and the legend "*Kavisiye nagara-devata*." They are often coins of

1 C/. Cunn. *AGI*. Revised Ed. 274; *Camb. Hist. Ind.* 1. 376. "The Macedonians... gave away to a fury of blood-lust, sparing neither woman nor child."

2 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 56, 74.

3 Kern, *Brihat Saṁhitā*, p. 38.

Apollodotos restriick.¹ From this it is clear that Apollodotos was a rival of Eukratides, and was superseded in the rule of Kapisa, which lay in the district identified with Kafiristan and the valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir, by the latter. Rapson further points out² that Heliokles restriick the coins of Agathokleia and Strato I ruling conjointly and also of Strato I reigning alone. Further, the restriking is always by Heliokles, never by Agathokleia and Strato I. From this it is clear that Agathokleia and Strato I ruled over an Indo-Greek principality either before, or in the time of Heliokles, but probably not after him.

We have seen that according to the evidence of Justin and the Kapisa coins Eukratides fought against two rivals, namely, Demetrios and Apollodotos ; his son Heliokles also fought against two rivals, namely, Agathokleia and Strato I. As Demetrios and Apollodotos were both antagonists of Eukratides and used the same coin-types, the inevitable inference is that they were very near in time as well as in relationship to one another, in fact that one immediately followed the other. Now Demetrios was beyond doubt the son and successor of Euthydemos, consequently Apollodotos must have been his successor.

As Heliokles was in all probability a son of Eukratides, the rival of Apollodotos, he must have been a younger contemporary of Apollodotos. Consequently Heliokles' antagonists, Agathokleia and Strato I, whose coins he restruck, were very near in time to Apollodotos. Strato I later on ruled conjointly with his grandson Strato II. There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrios to Strato II.

1 Rapson, *JRAS*, 1905, 785.

2 *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 165 ff. *CHI*, 553.

According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Milinda-panho*, Milinda or Menander flourished "500 years/" i.e., not earlier than the fifth century¹ after the *Parinirvana*, *parinibbanato panchavassa sate atikhante ete npajjissanti*.² This tradition points to a date not earlier than the period 144-44 B.C. according to Ceylonese reckoning, or 86 B.C.-14 A.D. according to Cantonese tradition, for Menander. Thus both according to numismatic evidence and literary tradition Menander could not have been the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra. It is Demetrios who should, therefore, be identified* with the Yavana invader referred to by Patanjali and Kalidasa, one of whose armies was defeated by Prince Vasumitra.³

The Asvamedha Sacrifices.

After the victorious wars with Vidarbha (Berar) and the Yavanas Pushyamitra completed the performance of two horse-sacrifices. These sacrifices are regarded by some scholars as marking an early stage in the Brahmanical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors.

1 Cf. the interpretation of somewhat similar chronological data by Franke and Fleet (JRAS, 1914, 400-1); and Smith E H I, 3rd edition, 328.

2 Trenckner, the *Milinda-panho*, p. 3. Tarn is not quite right in saying (134 n) that Apollodorus makes Menander contemporary with Demetrios, Trogus with Apollodorus, and some coin indications (CHI, 551) with Eukratides. Strabo following Apollodorus and possibly other authorities simply says that extensive Bactrian conquests, in the Indian interior were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrios. It is nowhere clearly stated that the two conquerors were contemporaries. The book of Trogus on which another conclusion is based, is lost. Coin indications are not clear enough. B. g. the imitation of certain coins of Demetrios by Maues does not prove chronological proximity.

3 S. Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, 1. 35) points out that there is no evidence that Menander transgressed the river Yamuna, and that Demetrios was the ruler who besieged Saketa and Madhyamika. In IHQ, 1929, p. 403, Mr. R. P. Chanda regards Strabo's attribution of the Indian conquests to Demetrios as doubtful. But the cities in the Panjab and the Lower Indus Valley named after Demetrios and possibly his father leave no room for doubt that Strabo is right.

Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Sakyamuni. But the probative value of the *Divyavadana*, on which some modern writers place their chief reliance in regard to the matter, is seriously impaired by the representation of the "persecuting" monarch as a Maurya, a descendant of Asoka himself.¹ Moreover; the prime motive which is said to have inclined the king to a vicious policy is, according to this Buddhist work, personal glory and not religious fanaticism. Pushyamitra did not dispense with the services of pro-Buddhist ministers, and the court of his son was graced by Pandita-Kausiki.² The *Mahavamsa*³ admits the presence, in Bihar, Oudh, Malwa and adjacent provinces, of numerous monasteries with thousands of monks in the age of Dutthagamani of Ceylon (C. 101-77 B.C.) which is partly synchronous with the Baimbika-Sunga period. The Buddhist monuments at Bharhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Sungas" do not also bear out the theory that the Sungas, among whom Pushyamitra is included by the *Puranas*, were the leaders of a militant Brahmanism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism, kings of the line of Pushyamitra do not appear to have been as intolerant as some writers represent them to be.

The Mantri-parishad in the days of Pushyamitra.

Patanjali refers to the *Sabha* of Pushyamitra. But it is uncertain as to whether the term refers to a Royal *Durbar*, a tribunal of justice, or a Council of Magnates. The existence of Councils or Assemblies of Ministers (*Mantri-Parishada*) is, however, vouched for by Kalidasa. If the poet is to be believed the Council continued to be

1 *IHQ*, vol. V. p. 397 ; *Divyavadana*, 433-34.

2 *Malavikagnimitratn*, Act I

• 3 Geiger, trans, p. 193.

an important element of the governmental machinery. He gives us the important information that even viceregal princes were assisted by *Parishads*.¹ The *Malavikagnimitram* refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the Viceroy of Vidisa (in Eastern Malwa), with his *Parishad* :

"Deva evam Amatya-parishado vijTuipayami"²

¹Mantri-prishado' pyetad-eva darsanam
Dvidha vibhahtam sriyam-udvahantau
dhuram rathasvdviva samgrahituh
tan sthasyatas-te nripater nidese
pamspar-avagralia-nirvikarau³

Raja : tena hi Mantri-parishadm briihi senanye Virase?iaya likhyatam evam kriyatam iti"⁴

It seems that the *Amatya-parishad* or *Mantri-parishad* was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided upon.

1 Buhler (*Ep. Ind.* I I I . 137) points out that Asoka's *Kumaras* were also each assisted by a body of *Mahamatras*. These may have corresponded to the *Kutnaramatyas* of the Gupta period.

2 "King I I will announce this decision to the Council of Ministers."

3 "This is also the view of the (Council of Ministers). Those two kings, upbearing the fortune of their superior lord divided between them, as the horses upbear the yoke of the charioteer, will remain firm in their allegiance to thee, not being distracted by mutual attacks." Act V, verse 14,

4 "King : Tell the Council then to send to the General Virasena written instructions to this effect." (Tawney, *Malavikagnimitra*, pp. 89.90.)

SECTION II. AGNIMITRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Pushyamitra died in or about 151 B.C., probably after a reign of 36 years,¹ and was succeeded by his son **Agnimitra**.² The name of a prince named Agnimitra has been found on several copper coins discovered in Rohilkhand. Cunningham³ was of opinion that this prince was probably not to be identified with the son of Pushyamitra, but belonged to a local dynasty of North Panchala (Rohilkhand). He gave two reasons for this conclusion :

1. Agnimitra's is the only coin-name found in the Puranic lists. The names of the other "Mitra" kings occurring on coins of the so-called "Panchala series," do not agree with those found in the *Puranas*.

2. The coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Panchala.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac⁴ and Jayaswal⁵ have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra can be identified with those found in the

1 Only thirty years according to a Jaina tradition—"atthasayam Muriyanam tisachchia Pusamittassa" (IA. 1914. 118 f. Merutufiga),.

2. The commentary on the *Amarakosa* seems to suggest that Agnimitra is the original of king Sudraka of tradition (Oka, p. 122 ; *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, 1931, 360). On the other hand Keith refers to a tradition recorded in the *Vtra eharita* and by the younger Rajasekhara which represents Sudraka as a minister of a Satavahana king. We are further told by another writer that Sudraka defeated prince Svati and ruled for a long time. A tale alluded to in the *Harsha-eharita* represents him as an enemy of Chandraketu, lord of Chakora, apparently in South India (Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 129 ; *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 292 ; Ghosh, *History of Central and Western India*, pp. 141 f.) The story of Sudraka is essentially legendary and it is difficult to extract any historical truth out of it. The abeyance of Satavahana power in the Upper Deccan for a long period is a fact. But it is due to the irruption of foreign tribes from the north. Disloyal ministers may have helped to bring in the invader.

3 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79. Cf. Allan, *CICAL*, p. cxx.

4 *JASB*, 1880, 21 ff ; 87 ff ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1880, 311.

5 *JBORS*, 1917, p. 479. Cf. 1934, pp. 7 ff.

Puranic lists of Suiiga and Kanva kings ; for example, Bhadra-ghosha may be identified with Ghosha, the seventh king of the Puranic list of Suiiga kings. Bhiimimitra may be identified with the Kanva king of that name. Jethatnitra, who is identified with the successor of Agni-mitra, viz Vasu-Jyeshtha or Su-Jyeshtha, who is called simply Jyeshtha in the *h Vishnu* manuscript,¹ no doubt left coins that belong to a different series. But even he is closely connected with an Agnimitra. Several names indeed cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Sungas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kanva and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the so-called Andhras and Sisunandi.²

As to the second point we should remember that "Mitra" coins, even those which undoubtedly belong to the so-called Panchala series, have been found in Oudh, the Basti district, and even Pataliputra, as well as in Panchala. Names of two "Mitra" kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, of whom the latter undoubtedly belonged to the Panchala group, are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodli Gaya as well as on coins discovered at Mathura, Panchala and Kumrahar.³ In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the "Mitras" in question were a local dynasty of North Panchala.

1 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 31, n. 12. Cf. Allan, *CICAI*, p. xcvi,

2 *Dynasties of the Kali Age*. p. 49.

3 Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 84, 88 ; Allan, *CICAI*, pp. cxix, cxx ; Marshall, *Archaeological Survey Report for 1907-8*, p. 40 : Bloch *ASR*, 1908-9, p. 147 ; *IHQ*, 1930, pp I ff. The name *Iti.....tra* occurs in a mutilated inscription on a rail pillar at Bodhi Gay* with the title *Ratio* added before it. Marshall, Bloch and Rapson agree in identifying king *Int...tra* with Indramitra of coins. Bloch further identifies him with Kausikputra Indragnimitra, husband of Arya Kurangi, whose name occurs on certain pieces of copper. The epithet Kausikputra reminds one of Pandita-Kausik of the *Malavikagnimitram* (Act 1). The Kusika family was apparently intimately associated with the rulers of the age. Kausik mentioned in the *Malavikagnimitram* was sister to the minister of a prince of Berar. The sister of the prince himself was one of the queens of

Agnimitra's successor, as we have already seen, was Jyeshtha (of the k *Vishnu* manuscript), who is very probably identical with **Jethamitra** of the coins.¹

The next king **Vasumitra** was a son of Agnimitra. During the life-time of his grandfather he had led the imperial army against the Yavanas and defeated * them on the Sindhu (possibly in Central India) which probably formed the boundary between the empire of Pushyamitra and the Indo-Greek territories in Malvva.

Vasumitra's successor is called Bhadraka in the *Bhaya-vata Parana*, Ardraka and Odruka in the *Vishnu*, Andhraka in the *Vayic*, and Antaka in the *Matsya Purana*. Jayaswal identified him with Udaka, a name occurring in a Pabhosa inscription. The epigraph has been translated thus : "By Asadhasena, the son of Gopali Vaihidari and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopali, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udaka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosa inscription that Asadhasena belonged to the royal family of Adhichhatra (Ahichhatra), the capital of North Panchala. Jayaswal maintained that Odraka (identified with Udaka) was the paramount Sunga sovereign, while the family of Asadhasena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne. Marshall,⁸ on the other hand, identified the fifth Sunga with king Kasiputra³ **Bhagabhadra** mentioned in a Garuda Pillar Inscription found in the old city of Vidisa, now Besnagar. Jayaswal identified Bhagabhadra with Bhaga Sunga, i.e., Bhagavata

Agnimitra. King **Brahmamitra** is the husband of Nigadevi, another prominent donor mentioned in the epigraphs.

1 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 74. Allan, *CICAI*, xcvi. Note the connection of Jethamitra with Agnimitra. The name of a Jyeshthamitra is said to occur also in a Br&hmi inscription on certain stone fragments recently discovered at Kosam (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 11, 1936, p: 5).

. 2 *A Guide to Sane hi*, p. 11 n.

3 Sircar suggests Kautsiputra.

of the *Pitranas*. This theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription (of the twelfth year after the installation of Maharaja **Bhagavata**) which proves that there was at Vidisa a king named Bhagavata apart from king Kasiputra Bhagabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting "Udaka" with Vidisa it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhagavata. The view of Marshall seems to be more probable.¹

It appears that the successors of Agnimitra at Vidisa cultivated friendly relations with the Greek sovereigns of the Western Panjab. The policy of the Bactrian Greeks in this respect resembled that of their Seleukidan predecessors. Seleukos, we know, first tried to conquer the Magadha Empire, but, frustrated in his attempts, thought it prudent to make friends with the Mauryas. The Bactrians, too, after the reverses they sustained at the hands of Pushyamitra's general, and weakened moreover by internal dissensions, apparently gave up, for a time at least, their hostile attitude towards the imperial power in the Ganges valley. We learn from the Besnagar Inscription of the reign of Bhagabhadra that Heliadora (Heliodoros), the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila, came as an ambassador from Maharaja Amtalikita (**Antialkidas**) to *Bdjan* Kasiputra Bhagabhadra the Saviour (*Tratara*) who was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign. The ambassador, though a Greek, professed the *Bhagavata* religion and set up a *Garudadhvaja* in honour of Vasudeva (Krishna), the god of gods.

1 Dr. Barua points out (IHQ, 1930, 23) that in the absence of the word *rajio* preceding *Udakasa*, it is difficult to say at once whether Udlka is the personal name of a king or the local name of the place where the cave was excavated."

He was apparently well-versed in the *MahUbhWrata*^x which he might have heard recited in his native city of Taxila.

Nothing in particular is known regarding the three immediate successors of Bhadraka. The ninth king Bhagavata had a long reign which extended over 32 years. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies him with the *Maharaja* Bhagavata mentioned in one of the Besnagar Inscriptions referred to above. Bhagavata's successor **Devabhuti** or Devabhumi was a young and dissolute prince. The *Puranas* state that he was overthrown after a reign of 10 years by his *Amatya* or minister Vasudeva. Bana in his *Harshaoharita* says that the over-libidinous Sunga was bereft of his life by his *Amatya* Vasudeva with the help of a daughter of Devabhuti's slave woman (*Dasi*) disguised as his queen. Bana's statement does not necessarily imply that Devabhuti was identical with the murdered Sunga. His statement may be construed to mean that Vasudeva entered into a conspiracy with the emissaries of Devabhuti to bring about the downfall of the reigning Sunga (Bhagavata), and to raise Devabhuti to the throne. But in view of the unanimous testimony of the *Puranas* this interpretation of the statement of Bana cannot be upheld.

The Sunga power was not altogether extinguished after the tragic end of Devabhuti. It probably survived in Central India² till the rise of the so-called Andhras, Andhrabhṛityas or Satavahanas who "swept away the remains of the Sunga power" and probably appointed

1 The three immortal precepts, lit, steps to immortality, *dama*, *chaga* and *apramada*, self-control, self-denial and watchfulness, mentioned in the second part of Heliadora's inscription, occur in the *Mahabharata* (V. 43. 22 ; XI. 7. 2i ; *Damas-tyago' pramadahcha te trayo Brahmano hay ah*, Cf. also *Gita*, XVI. 1.2). See JASB, 1922. No 19, pp. 269-271 ; ASI, 1908-1909. p. 126 ; JRAS, 1909, 1055, 1087f, 1093f ; 1910, 815 ; 1914, 1031f ; IHQ, 1932, 610 ; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1918-19, p. 59.

Z .Cf. *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49,

Sisunandi¹ to govern: the Vidisa region. Sisunandi's younger brother had a grandson (*dauhitra*) named Sisuka who became the ruler of Purika.²

1 *Ibid*, 49.

2 For the location of Purika see JRAS, 1910, 446 ; cf. *EP, Ind*, xxvi. 151,

SECTION III. IMPORTANCE OF THE BATMBIKA-SUNGA PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY.

The rule of the emperors of the house of Plishyamitra marks an important epoch in the history of India in general and of Central India in particular. The renewed incursions of the Yavanas, which once threatened to submerge the whole of the *Madhyadem*, received a check, and the Greek dynasts of the borderland reverted to the prudent policy of their Seleukidan precursors. There was an outburst of activity in the domains of religion, literature and art, comparable to that of the glorious epoch of the Guptas. In the history of these activities the names of three Central Indian localities stand pre-eminent: Vidisa (Besnagar), Gonarda and Bharhut. As Poucher points out "it was the ivory-workers of Vidisa who carved, in the immediate vicinity of their town, one of the monumental gates of Sanchi." Inscriptions at Vidisa (and Ghosundi) testify to the growing importance and wide prevalence of the *Bhagavata* religion. Though no Asoka arose to champion this faith, the missionary propaganda of its votaries must have been effective even in the realms of Yavana princes, and a Yavana *duta* or ambassador was one of its most notable converts. Gonarda¹ was the traditional birth-place of the celebrated Patanjali, the greatest literary genius of the period. Bharhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Sungas (*Suganam raja*) immortal.

1 See IHQ. 1926, 267. According to the *Sutta NiPata* Gonarda stood midway between Ujjain and Besnagar (Vidisa)—*Carm. Lee*. 1918, 4 ; *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Jan., 1935, pp. 1 ff. (Sircar's trans, of S. Wvi's note on Gonarda).

CHAPTER VII THE FALL OF THE MAGADHAN AND INDO-GREEK POWERS.

SECTION I. THE KANVAS, THE LATER SUNGAS AND THE LATER MITUAS.

Vasudeva at whose instance the "over-libidinous Sunga" was "reft of his life" founded about 75 B.C. a new line of kings known as the Kanva or Kanvayana dynasty. The *Puranas* give the following account of this family, "He (Vasudeva), the Kanvayana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhilmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Narayana will reign 12 years. His son Susarman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the *fiuriga-bhritya* Kanvayana kings. These four Kanva Brahmanas will enjoy the earth.¹ They will be righteous. In succession to them the "earth" will pass to the Andhras." **Bhumimitra** may have been identical with the king of that name known from coins.²

1 Possibly only Eastern Malwa where stood the later "Sunga" capital Vidisa or Besnagar, and some adjoining tracts.

2 Mr. J. C. Ghosh is inclined to include among the Kanva kings a ruler named Sarvatata who is known (from the Ghosundl Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, 1932, Nov., 203 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, xxii, 198ff.) to have been a devotee of Samkarshana and Vasudeva and a performer of the horse-sacrifice. But the identification of the Gajayana family, to which the king belonged, with the G&d&yanas or God&yanas (*cf.* IHQ, 1933, 797 ff) does not seem to be plausible. There seems to be no more reason to identify the Gajayanas with the GldSyanas than with the Gihlyanas or Gaftgiyanas of the Sunaka or Kasyapa group (Caland, *Baudh. śrauta Sutra*, III, 423-454). It is important to remember the fact that the *Harivath&a* refers to a *Kaiyapa dvija* as the reviver of the *Aivamedha* in the Kali Age. The G&iigftyanas no doubt also recall the Gangas of Mysore who claimed to belong to the Klnviyana *gotra* (*A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI. p 248). Put the equation Gajayana = Gafigayana is not proved.

The chronology of the Kanva dynasty is a matter of controversy. In his *Early History of the Deccan*, Sir R. Gr. Bhandarkar observes, "the founder of the Andhra-bhrityas is said to have uprooted not only the Kanvas, but 'whatever was left of the power of the Sungas.' And the Kanvas are pointedly spoken of as Sunga-bhrityas or servants of the Sungas. It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Sunga family became weak, the Kanvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Sungas include the 45 assigned to the Kanvas."

Now, the Puranic evidence only proves that certain princes belonging to the Sunga stock continued to rule' till the so-called "Andhra-bhritya" conquest and were the contemporaries of the Kanvas. But there is nothing to show that these *rois faineants* of the Sunga stock were identical with any of the ten "Sunga" kings mentioned by name in the Puranic lists, who reigned 112 years. On the contrary, the distinct testimony of the *Puranas* that Devabhnti, the tenth and last "Sunga" of the Puranic lists, was the person slain by Vasudeva, the first Kanva, probably shows that the *rois faineants*, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva and his successors, were later than Devabhnti, and were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the ten "Sunga" kings from Pushyamitra to Devabhuti do not include the 45 assigned to the Kanvas. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to accept with slight modifications the views of Dr. Smith regarding the date of the family. According to the system of chronology adopted

in these pages, the period of Kanva rule extended from *cir.* B.C. 75 to *cir.* B.C. 30.

Very little is known about the history of Magadha proper after the Kanvas. To reconstruct the history of the province from the fall of the Kanvas to the rise of the Gupta dynasty is a difficult task. The so-called Andhras of Satavahanas who are represented as destroying the Kanva sovereignty, apparently in Eastern Malwa, do not appear to have ruled in Magadha proper.¹ The greatest among them are called 'Sovereigns of the Deccan' (*Dakshinapathapati*) and an accurate idea of the field of their political and military activities may be obtained from the epithets *Hisamuda-toyapitavahana*,⁹ 'whose chargers had drunk the water of the *three* oceans,' and *Hrisamibdradhipati*, 'overlord of the *three* seas' occurring in epigraphic and literary records. The sway of rulers like the Guptas, on the other hand, is said to have extended as far as the *four* seas.

The discovery of a clay seal with the legend *Molchalinam*² suggests that at one time the Gaya region was under the sway of Maukhari chiefs. But the precise date of the record is not known. Equally uncertain is the date of *Maharaja* Trikamala who ruled in the same

1 There is no valid reason for connecting the Nurruvar Kannar (*Silappadikaram*, xxvi, Dikshitar's trans, 299 f) either with the [^]Stakarnis or with Magadha. The expression "Kannar" sometimes stands alone proving that Nurruvar is only a qualifying adjective, not a part of the name. The Ganges, even if it be the Bhagirathi, and not Gautami Ganga or the Godavari, with which the family is associated, flows through other territories besides Magadha, showing that there is no necessary connection between that province and the kings in question.

2 Fleet, CII, 14. The legend is written in Mauryan Brahmi. The Maukharis in question may have exercised sway over some little principality under the suzerainty of the Mauryas or the Sufigas. Three inscriptions have recently been discovered at Badva in the Kotah State in Rajputana recording the erection of sacrificial pillars by Maukhari *Mahasenapatis* (generals or military governors) in the third century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.* XXIII, 52).

region in the year 64 of an unspecified era. Epigraphic evidence of a late date points to some connection between the Lichchhavis and Pushpapura (Pataliputra). But it is difficult to say how far the tradition is genuine. The only rulers of note in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, whom we know from epigraphic evidence to have ruled in Magadha and the neighbouring provinces, are the so-called 'Mitras'. The prevalence of 'Mitra' rule is also hinted at by references in Jaina literature to Balamitra and Bhanumitra among the successors of Pushyamitra. From a study of available epigraphs Dr. Barua has compiled a list of 'Mitra kings'. It includes the names of Brihat-svatimitra, Indragnimitra, Brahmamitra, Brihaspatimitra, (Dhar)mamitra and Vishnumitra. To these should perhaps be added the names of Varunamitra and G-omitra.¹ Of these only Indragnimitra, Brahmamitra and possibly Brihaspatimitra are definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories. The rest are connected with Kausambi and Mathura.

It is not known in what relationship most of these "Mitra" kings stood to one another or to the celebrated families of the Suiigas and the Kanvas.

In Pataliputra as well as in Mathura the "Mitras" seem to have been replaced eventually by the Scythian 'Murundas' and Satraps who, in their turn, were supplanted by the Nagas and the Guptas. Some scholars place

1 Allan refers to kings Brahmamitra, Dridhamitra, Suryamitra and Vishnumitra who issued coins identical in type with those of Gomitra. They were followed by rulers whose names ended in—*datta*, —*bhuti* and —*ghosha*.

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immediately before the Guptas a family called Kota which may have ruled in Pataliputra.¹

1 For statements in this section see Ep. Ind. VIII, 60ff; *Harshacharita* VHI. (p. 251); Cunn., *Mahabodhi*; ASI., 1908-9, 141; IHQ 1926, 441; 1929, 398, 595f; 1930, 1 ff, 1933, 419; Kielhorn, N. I. Inscriptions. No. 541; *Indian Culture*, I, 695; EHI. 3rd ed. 227n - JRAS., 1912, 122; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, 185, 190, 194; Allan, CICA. pp. xcvi-xcviii, ex, 150 ff, 169 ff, 173 ff, 195 ff. 202 ff.

SECTION II. THE SITAVAHANAS AND THE CHETAS.

While the Sufigas and Kanvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Satavahana¹ (the so-called Andhra or Andhra-bhritya²) kingdom of Dakshinapatha and the Cheta or Cheti kingdom of Kalinga.

The founder of the **Satavahana** dynasty was **Simuka** whose name is misspelt as Sisuka, Sindhuka and Sipraka in the *Puranas*.) Those works state that the "Andhra" Simuka will assail the Kanva anas and Susarman, and destroy the remains of the Suiigas' power and will obtain this "earth". If this statement be true then it cannot be denied that Simuka was for some years a contemporary of Susarman (40-30 B.C.) and flourished in the first century B.C. Rapson, Smith and many other scholars, however, reject the *unanimous* testimony of the *Puranas*. They attach more importance to a statement about which there is not the same unanimity, that the "Andhras" ruled for four centuries and a half. Accordingly they place Simuka towards the close of the third century B.C., and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D.

A discussion of Simuka's date involves the consideration of the following questions :—

1 The form Sativahana is found in the Bhagalpur Grant of Narayanapala and the form Salivahana in literature. See also Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *EHD*, Section VII.

2 The designation 'Andhra-jattya' or 'Andhra' is found in the *Puranas* which represent the founder as a *bhritya* or servant of the last Kanva king. Sir K. G. Bhandarkar* following apparently the *Vishnu Purana*, styles the dynasty founded by Simuka *Andhra-bhritya*, i.e., Andhras who were once

1. What is the age of the script of the Nanaghat record of Nayanika, daughter-in-law of Simuka (or of his brother and successor, Krishna) ?

2. What is the actual date of Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription which refers to a Satakarni, who was apparently a successor of Simuka ?

3. What is the exact number of the so-called Andhra kings and what is the duration of their rule ?

(As to the first point we should note that according to Mr. R. P. Chanda the inscription of Nayanika is later than the Besnagar Inscription of Bhagavata, possibly the penultimate king of the "line" of Pushyamitra mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.¹ Consequently Simuka

servants. But that designation should properly be applied to the seven Abhiras who are mentioned as the successors of the line of Simuka on page 45 of Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (cf. *Vishnu*. P. IV. 24. 13).

I MASI., No. 1, pp. 14-15. In IHQ, 1929 (p. 601) Mr. Chanda points to the agreement of the NSnSghSt script with the Besnagar Inscription of the time of Antialkidas. But the exact date of Antialkidas is uncertain. He may have belonged to the latter half of the second century B.C. or the first half of the next century.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, while disagreeing with the views of Mr. Chanda in regard to certain points, admits, after a detailed examination of certain epigraphs, that "the NSnSghat inscriptions show the use of a very large number of K?atrapa or early Kusana forms side by side with older ones" [*Mem. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XI. No. 3, p. 145]. According to Rapson (*Andhra Coins*, Ixxvii) the form of *Xhfakshara-'da'* found in the Nanaghat record resembles that of a coin-legend which is assignable to the first or second century B.C.

It is not suggested that either Banerji or Rapson placed the Nanaghat record in the first century B.C. But some of the facts they have placed before us do not preclude the possibility of a date in the first century B.C. The theory that the record belongs to the second century B.C. rests in some measure on the assumption tacitly accepted by the older generation of scholars that Kharavela's thirteenth year corresponds to the year 165 of the time of the Maurya kings (Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, 39 ; Rapson xvii).

may be placed in the Kanva period, *ie.* in the first century B. C.—a date which accords with Puranic evidence.¹

As to the second point Mr. R. D. Banerji gives good grounds for believing that the expression *Tirvasa-sata* occurring in the passage "*Pamcliame che dani vase Namdaraja ti-vasa-sata.....*" of the Hathigumpha Inscription means not 103 but 300.² This was also the view of Mr. Chanda and, at one time, of Dr. Jayaswal.³

1 Buhler also observes (ASWL, Vol. V, 65) that the characters of the Nanaghat inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamputra Satakarni and his son PulumSyi. Scholars who place the Nanaghat record in the first half of the second century B C, and the epigraphs of the time of Gautamputra Satakarni in the second century A.D., will have to account for the paucity of Satavahana records during a period of about three hundred years (if that be the actual length of the interval between the age of the husband of Naganika and the reign of the son of Balasri). Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*The Monuments of Sane hi*, Vol. I, pt. iv, p. 277) places the Nanaghat record during the period 100-75 B.C.

2 JBORS. 1917,495-497.

3 JBORS, 1917,432; cf. 1918, 377,385. The older view was changed in 1927, 238, 244. According to the usually accepted interpretation of a passage in the Hathigumpha record Kharavela, in his fifth year, extended an aqueduct that had not been used for "*ti-vasa-sata*" since Nandaraja. If "*ti-vasa-sata*" is taken to mean 103 years, Kharavela's accession must be placed 103-5-98 years after Nandaraja. His elevation to the position of Yuvaraja took place 9 years before that date, *ie.*, 98-9=89 years after Nandaraja (*ie.*, not later than 324 B.C.-89 = 235 B.C.). Kharavela's father was apparently on the throne at that time, and he seems to have been preceded by *his* father. But we learn from Asoka's inscriptions that Kali ft ga was actually governed at that time by a Maarya Kumar a under the suzerainty of As ok a himself. Therefore "*ti-vasa-sata*" should be taken to mean 300, and not 103 years. The figure 'three hundred' (a round number) is in substantial agreement with the *Puranic* tradition about the interval between the Nandas and Stakarni I, 137 (period of the Mauryaa) + 112(of the Suiigai) + 45 (of the Kan vas) +23 (of Simuka) + 10 (of Krishna)=327-

If *Ti-vasa-sata* means 300, Kharavela and his contemporary Satakarni may have flourished 300 years after Nandaraja, i.e., in or about 24 B. C. This agrees with the Puranic evidence according to which Satakarni's father (or uncle) Simuka assailed the last Kanva king Simrman (c. 40-30 B. C.).¹

We now come to the third point, viz., the determination of the exact number of Satavahana kings, and the duration of their rule.

Regarding each of these matters we have got in the *Purwa** quite a number of different traditions. As to the first the *Matsya Purana* says—

"*Ekona-vimsatir*² *hyete Andhra bholshyavti vai mahlrn*," but; it gives thirty names.³

The *Vayn Purnia*, with the exception of the 'M' manuscript, says—

"*Ityete vai nripas trimsad Amlhra bholcschyanti ye mahlm*", (these thirty Andhras will enjoy the earth); but most of the *Vaytt*, manuscripts name only seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen kings.

As to the duration of the Andhra rule several *Matsya* manuscripts assign to them a period of 460 years.

"*Tesham varslia Satani syus chatvuri shastir eva cha*"

Another *Matsya* manuscript puts it slightly differently:—

"*Dvadakadhilcam etesham rajyam mta-chatnahtayam*" i.e. the period of their sovereignty is 412 years ;

1 Simuka may have ascended the throne (in the Deccan) several years before the date 40-30 B.C. when he assailed the Kanvgyanas, possibly in Central India. The period of his rule after the defeat of the Kanvas may have been less than 23 years. Thus the actual interval between the Nandas and Satakarni may well have been a little less than 327 years.

2 Variant *kona navatim* (DKA, 43).

3 Pargiter points (p. 36) out that 3 *Mtttsya* M=s. name 30, and the others vary the number from 28 to 21.

while the reigns of kings mentioned in certain *Vayu* Mss. amount, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, to only 272 years and a half.

Obviously according to one tradition there were about seventeen, eighteen or nineteen kings, whose rule lasted some three centuries, while according to another tradition there were thirty kings the length of whose reigns covered a period of more than 400 years. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the so-called *Andhra-bhritya* dynasty, and that the longer period represents the total duration of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of about three centuries, and the seventeen, eighteen or nineteen names given in the *Vayih Purana* and hinted at in the *Matsya*, refer to the main branch. That there were several families of Satavahanas or Satakarnis, distinct from the main line that had its *principal* seat in the upper Valley of the Godavari, cannot be denied) The *Kavya Mimamsa* of Rajasekhara and several other works as well as epigraphs in the Kanarese country and elsewhere testify to the existence of Satavahanas and Satakarnis who ruled over Kuntala¹ (the Kanarese districts) before the Kadambas. The fullest *Matsya* list includes a group of kings (Nos. 10-14), including one named "Kuntala" Satakarni, who are (generally speaking) passed over in silence by the *Vuyur Skanda-svati*, No. 11 of the full list, reminds one of *Skandamg&Sotaka*, a prince of a Kanarese line of Satakarnis

1 A Satavahaoa of Kuntala is referred to by the *Kavya-MimZwsa* (1934, ch. X, p. 50) as having ordered the exclusive use of *Prakrit* in his harem. He may have been identical with the famous king Hala (c/. *Kuntala-janavayucinna Halena*, *ibid*, Notes, p. 197).

2 Even Hala (No. 17) is omitted in the *Vayu* Ms. (*DKA*, p. 36) and the *Brahmanda P.* (Rapson, *Attdhra Coins*, lxvii).

mentioned in a Kanheri inscription.¹ As to Kuntala Satakarni (No, 13), the commentary on Vatsyayana's *Kfmasutm* takes the word "Kuntala" in the name Kuntala Satakarni Satavabana to mean "*Kuntala-vislbaye jatatvat tat-aamakhyah*."² It is, therefore, fair 'to conclude that the *Maisya* MSS. which mention 30 Satavabana kings include not only the main group of kings but also those who were closely associated with Kuntala.

On the other hand, the *Vayxi*, *Bralmwiitla* and certain *Matnya* MSS., generally speaking, show a tendency to omit the Satavahanas of Kuntala and the rulers of the period of Saka revival under Rudra-daman I, and mention only about 19 kings most of whom belonged to the main line whose rule may have lasted for about three centuries. If the main line of Satavabana kings consisted only of about nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule be approximately three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Puranic statement that Simuka flourished in the time of the later Kanvas, that is to say, in the first century B.C., and that his dynasty ceased to rule in the Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The sovereignty of the Satavahanas and Satakarnis of Kuntala lasted longer and did not come to an end probably before the fourth century A.D., when it was ended by the Kadambas. Thus the total duration of the rule of all the lines of

1 Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, Hit. The fact that he was a prince at the time of the record need not prove that he never came to the throne. The *Puranic* lists themselves often include names of princes (e.g., Arjuna, Abhimanyu, SiddhSrtha) who never ruled as kings. Certain *Matsya* Mss. insert the group to which SkandasvSti belongs after no. 29, i.e., Chandasr!*(DKA. p. 36).

2 He was so named because he was born in the Kuntala country. Cf. names like Uruvela-Nadl - and Gaya Kassapa (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 194).

Satakarnis is really more than 400 years.¹ The kings of the Kuntala group (Nos. 10-14 of the DKA list) are no doubt usually placed before the great Gautainiputra and his successors. But Pargiter points out that in certain *Matsya* MSS. No. 10-15 are placed after the penultimate king of the line (No. 29).² As to Hala (No. 17) if he is really the author of the *Gathasaptasati*, he could hardly have flourished before the fourth century A.D. The references to *Vikramaditya-charita*, *Aiigaraka-vara* and *Radhika* make it difficult to assign to him a date before the Great Gautainiputra. We have many other instances of the inversion of the order of kings in the *Purayas*.³ The fact that the extant Puranic texts do misplace kings appears abundantly clear from the recent discovery of a coin of Siva Sri Apilaka whom Mr. Dikshit connects with the *later* Satavahanas though the *Purdnas* place him *early* in the list.⁴

Regarding the **original home** of the Satavahana family there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars

1 The period '300 years' (*Vayu P.*) may refer to the rule of the *Sriparvatiya Andhras* (DK\, 46). Even then it is important to remember that the cessation of "Andhra" rule in the upper Deccan in the third century A.D. is not incompatible with a date for the founder in the first century B.C. For the rule of the Satakarnis survived in Kuntala till the rise of the Kadambas. Thus the *Puranas* are right in assigning to the entire line of 30 kings a period of about four centuries and a half.

2 DKA, p. 36. On pp. 20, 35, Pargiter gives other instances of 'misplacement' of kings by the Puranic MSS.

3 See pp. 104, 115 *ante*.

4 See *Advatce*, March 10, 1935. p. 9. The coin belongs to the Mahikosala society of Raipur (C.P.). It bears the figure of an elephant with Brahm legend on the obverse. The reverse is blank. On numismatic grounds the place of this ruler is, according to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, more with the later kings of the dynasty than with the earlier ones as indicated in the *Puranas*. For the late date of Hala of the Kuntala country see *Bhand. Com.* Vol, 189. Cf. Reference to RSDha in the *Saptasatakam* (*Ind. Ant.*, III 25n.).

Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya deduces from the discrepant lists of the *Matsya*, and *Vayu puranas*, and from epigraphic and numismatic evidence, certain

think that the Satavahanas were not Andhras (Telugus)

theories about (1) the existence of two *contemporary* Satavahana kingdoms ruled by son and father respectively, (2) cross-cousin marriages and (3) matrilineal succession, which he discusses in JASB, 1927, 503 ff and 1939, 317-339. In his opinion the discrepancies in the Puranic lists cannot be due to any oversight or slip on the part of the editors (1927, p. 504). They are to be explained by the theory of an original version (that contained in *the Matsya*) which gives the full list of Gautamiputras as well as Vasisthiputras, and a "revised text" (contained in the *Vayu* and *Brahmanda*) which retains the Gautamiputras but from which certain names were deliberately expunged as the rulers in question were not considered by the revising authorities to possess the privilege of having the names preserved in the *Puranas* (*ibid* p. 505). Kings (e.g., Vasisthiputra Pulumavi), whose names are "expunged" from the "revised text" of the *Vayu* and the *Brahmanda Puranas*, belong to a "set" which is genealogically connected with the other, viz., the Gautamiputra group, whose names are retained in the revised versions, but "the succession did not coincide with the mode of descent." For instance, Gautamiputra Satakarni, according to the revised list, was succeeded not by his son Pulumavi, but by another Gautamiputra, viz., Yajna Sri (p. 509). It is further added that 'on the coins of the Satavahanas the royal prefix and the mother's clan-name are associated together and also disappear together except in the case of the third king of the line.' In the inscriptions also the association is invariable (excluding the doubtful case of Sivamakasada), except in the case of the third king, 3rd Satakarni of the Nanaghat Cave Inscriptions. It is, therefore, to be concluded that, except for the third king of the line, the royal title and relationship to the mother went together. In other words, the succession was matrilineal (p. 518); "The son succeeded to the conquered realm, and the sister's son to the inherited kingdom" (p. 527).

This *lootnote* cannot afford space for an exhaustive review of the dissertation of Mr. Chattopadhyaya. Nor is it concerned with theories and speculations about social organisation based on 'mother right or father right', cross-cousin marriage in general, and royal successions, that are not germane to the discussion about the Satavahana dynasty. We shall try to confine ourselves to the points that are really relevant to an enquiry about that illustrious line itself. A study of the Puranic lists analysed by Pargiter (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 35ff) would show that the discrepancies in the Puranic lists are not capable of as simple a solution as that proposed by Mr. Chattopadhyaya. It cannot be said, for example, that Gautamiputra (No. 23) is mentioned in all *Matsya* texts and retained in all *Vayu* MSS., and that his son Pulumavi (No. 24) of the so-called "VSsistbtlputra group" is always mentioned in the *Matsya* and omitted only in "later revised versions" of the *Vayu*, etc., Gautamiputra is omitted in *Matsya* MSS, styled c, k and / by Pargiter (p. 36), and also in the *e Vayu* MSS, while his son Pulumavi is omitted in *Matsya* e, f and / MSS. but mentioned in the *Vishnu* and *Bhagavata* lists, notwithstanding the activities of the so-called revisers. The theory of succession of sisters' sons in the so-called revised list of the *Vayu*, *Brahmauda*, etc., is clearly negated by numerous passages where a

but merely Andhra-bhrityas, servants of the Andhras,

successor is distinctly referred to even in these *Puranas* as the son of a predecessor (c/. the cases not only of the first Sri Satakarni but also of Satakarni II, Lambodara, and even Yajna Sri—(DKA, p. 39, fn. 40, 44 ; p. 42, fn. 12.). The use of the expression *tato* (DKA, 39) in the *Matsya Purana* to indicate the relationship between Satakarni I and Pilrnotsaiiga when taken along with the words *tasyapi Purnotsahga* (Vishnu IV. 24. 12) and *Purnamasastu tat stitah* (Bhag. XII. 1. 21) leaves no room for doubt that Puranic evidence represents Purnotsanga—Purnamasa, as the son and immediate successor of Satakarni I and not a 'distant' offspring or a remote offshoot of a 'cross-cousin marriage', who got the throne by the rule of matrilineal succession. There may be no valid reason as asserted by Mr. Chattopadhyaya for identifying him with Vedisri of the Nanaghat record. But the reading Vedisri as pointed out by K. Sastri is wrong. The proper reading is Khandasiri=Skandasri. This prince has been plausibly identified with Purnotsanga's successor, the fifth king of the Puranic list. It is, therefore, difficult to agree with the view (JASB, 1939, 325) that the prince in question (the so-called Vedisri) 'never came to the throne'. Purnotsanga may have been some other 'kumara'. Cf., the nameless prince (*kumara*) 'atavahana' of the Nanaghat record who is mentioned along with 'Hakusiri' (Saktisri). It is also to be noted that even the so-called older version of the *Matsya* speaks of only 19 kings in one passage.

The Gautamlputras and the Vasishthputras did not rule over distinct regions. Gautamlputra Satakarni is represented as the *Raja* of Mulaka, i.e., the district round Paithan, along with other territories. Pulumavi, too, ruled over Paithan as we learn from the Geography of Ptolemy. The epithets "*Vijha..... Malay a-Mahida.....pavata pati*" and "*tisamudatoyapita-vahatia*" applied to Gautamlputra suggest that he was as much entitled to the designation *Dakshinapathapati* as his son.

The statement that, except for the third king, the royal title and relationship to the mother went together, is not borne out by recorded facts. In the Myakadoni Inscription, for example (Ep. Ind., XIV. pp. 153 ff.), we have the passage—*Ratio Satavahananam s (i) ri-Pulum a visa* without any mention of the metronymic. Cf. also the passage *Ratio Sirichada-satisa* (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, p 32). As to cross-cousin marriages, several recorded cases, e.g., those of the wives of Sri Satakarni I and Vasishthputra Sri-Satakarni of the Kanheri Inscription, do not support the theory propounded by Mr. Chattopadhyaya. The kings in question may, doubtless, have been polygamous. But that the extra queens, if any, included cousins is only a guess. The marriages actually hinted at in the epigraphic records of the Satavahanas (unlike those of the Ikshvakus) are not of the 'cross-cousin' type. Indian history knows of cases where a queen or other royal personage takes as much pride in the mother's family as in that of the father (c/. *ubhayakulalahkarabhuta* Prabhavatl, JASB, 1924.58). Does Nayanika lay any claim to a Satavahana origin? The table of cross-cousin marriage on p. 325 of JASB, 1939 would make Satakarni (No. 6 of the list) a brother of

of Kanarese origin. Mr. O. C. Gangoly points out¹ that in some class of literature a distinction is suggested between the Andhras and the Satavahanas. In the *Epigraphia IwMca*,² Dr. Sukthankar edited an inscription of Siri-Pulumavi, "king of the Satavahanas," which refers to a place called Sataxahanihara.³ The place finds mention also in the Hirahadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Siva-skandavarman in the slightly altered form of Satahani-rattha. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the territorial division Satavahani-Satahani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, and that it was the original home of the Satavahana family. Other indications point to the territory immediately south of the *Madhyadesa* as the original borne of the Sfatavahana-Satakarnis. The *Vinaya Texts*⁴ mention a town called "*Setakannika*" which lay on the southern frontier of the *Majjhima-desa*. It is significant that the earliest records of the Satakarnis are found in the Northern Deccan and Central India ; and the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, king of Orissa, refers to the family as 'protecting the West'. The name 'Andhra' probably came to be

Nayanika and a brother-in-law of Satakarni (No. 3 of the list) and a son of Maharathi Tranakayiro. This is negatived by the Nanaghat epigraph which refers to the Maharathi as *Atngiya* (or *Ambhiya*) *kulavardhana*, whereas both the Satakarnis belong to the family of Simuka Satavahana according to Puranic evidence. Gautami-Balasri who is turned into a sister or clan-sister of Sivasvstt (JASB, 1927, 590) refers merely to her position as a *badhu*, *mat a*, and *pitamahi*, but never for once suggests that she herself sprang from the family the restoration of whose glory is referred to in exulting terms.

1 JAHRS, XI. pp 1 and 2. pp 14-15. The Andhras contributed one melody which is recognised in the musical literature of India as *Andhri*, while the Satavahanas contributed another named after them as *Satavahani* according to the text of the *Brihat-Desi*.

2 Vol. XIV (1917).

3 See also *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1918-19, p. 21, *On the Home of the so called Andhra Kings*.— V. S. Sukthankar. Cf. JRAS , 1923. 89 f.

1 S. 8. E. XVII, 38.

applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power, governing the territory at the mouth of the river Krishna.¹

There is reason to believe that the so-called "Andhra" "Andhra-bhritya" or Satavahana kings were Brahmanas with a little admixture of Naga blood. The *Dvatrimsatputtalika* represents Salivahana (*Prakrit* form of Satavahana) as of mixed **Brahmana and Naga origin**.² The Naga connection is suggested by names like Naga-nika³ and Skanda-naga-Sataka, while the claim to the rank of Brahmana is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nasikprasasti of Gantamiputra Satakarni the king is called "*Eka Bamhana*," i.e., the unique Brahmana.) Some scholars, however, are inclined to take *Bamhana* to mean merely a Brahmanical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that (Oautamiputra is also called "*hatiya-dapa-madana*", i.e., the destroyer of the pride and conceit of Kshatriyas.) The expression "*Eha-bamhana*" when read along with the passage "*Khatiya-dapa-mana-madana*" leaves no room for doubt that Oautamiputra of the Satavahana family not only claimed to be a Brahmana,⁴ but a Brahmana

1 Cf. the transformation of the Eastern Chalukyas into Cholas from the time when Kulottunga I mounted the Chola throne. For the origin and meaning of the names Satavahana and Satakarni see also *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 599n; JBORS., 1917, December, p. 442n; IHQ, 1929, 388; 1933, 88, 256 and JRAS., 1929, April; also *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 1938, IX. 2. 327f. Both Barnett and Jayaswal connect them with the Satiya-puta. Przyluski thinks that the names may have been Sanskritised from Austro-Asiatic terms signifying, "Son of horse." For other interpretations see Aravamuthan, *the Kaveri, the Uaaharis*, p. 51n. (karni=ship; Vahana=Oar or Sail); Dikshitar, *Indian Culture*, I I, 549 ff.

2 Cf. E. H. D., Sec. VII.

3 Buhler, ASWI, vol v, p 64 n4.

4 In *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 513 ff, and *Bp. Ind.*, XXII. 32ff. Miss Bhramar Ghosh and Dr. Bhandarkar seem to reject the interpretation of the expressions "*Eka Bamhana*" and "*Khatiya'dapa-mana-madana*" proposed by

like Parasurama who humbled the pride of the Kshatriyas. As a matter of fact in the *prasasti* the king is described as "the unique Brahmana in prowess equal to Rama".¹

According to the *Puranas* Smiuka, (c. 60-37 B.C.) gave the final *coup de grace* to the Sunga-Kanva power. He was succeeded by his brother **Krishna** (c. 37-27 B.C.). This king has been identified with Kanha "*Raja* of the *Satavahana-kula*" mentioned in a Nasik inscription

Senart and Buhler. It is suggested that the word *bamhana* may stand for *Brahmanya*, that *Khatiya* may refer to the Xathroi or Khatriai tribe mentioned by classical writers, and that the expression *Rajarisi-vadhu* used in reference to Gautami Balasri is enough to show that the Satavahana rulers never claimed themselves to be *Brahmanas* or Brahmana sages. It is nobody's case that the Satavahanas claimed to be mere "Brahmana sages." But is it not a bit too ingenious to imagine that the well-known terms Brahmana and Kshatriya are not to be taken in their ordinary sense, and that they really stand for non-Brahmanas and non-Kshatriyas? As to the use of the expression *Rajarisi-vadhu*, would not *Brahmanas* be a singularly inappropriate description of a family of kings even though they were Brahmanas? The term *Rajarshi* is not used exclusively to denote non-Brahmanas rulers. In the *Padma Purana* (*Patala-khandam*, 61, 73) for instance, Dadhichi is styled a *Rajarshi*. In the *Vayu Purana* (57, 121 ff.) the epithets "*Rajarshayo mahasattvah*" are used in reference to *Brahma-Kshatramaya nripah* (*Brahma-kshatradayo nripah*, according to the reading of the Matsya text, 143, 37:40). In the *Matsya Purana* (50. 5-7) the epithet *Rajarshi* is applied to a king who sprang from the family of the Maudgalyas who are called *Kshatropeta dvijatayah* and one of whom is styled *Brahmishthah*. The *Annadamahgala* refers to Krishna Chandra as *Raja-Rajachakravaril Rishi-Rishiraja*.

Attention may no doubt be invited to the Puranic statement that the founder of the "Andhra" dynasty was a "*vrishala*" (DKA, 38). But the explanation* will be found in the *Mahabharata*. The great epic (XII. 63. 1 ff.) informs us that 'drawing the bowstring, destruction of enemies... are not proper (*akaryam paramam*) for a Brahmana. A Brahmana should avoid royal service (*raja-preshya*). A Brahmana who marries a *Vrishali* and takes to royal service (*raja-preshya*) and other work not legitimate for him is *akartna*, a Brahmana so-called (*Brahma-band hu*). He becomes a Sudra. The Satavahanas actually drew the bowstring and intermarried with Dravidians and Sakas as the Mauryas had intermarried with Yavanas.

1 A pun is here intended as Rama seems to refer to Bala Deva as well. The use of the name of Rama, instead of Bala (cf. Bala-Kesava in *Hariv*, *Vishnuparva*, 52, 20) is significant. Taken in conjunction with *ekabamhana* it undoubtedly implies comparison with Bhrgu-Rama or Parasu-Rama as well.

The record tells us that a certain cave was caused to be made by a high official (*Sramaiia Mahamatra*) of Nasik in the time of King Kanha.

Kanha-Krishna was succeeded according to the *Puraiias* by **Satakarni** (c. 27-17 B.C.). This Satakarni has been identified with—

(1) King Satakarni *Dakshinapatha-pati* (lord of the Deccan), son (or nephew) of Simuka **Satavahana**, mentioned in the Nanaghat Inscription of Nayanika ¹;

(2) Satakarni, lord of the west, who was defied (or rescued ?) by Kharavela, king of Kalinga ;

(3) *lidjan* Sri Satakarni of a Sanchi Inscription ;

(4) The elder Saraganus mentioned in the *Penplas* ;

(5) Satakarni, lord of Pratishthana, **father of Sakti-kumara**, mentioned in Indian literature ; and

(6) Siri-Sata of coins.²

The first, fifth and sixth identifications are usually accepted by all scholars. The second identification is also probable because the *Puranas* place Satakarni, the successor of Krishna, after the Kanvas, *i e.*, in the first century B.C., while the Hathfgumpha Inscription seems to place Kharavela 300 years after **Nanda-raja**, *i. e.*, possibly in the first century B.C.

(Marshall objects to the third identification on the ground that Sri Satakarni who is mentioned in the

The comparison of a militant ruler claiming Brahmanahood and fighting Against Kshatnyas, with Parasu-Rama is a favourite theme of writers of *Praistis*—cf, *Bhrigupatiriva dripta kshatrasahhara-harin* which is applied to Ambaprasad in the Chitor-gadh ins. of 1274 A D.

1 The usual view among scholars is that Satakarni I is a son of Simuka. If he is a nephew (son of Krishna, brother of Simuka) as the *PurSnas* assert, it is difficult to explain why Krishna's name should be omitted from the family group, mentioned in the Nanaghat records, while the name of Simuka as well as that of the father of Satakarni's queen should find prominent mention. The final decision must await future discoveries.

2 *Aiuihra Coins* (Rapson), p. xciii. CHI, 531.

Nanaghat and Hathigumpha Inscriptions reigned in the middle of the second century B.C. ;) his dominions, therefore, could not, in his opinion, have included Eastern Malwa (the Sanchi region) which, in the second century B.C., was ruled by the Surigas and not by the "Andhras".¹ But we have seen that the date of the Hathigumpha Inscription is possibly the first century B.C. (300 years after Nanda-*raja*). The *Purwua*s, too, as is well-known, place the kings mentioned in the Nanaghat Inscription not earlier than the Kanvas, i.e., in the first century B.C. As Sunga rule had terminated about this time the identification of the successor of Krishna of the Satavahana family with Satakarni of the Sanchi Inscription, therefore, does not conflict with what is known of the history of Eastern Malwa in the second century B.C. Lastly, it would be natural for the first Satakarni to be styled simply Satakarni or the elder Satakarni (*Saraganus*, from a *Prakrit* form like *Sadaganna*), while it would be equally natural for the later Satakarnis to be distinguished from him by the addition of a geographical designation like *Kuntala*, or a metronymic like *Gautamiputra* or *Vasishthiputra*.

We learn from the Nanaghat Inscriptions that Satakarni, son (?) of Simuka, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the powerful Amgiya or Ambhiya² family, the scions of which were called Maharathi, and became sovereign of the whole of Dakshinapatha. He seems also to have controlled Eastern Malwa and undoubtedly performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice) The conquest of Eastern Malwa by his family is possibly implied by coins and the Sanchi Inscription when read along with the Puranic statement that in succession to the *Suhyabhritya* Kanvayana kings,

1 *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13.

2 *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 88.

the 'earth'¹ will pass to the 'Andhras'. The inscription records the gift of a certain Anatnda, the son of Vasithi, the foreman of the artisans of *Bajan Siri-Satakani*.² (patakarni seems to have been the first prince to raise the Satavahanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godavari valley which rivalled in extent and power the Sunga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers. According to the evidence of Indian as well as classical writers,³ the capital of the Satavahana Empire was at Pratishthana¹ "the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godavari in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad".

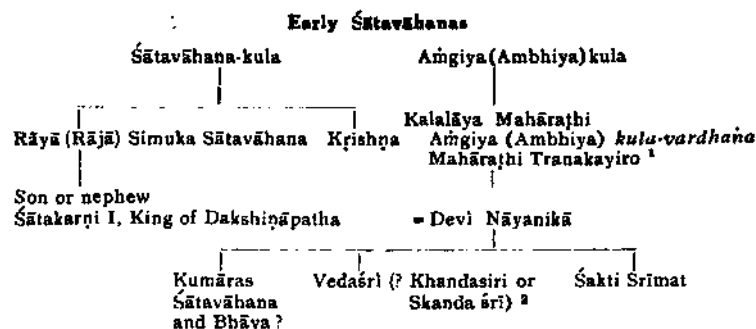
After the death of Satakarni his wife Nayanika or Naganika daughter of the Maharathi Tranakayiro Kalalaya, the sciort of the Amgiya (?) family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vedasri (?Khandasiri or Skandasri) and Sakti-Sri (Sati Sirimata) or Haku-Siri. The last-mentioned prince is probably identical with Sakti-kumara, son of Salivahana, mentioned in Jaina literature.⁴

1 i.e. the Vidisa region in Eastern Malwa. For the connection of the Suhgas with Vidisa, see, Pargiter, *DKA*, 49. The Kanvayanas had become King 'among the Sungas' (Sungeshu, *DKA* 34), apparently in the Vidisa" territory.

2 The conquest of West Malwa is probably suggested by round coins of Sri Sfta (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, xcii-xciii).

3 C/. Jinaprabhasuri, *Trlthakalpa*, JBBRAS, X. 123 ; and Ptolemy *Geography*, vii. 1. 82. See also *Avaiyaka Sutra*, JBORS.. 1930, 290 ; Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *EHD*. Sec. VII.

4 *Viracharitra*, Ind. Ant., VIII, 201. ASWI, V, 62n.



The Śātavāhanas were not the only enemies of the decadent Magadha empire in the first century B. C. We learn from the Hāthigumphā Inscription that when Śātakarṇi was ruling in the west, **Khāravela of Kālīṅga** carried his arms to Northern India and humbled the king of Rājagṛiha.)

Khāravela belonged to the **Cheta** dynasty. Mr. R. P. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the *Vessantara Jātaka*.³ The *Milinda-paṇḥo* contains a statement which seems to indicate that the Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the *Cheta* king Sura Parihara agree with what we know about the *Chedi* king Uparichara.⁴

Very little is known regarding the history of Kālīṅga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Cheta or Cheti dynasty probably in the first century B.C. (three

1 On page 57 of Rapson's *Andhra Coins* Kalālāya Mahārājhi bears the name "Sadakana" (= Śātakarṇi). His other name or epithet "Tranakayiro" reminds us of "Tanaka" which occurs as a variant of the name of the 18th "Andhra" king of Pargiter's list (DKA, 36, 41).

2 ASI. AR, 1923-24, p. 88; A. Ghosh, *History of Central and Western India*, 140. Mr. Ghosh identifies him with the fifth king of the Purāṇic list.

3 No. 547.

4 Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, SBE, XXXV, p. 287; Mbh. I, 63, 14. According to Sten Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 1, 1923, p. 38) *Ceti* (not *Ceta*) is the designation of the dynasty of Khāravela occurring in the Hāthigumpha Inscription.

hundred years after the Nandas). The names of the first two¹ kings of the Cheta line are not clearly indicated in the Hathfugumpha inscription. LUDers Ins. No. 1347 mentions a king named Vakradeva (Vakadepasiri or Kfidepasiri ?) But we do not know for certain whether he was a predecessor or successor of Kharavela.

During the rule of the second king, who must have reigned for at least 9 years (c. 37-28 B.C.), Kharavela occupied the position of Crown Prince (*Yuvaraja*). When he had completed his 24th year, he was anointed *Maharaja* of Kaliinga (c. 28 B.C.). His chief queen was the daughter of a prince named Lalaka, the great-grandson (according to some) of Hathisimha. In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kalinga-nagara. In the next year (c. 27 B.C.), without taking heed of Satakarni, he sent a large army to the west and with its aid, having reached the Krishnavena, struck terror into the hearts of the people (or city) of Musika (AsikaP)-nagara.² According to another interpretation, 'he went to the rescue of Satakarni and having returned with his purpose accomplished, he with his allies made gay the city.' He followed up his success by further operations in the west and, in his fourth year, compelled the *Itathilcas* and *Bhojakas* to do him homage. In the fifth year (c. 24 B.C.) he had an aqueduct, that had been opened out 300 years back by Nandaraja, conducted into his capital.

Emboldened by his successes in the Deccan, the Kaliinga king turned his attention to the North. In

1 For *Purusha-Yuga* (generation) see Hemachandra, *Parisishtha-parvan*, VIII. 326 *garni purushayugani nava yavattavanvayah*.

2 Cf. Ep. Ind. XX. 79, 87. Barua reads Asvaka o Rsika (*Old Brahmi Ins.* p. 176; Asika *IHQ*, 1938, 263). Dr. F. W. Thomas, too, and in the passage no reference to a Musika capital (*JRAS.*, 1922, 83). The alternative interpretation in the next sentence is his. Cf. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, 39.

the eighth year he stormed Gorathagiri (Barabar Hills near Gaya) and harassed (the king of ?) Rajagriha.¹ If Dr. Jayaswal is right in identifying this king with Brihaspatimitra, then king Brihaspati must have ruled over Magadha after the Kanva dynasty.

The attack on Northern India was repeated possibly in the tenth and certainly in the twelfth year. In the tenth year the Kalinga king, in the opinion of some scholars, overran countries in *Bharat-varsha*, which are taken to refer to those in Upper India. In the twelfth year lie claims to have terrified or harassed the kings of *Uttarapatha* and watered his elephants in the *Gahga* (Ganges).² The north-western expeditions apparently led to no permanent result. But in north-eastern India the Kalinga king was more successful ; the repeated blows certainly "struck terror into the Magadhas," and compelled the Magadha king (Brihaspatimitra ?) to bow at his feet.

Having subjugated Magadha, and despoiled Aiiga, the invader once more turned his attention to Southern India. Already in his eleventh year "lie had had Pithuda ploughed with a plough drawn by an ass."³ Levi⁴ identified this city with Pihuccla of the *Uttaradhyayana* (21), and 'Pitundra metropolis' of Ptolemy in the interior

1 Some scholars find in line 8 of the Hathlgumpha Ins. a reference to the *Yavana-rajā (Di) ma (ta)*, i.e., De me trios who "went off to Mathura in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble" (*Acta Orient alia*, I, 27 ; *Cal. Rev.* July, 1926, 153). But the reading is doubtful (*cf.* Barua, *Old Brahmi inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 17-18 ; *IHQ.*, 1929, 594). Even if the reading *Dimata* be correct, the reference may be to Diyumeta or Diomedes (Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 36) and not necessarily to Demetrios.

2 Some scholars find here a reference to the *Sugamgiya* palace (*Ep Ind xx.* 88).

3 Barua interprets the passage differently. But *cf.* Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 26.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, 1926. 145. Sea-faring merchants are represented as going by boat from Champa to Pihunda in the days of MahSvIra, thejina. *Cf.* *Mbh* I. 63. 67, 186, VII. 50.

of the country of Masulipatam (Maisoloi). The conqueror seems to have pushed further to the south and made his power felt even in the Tamil country by princes amongst whom the most eminent was the king of the Pandyas. In the thirteenth year Kharavela erected pillars on the Kumari Hill (Udayagiri in Orissa) in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats (Khandagiri ?).

SECTION III. THE END OF GREEK RULE IN NORTH-WEST
INDIA.

While the remnant of the Magadhan monarchy was falling before the onslaughts of the Satavahanas and the Ohetas, the Greek power in the North-West was also hastening towards dissolution. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eukratides. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, one derived from Demetrios holding for a time Kapisa and then Sakala (Sialkot) with a considerable portion of the Indian interior, the other derived from Eukratides holding Nicaea¹, Takshasilil and Pushkaravati as well as Kapisa (which was conquered from Apollodotos) and Bactria. According to Gardner and Rapson, Apollodotos, Antimachos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Agathokleia,² the Stratos, Menander, Dionysios, Zoilos,³ Hippostratos and Apollophanes⁴ probably belonged to the **house of Euthydemus** and Demetrios. Most of

1 It lay on the Jhelum between that river and the Chenab and was probably conquered by Heliokles in the reign of Strato I (CHI, 553, 699).

2 According to some numismatics (CHI, 552) she was probably Menander's queen. But the theory has to explain why the 'evidence' regarding the supposed relationship is so *vague* (*contra* Heliokles and Laodike, Hermaios and Kalliope).

3 "Apollodotos Philopator, Dionysios and Zoilos show a common and peculiar monogram struck probably by the same moneyer in one mint*. Hoards of coins of these three princes have been found on the upper Sutlej. Coins of Zoilos have also been found at Pathaojtot and near Sakala (JRAS, 1913, 645nl, JASB 1897. 8; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 316 f.)

4 Apollophanes shares a monogram with Zoilos and Strato (Tarn, *Greeks*, 317). Polyxenos, too, belongs to this group (p. 318). Whitehead considers him a close relation of Strato I (*Indo-Greek Coins*, 54n). The later kings of this group are connected with the Eastern Panjab (EHI, 4th ed., pp. 257-58). Tarn infers from a statement of Plutarch that after the death of Menander the eastern capital was shifted from Sakala to Bukephala.

these sovereigns used similar coin-types,¹ specially the figure of the goddess Athene hurling the thunderbolt, which is characteristic of the Euthydemian line. Pantaleon and Agathokles strike coins with almost identical types.² They both adopt the metal nickel for their coins, and they alone use in their legends the *Brahmi* alphabet. They seem, therefore, to have been closely connected probably as brothers. It is not improbable that Agathokleia was their sister.³ Agathokles (and possibly Antimachos) issued a series of coins⁴ in commemoration of Alexander, Antiochos Nikator (Antiochos III Megas according to Malala), Diodotos Soter, Euthydemos and Demetrios Aniketos (the Invincible).

Apollodotos, the Stratus, Menander and some later kings used the Athene type of coins. Apollodotos and Menander are mentioned 'together in literature. The author of the *Peiplus of the Erythraean Sea* says that "to the present day ancient *drachmae* are current in Barygaza (Broach) bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotos and Menander". Again, in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotos are mentioned as Indian kings.⁵ It appears from the *Milinda'panho* that the capital of the dynasty to which Menander belonged was Sakala or Sagala.⁶

1 For an interesting account of Indo-Greek com-typis see H. K. Deb IHQ, 1934, 509 ff.

2 Dancing girl in oriental costume according to Whitehead, Maya, mother of the Budha, in the nativity scene according to Foucher (JRAS, 1919, p. 90).

3 Agathokleia is also closely connected with the Stratos, being probably mother of Strato I, and great-grandmother of Strato II.

4 According to Tarn (447 f) the fictitious Seleukid pedigree is the key to the (pedigree) coin series of Agathokles, the Just.

5 Rhys Davids, *Militula*, SBE, 35, p. xix. Cf. JASB, Aug., 1833.

6 "Atthi Yonakanam nanaputabhedanam Sagalannama nagaram," "Jambudipe Sagala nagare Milindo nam a Raja ahosi." "Atthi kho

We learn from Ptolemy, the Geographer that the city had another name Euthymedia or Euthydemia, a designation which was probably derived from the Euthydemian line. An inscription on a steatite casket which comes from Shinkot in Bajaur territory refers to the 5th regnal year of *Maharaja* Minadra (Menander). The record proves that in the 5th year of his reign the dominions of Menander probably included a considerable portion of the Trans-Indus territory. The Kapisa and Nicaea coins indicate how some of the rulers of the Euthydemian group were gradually pushed to the Indian interior. They had to remove their capital to Sakala.

To the rival **family of Eukratides** belonged Heliokles and probably Antialkidas who ruled conjointly with Lysias. A common type of Antialkidas is the Pilei of the Dioscuri, which seems to connect him with Eukratides ; his portrait according to Gardner resembles that of Heliokles. It is not improbable that he was an immediate successor of Heliokles.¹ A Besnagar Inscription makes him a contemporary of Kasi (Kosi = Kautsi ?) putra Bhagabhadra of Vidisa who ruled some time after Agnimitra probably in or about the latter half of the second century B.C. The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Takshasila or Taxila, the place from which his ambassador Heliodoros went to the kingdom of Bhagabhadra. But his dominions seem also to have included Kapisi or Kapisa.² After his death the western Greek kingdom probably split up into three parts, viz.,

Nagasena Sagalath nama nagaram, tattha Mi Undo nama Raja rajjam kareti." The form Yonaka from which chronological conclusions have been drawn in recent time, is comparable to **Madra**, **Vrijika** (Panini, IV. 2. 131).

1 Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. xxxiv.

2 *Camb. Hist.*, 558.

Takshasila (ruled by the **line** represented by Arohebios¹), Pushkalavati (governed by Diomedes, Epander,² Philoxenos, Artemidoros, and Peukolaos), and Kapisi with the Kabul region held successively by Amyntas **and** Hermaeus (Hermaios). With Hermaios was associated his queen, Kalliope. Kapisa was, according to Chinese evidence, probably occupied by the Sai-wang (Saka lord) some time in the latter part of the second century B.C. But the barbarian chieftain, like the Kushan *Yavuga* of later times, may have acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Greek *Basileas*, as Teutonic chieftains in Europe were, during the fifth century A.D., sometimes content with the rank of 'patrician*' and 'consul,' under the nominal authority of the titular Roman emperor,

The Greek power must have been greatly weakened by the feuds of the rival lines of Demetrios and Eukratides. The evils of internal dissension were aggravated by foreign inroads. We learn from Strabo³ that the **Parthians** deprived Eukratides (and the Scythians) by force of arms of a part of Bactriana, which embraced the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva (possibly Aria and Arachosia according to Macdonald). There is reason to believe that the Parthian king Mithradates I penetrated even into India. Orosius, a Roman historian, who flourished about 400 A.D., makes a definite statement to the effect that Mithradates (c. B.C. 171-138)

1 A copper piece of this king is restruck, probably on a coin of Heliokle* (Whitehead, p. 39).

2 The 'Pallas and thunderbolt' type of his silver coins, probably connects him with the Sakala group, *ibid.* 64. Among the rulers of the Gandhara region we should perhaps also include Telephos whose coinage resembles that of Maues, *ibid.* 80. A prince named Nikias apparently ruled in the Jhelum District (EHI, 4th end., 258).

3 H. and F.'s Vol. II, pp.251-253.
O.P. 90—54.

subdued the natives between the Hydaspes¹ and the Indus. His conquest thus appears to have driven a wedge between the kingdom of Eukratides and that of his rival of the house of Euthydemos.

The causes of the final downfall of the Bactrian Greeks are thus stated by Justin : "the Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty ; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians (?) they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weaker Parthians."²

The **Sogdians** were the people of the region now known as Samarkand and Bukhara. They were separated from Bactriana by the Oxus and from the Sakas by the Jaxartes or the Syr Daria.³ By the term Sogdian Justin probably refers not only to the Sogdiani proper but also to the well-known tribes which, according to Strabo,⁴ deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, viz., the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacarauli and the Sacae or Sakas. The story of the Saka occupation of the Indo-Greek possessions will be told in the next chapter. The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus describes how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the Sarancae (Saraucæ) and Asiani who finally conquered Sogdiana and Bactria. The occupation of Sogdiana probably entitled them to the designation Sogdian used by Justin. Sten Konow⁵

1 In the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 568, however, this river has been identified with a Persian stream, the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil.

2 Sten Konow translates the passage from Justin thus : The Bactrians lost both their empire and their freedom, being harassed by the Sogdians (beyond the Oxus), the Arachoti (of the ArgandJb valley of S. Afghanistan), the Drangæ (lake-dwellers, near the Hamun Lake) and the Arei (of Herat), and finally oppressed by the Parthians (Corpus, li. 1, xxi-xxii).

3 Strabo, XI. 8. 8-9.

4 H. and F.'s Tr., Vol. II, pp. 245-246. Cf. JRAS.. 1906, 193 f. ; Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 171.

5 *Modern Rcvieux*, April, 1921. p. 464. *Corpus*, II. 1, xxii, lvii f.

suggests the identification of the Tochari of the Classical writers with the Ta-hia of the Chinese historians. He further identifies the Asii, Asioi or Asiani with the Yiie-chi. We are inclined to identify the Tochari with the Tukharas who formed an important element of the Baotrian population in the time of Btolemy and are described by that author as a great people.¹ They are apparently "the war-like nation of the Bactrians" of the time of the *Periplus*.

The **Drangians**, literally 'lake-dwellers',² referred to by Justin, inhabited the country about the Hamun lake (*Zareh*) between Areia (Herat), Gedrosia (Baluchistan) and Arachosia (Kandahar) and the desert of Eastern Persia, close to and perhaps including at times within its political boundaries the neighbouring province now called Sistan or Seistan (Sakasthana).³ Numismatic evidence indicates that a family whose territory lay mainly in southern Afganistan, viz., the so-called **dynasty of Vonones**, supplanted Greek rule in a considerable part of the Helmund valley, Ghazni and Kandahar (**Arachosia**). Vonones is a Parthian (Imperial) name. Hence many scholars call his dynasty a Parthian family, and some go so far as to assert that this Vonones is the Arsakid king of that name who reigned from A. D. 8 to 14.⁴ But names are not sure proofs of nationality. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the dynasty Saka.⁵ The best name for the family would be Drangian, because the chief centre of their power probably

1 *Iml. Ant*, 1884, pp. 395-396.

2 Schoff, *Parthian Stations*, 32.

3 *Corpus*, xl; Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 92; MASI, 34. 7. Isidore, places Drangiana (Zarangiana) beyond Phra (Farah), and locates Sakasthana beyond this territory, (Schoff, 9). But Herzfeld points out that Sistan is the Achaemenian 'Zrang'.

4 *Camb. Short Hist.* 69.

5 Isidore of Charax who mentions the revolt of Tiridates against Phraates (26 B.C.) and is quoted by Pliny (Schoff, *Parthian Stations*, pp. 5, 13 ff, 17 ;

lay in the Helmmid valley, Arachosia being ruled by a viceroy.¹ On coins Vonones is associated with two princes, viz.,

(i) Spalahora (Spalyris) who is called *Maharaja-bhrata* (the king's brother).

(ii) Spalaga-dama, son of Spalahora.

There is one coin which Edward Thomas and Cunningham attributed to Vonones and Azes I. But the coin really belongs to Manes.² There is a silver coin of a prince named Spalirises which bears on the obverse the legend *Basilens Adelphoy Spaliriso*y, and on the reverse ^a *Maharaja bhrata dhramiasa Spaliriwsa*," i.e., of Spalirises the Just, brother of the king. This king has been identified by some with Vonones and by others with Maues.³ Vonones was succeeded as supreme ruler by Spalirises.⁴ The coins of Spalirises present two varieties, viz.,

1. Coins which bear his name alone in both the legends :

JRAS. 1904, 706; 1906. 180:1912,990) refers (*Parthian Stations*, 9. para 18, ZDMG., 1906, pp. 57-58 ; JRAS., 1915, p. 831 ; Tarn. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 53) to Sigal in Sacastene (near Kandahar ') as the royal residence of the Sakas (not Parthians) about the beginning of the Christian era. The names of the brother or brothers and nephew of Vonones, (or Maues) ruling in southern Afghanistan seem to be Scythian (cf. Rapson quoted in *Corpus* II. 1, xlii). Thus the local rulers of southern Afghanistan about B.C. 26 or a little later were probably Sakas. It is, however, possible that they acknowledged the supremacy of the great king of Parthia.

1 *Corpus*, xlii.

2 Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum (Indo-Greek Coins)*, p. 93. Smith, *Catalogue*, 38. Tarn possibly repeats the mistake (*Greeks*, 344 n 2).

3. Herzfeld identifies the royal brother of Spalirises with Maues (*Camb. Short Hist.* 69).

4 It should be noted that certain coin-types of Spalirises are found restruct on coins of Vonones (CHI, 574) and on a copper coin of Spalyris and Spalagadama (*Corpus*, II. 1. xli). This proves that Spalirises was later than Vonones, Spalyris and Spalagadama. The square Omicron on a coin of Spalyris probably points to a date not earlier than Orodes II (55 to 38/7 B.C.). Tarn, *Greeks*, 326.

2. Coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of Azes on the reverse in the *Kharoshthi* legend.

The second variety proves that Spalirises had a colleague named Azes who governed a territory where the prevailing script was *Kharoshthi*. This Azes has been identified with king Azes of the Panjab about whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

As regards the Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks we must refer in the first place to the prince of the house of Pushyamitra who is represented in Kalidasa's *Mulavikagnimitram* as defeating the Yavanas on the Sindhu. An Indian named Bhadrayasas seems to have had some share in the destruction of the Greek kingdom of the Eastern Panjab. The Nasik *pramsti* of Gautamf-putra Satakarni represents that king as the destroyer of the Yavanas, apparently of Western India.

The final destruction of Greek rule was, as Justin says, the work of the Parthians. Marshall tells us¹ that the last surviving Greek principality,² that of Hermaios in the Kabul valley, was overthrown by the Parthian king Gondophernes.³ The Chinese historian Fan-ye also refers to the Parthian occupation of Kabul.⁴ "Whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien-tchou (India Proper), Ki-pin (Kapisa) or Ngansi (Parthia),

1 *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 14.

2 Among the latest Greek rulers of the Kabul Valley we have to include Theodamas whose existence is disclosed by a Bajaur Seal Inscription (*Corpus*, II, i. xv, 6).

3 In ASI, AR, 1929-30 pp. 56 ff, however, Marshall modifies his earlier views in regard to the conquest of the Greek kingdom of Kabul by the Parthians. He suggests that the Kabul Valley became a bone of contention between Parthians and Kushans and changed hands more than once before the final eclipse of the Parthian power.

4 JRAS., 1912, 676; *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta Univtwity, Vol. I, p. 81.

became powerful, it brought Kabul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kabul.....Later, Kabul fell under the rule of Parthia."¹ The real conquest of Kabul by the Parthians could hardly have taken place till after the time of Isidore (last quarter of the first century B.C.)² because the writings of that geographer do not include the Kabul valley in the list of the eastern provinces of the Parthian Empire. By A.D. 43-44, however, Parthian rule had extended to this region as we learn from Philostratos.

1 Cf. Thomas JRAS., 1906, 194. For the results of India's contact with the Hellenic world in the domains of religion, administration, literature, science and art see Bhandarkar, *"Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population"* (Ind, Ant., 1911) ; Raychaudhuri, *"Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, 1st ed."* p. 106 ; Foucher, *"The Beginnings of Buddhist Art,"* pp. 9, 111 f.; Coomaraswami, *"History of Indian and Indonesian Art,"* pp. 41 f. ; Sten Konow, *"Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,"* Vol.11, Pt. 1. xv ; Hopkins, *"Religion of India,"* pp. 544 f. ; Keith, *"The Sanskrit Drama,"* pp. 57 f. ; Keith, *"A History of Sanskrit Literature,"* pp. 352 f. ; Max Miiller, *"India—What can it teach Us,"* pp. 321 f. ; Smith, E H I \ pp. 251-6; *"A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon"* Chap. XI ; Imp. Gaz., *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 105 f., 137 f., etc;

2 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 53 ; Schoff. *The Parthian Stations of Isidore o/Charax*, 17.

CHAPTER VIII. SCYTHIAN KULE IN NORTHERN INDIA.

SECTION I. THE SAKAS.

In the second and first centuries B.C., Greek rule in parts of Kafiristan, Gandhara and possibly the Hazara country, was supplanted by that of the Sakas. In the days of Darius, the Achaemenid king of Persia (B. C. 522-486), the Sakas lived beyond Sogdiana (*para-Sugdama*) in "the vast plains of the Syr Darya, of which the modern capital is the town of Turkestan."¹ But already towards the end of the first century B.C. they were established at Sigal in modern Sistan.² The story of their migration from central Asia has been recorded by Chinese historians. The *History of the first Han Dynasty* (*Ts'ien Han-Shu*) states "formerly when the Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yue-tchi the latter emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Tahia ;³ whereupon the *tiai-wang* went to the south, and ruled over Kipin."⁴ Sten Konow points out that the *Sai-wang* are the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation *Saka-murayda*,⁵ *Mitrunda* being a later form of a Saka word *wjjich* has the same meaning as Chinese "*wany*" i.e., king, master, lord. In

1 E. Herzfeld, *MASI*, 34, 3.

2 Schoff, Isidore, *Stathmoi Parthikoi** 17.

3 c. 174-160 B.C. according to some scholars.

4 *JRAS.* 1903. p 22 ; 1932, 958; *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 464. The Saka occupation of Ki-pin must be posterior to the reign of Eukralides and his immediate (Greek) successors.

5 Professor Hermann identifies the *Sai-wang* with the *Sakarauoi* or *Sakaraukoi* of Strabo and other classical authors. *Corpus*, II. 1. xxf. For *Murunda*, see pp. xx.

Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word *Svqimiri*.

The name of the Saka king who occupied Kipin is not known. The earliest ruler of that region mentioned in Chinese records is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted by Yin-mo-fu, the son of the prince of Yung-k'tf,¹ with Chinese help. Yin-mo-fu established himself as king of Kipin during the reign of the Emperor Hsian-ti, which lasted from 73 to 43 B.C., and killed the attendants of an envoy sent in the reign of the Emperor Yuan-ti (B.C. 48-33). In the reign of Cheng-ti (32-7 B.C.) the support of China was sought without success by the king of Kipin, probably the successor of Yin-mo-fu, who was in danger from some powerful adversary, apparently a king of the Yue-chi, who had relations with China about this time as is proved by the communication of certain Buddhist books to a Chinese official in 2 B.C.²

S. Levi at first identified Kipin with Kasmira. But his view has been ably controverted by Sten Konow³ who accepts the identification with Kapisa.⁴ Gandhara was at one time the eastern part of the realm of Kipin. A passage of Hemaandra's *Abhidhana-Chintamani*

1 The identification of Yung-k'u with Yonaka (Tarn, 297) and that of Yin-mo-fu with Hermaios (Tarn, 346) are purely conjectural. Mention may be made in this connection of Zonkah in Tibbat (JASB, 1895, 97). But the problem of identification must await future discoveries,

2 *Calc. Rcv.*, Feb., 1924, pp. 251, 252; Smith, EHI., 3rd ed., p. 258n.; JRAS., 1913, 647; Ind. Ant., 1905, *Kashgar and the Kharoshthi*.

3 Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 291.

4 The country drained by the northern tributaries of the river Kabul, *ibid.*, p. 290; cf. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 259-260. The city of Kapisi probably stood at the junction of the Ghorband and the Panjsbir (Foucher, *Indian Studies presented to Prof. Rapson*, 343). Kipin according to the *Tsien Han-shu* joins Wu-i shan-li (Arachosia and Persia according to Schorl, *Parthian Stations*, 41) on the south-west. *Corpus*, II. 1. xxiv; JRAS., 1912, 684 n. Cf. Dr. Herrmann (JRAS., 1913, 1058 n.) who holds that Ki-pin was Gandhara. The reference to a gold as well as a silver currency in Ki-pin is worthy of note (*Corpus*, II. 1. xxiv). Cf. the gold coin of the city of Pushkalavati (*CHI*, 587).

seems to suggest that the capital of the Sai-wang (*Saka-Muranja*) was Latapaka or Laghman (*Lampakastu Muraiidah syuh*)¹ Sten Konow says that according to the *Ts'ien Hanshn*, or *Annals of the First Han Dynasty*, the Sai, i.e., the Sakas, passed the *Hientu* (the hanging passage), i.e. the gorge west of Skardu on their way to Kipin.² Though the Sakas wrested parts of Kipin (Kapisa-Gandhara) from the hands of Greek *mevidarchs* (governors) they could not permanently subjugate Kabul,³ where the *Basileus* (king) maintained a precarious existence. They were more successful in India. Inscriptions at Mathura and Nasik prove that the Sakas extended their sway as far as the Jumna in the east and the Godavari in the south, and destroyed the power of the 'Alitras' of Mathura and the Satavahanas of Paithan.⁴

No connected or detailed account of the Saka potentates of Kipin is possible. Sakas are mentioned along with the Yavauas in the *Ramayaua*,⁵ the *Malha-bharata*,⁶ the *Manusamhita*⁷ and the *Mahabhashya*.⁸ The *Harivamm*⁹ informs us that they shaved one-half of their heads. The Jaina work *Kalahacharya-lcathanaka* states that their kings were called Sahi.¹⁰ Some of these 'Sahis' are said to have been induced by a Jaina teacher

1 Lampaka (Laghman) is 100 miles-to the east of Kapisene (AGI, 49).

2 Ep. Ind., XIV, 291. *Corpus*, II. 1. xxiii. For possible alternative routes of conquest see JRAS., 1913, 929, 959, 1008, 1023.

3 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. I, p. 81.

4 Some of the sakas seem to have penetrated to the far south of India. A Nigirjunikonda Inscription refers to a Saka-named Moda and his sister Bndhi. Ep. Ind. xx. 37.

5 I. 54. 22 ; IV. 43, 12.

6 II. 32. 17.

7 X. 44.

8 Ind. Ant., 1875. 244.

9 Chap. 14, 16. JRAS., 1906, 204.

10 ZDMG., 34, pp. 247 ff., 262 ; Ind. Ant., X. 222.

to proceed to Surattha (Surashtra) *VisHaya* (country) and Ujjain in Hindukadesa (India). where they overthrew some local chiefs and ruled for four years till they were themselves ousted by the founder of the era of 58 B.C.

The Sakas are also mentioned in the *Prasastis* of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Samudra Gupta. Their kingdom or empire "*Sahasthana*" is probably mentioned in the *Mahdmayuri* (95), in the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription and in the Chandravalli Stone Inscription of the Kadamba Maynrasarman. The passage in the Mathura inscription containing the word Sakasthana runs thus :—

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

Cunningham and Buhler interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit, or in honour, (of the people) of the whole of Sakasthana." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Sakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kathiawad and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Malwa." He took Sarva to be a proper name and translated the inscriptional passage referred to above as "a gift of Sarva in honour of his home."¹

Fleet's objection is ineffective. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Sakas in Kipin, i.e., Kapisa-Gandhara.³ As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathura, the site of the inscription, we should note that the *Marlcandeya Purana*³ refers to a Saka settlement in the *Madhyadesa*. Dr. Thojnas⁴ points out that the

1 JRAS., 1904, 703 f. ; 1903, 155, 643 f. ; Mr. N. G. Majumdar (JASB., 1924, 17) takes Sakastana, to mean Sakrasthana, i.e., 'the place of Indra. Cf. Fleet in JRAS.. 1904, 705.

2 Note also the Kapisa types of the coins of Maues and Spalirises (CHI, 560n, 562, 591) and the foundation of a Kapisa satrapy (*Corpus*, it. 1. 150f.)

3 Chapter 58.

4 Bp. Ind, IX, pp. 138 ff. ; JRAS., 1906, 207 f., 215 f,

epigraphs on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Saka and Persian nomenclature. The name Mevaki for instance, which occurs in the inscription, is a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes.* The termination "-us" in Komusa and °Samfiso seems to be Scythic. Dr. Thomas further points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the "whole realm of the Sakaa" since we find in the Wardak, Sui Vihar and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, *e.g.*, *Sarva sattvanam*—'of all living creatures'. As regards Fleet's renderings "*svaka*" and "*salcatthana*," one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A *puja* addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion Capital contains a similar *puja* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominions.

Sakasthana, doubtless, included the district of Scythia mentioned in the *Periplus*, "from which flows down the river Sinthus (Indus) the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea (Indian Ocean)." The metropolis of "Scythia" in the time of the *Periplus* was Minnagara ; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.

Princes bearing Saka names are mentioned in several inscriptions discovered in Taxila, Mathura and Western India. According to Dr. Thomas "whatever Saka dynasties may have existed in the Panjab or India, reached India neither through Afghanistan nor through Kasmira but, as Cunningham contended, by way of Sindh and the valley of the Indus."² This theory cannot be accepted

1 Cf. Maues, Moga, and Mavaces, the commander of the Sakas who went to the aid of Darius Codomannus (Chinnoek, *Arrian*, p. 142). Cf. also the coin-name Mevaku (S. Konow, *Corpus*, xxxiii n). In the period 106 to 101 B.C. the king of Ferghana bore the Saka name of Mu-ku'a (Tarn, *Greeks*, 308 f=

2 JRAS., 1906, p. 216.

in its entirety in view of the inadequate representation of Sind by Saka coins, the Chinese account of the Saka occupation of Kipin and the epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a Scythian Satrapy at Kapisi and a Saka principality in the Hazara country.¹ We cannot also overlook the fact that some of the Saka names hitherto discovered are those of the Northern Sakas who lived near the Sogdianoï.² The names Maues, Moga³ and Mevaki, * for instance, are variants of the Saka name Mauakes. We learn from Arrian that a chief named Mauakes or Mavaces led the "Sacians (Sakas), a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwelt in Asia," who lived outside the jurisdiction of the Persian governor of the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, but were in alliance with the Persian king. Chhaharata, Khakharata or Kshaharata, the family designation of several satrapal houses of Taxila, Mathura, Western India and the Deccan, is perhaps equivalent to Karatai, the name of a Saka tribe of the North.⁵

The conquest of the Lower Indus Valley, Cutch and parts of Western India may, however, have been effected by the Sakas of Western Sakasthana (Sistan) who are mentioned by Isidore of Charax. The name of the capitals

1 CHI, 569n, JASB., 1924, p. 14; S. Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. 13 f. The Saka conquest of Ki-pin did not mean the total extinction of the Greek principality in the KShul region. The *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (A.D. 25*220) refers to the existence, side by side, of the kingdoms of Ki-pin and Kabul before the conquest of the latter state by the Parthians. Like the Satavahanas, the Greeks of the Kabal territory may have restored their fallen fortunes to a certain extent after the first rush of barbarian invasion had spent its force. It is also possible that Scythian chiefs for a time acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Greek *Basileus*.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, pp. 399-400,

3 Taxila plate.

4 Mathura" Lion Capital.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 400; cf. *Corpus*, 11,1, xxxvi; "Kharaosta and Maues would belong to the north-western Sakas of Ki-pin and not to the branch which came to India from SeistSn." C/. xxxiii (case of Liaka),

of "Scythia" (which embraced the Lower Indus Valley) and of the Kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus ?) in the time of the *Periplus* was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Sakasthana mentioned by Isidore.¹ Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the Western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line, viz., "*Daman*" (=dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the *Karddamaka* family from which, according to a Kanheri Inscription, the daughter of the *Mahashatrapa* Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Karddama river in the realm of the Persians.²

The earliest Saka kings mentioned in Indian inscriptions are, perhaps, Damijada³ and **Maues**. The latter is usually identified with Moga of the Taxila plate. He is possibly mentioned also in the Maira Inscription.⁴ Maues-Moga was a mighty sovereign (*Maharaya*). His dominions included Chuksha near Taxila which was ruled by a satrapal, i.e., a viceregal, family. Numismatic evidence points to his sway over Kapisi and Pusbkaravati as well as Taxila. His satraps probably put an end to Greek and Indian rule in the country round Mathura. In parts of the Eastern Pafijab and certain adjacent

1 JRAS., 1915. p. 830.

2 Shamasastri's trans. of the *Arthashastra*. p. 86, n. 6. cf. Artemis (Ptolemy, 324). For another view see Ind. Ant., XII. 273 n. The word *Kardatnika* occurs in the *Mahabhashya* (IV. 2. 1 Word Index, p. 275); Kramadivara, 747; and Kardamila in Mbh. III. 135.1. The KSrddama river may be identified with the Zarafshan which flowed through the old Achaemenian Satrapy of Bactria or Balkh. The *Uttarakanda* of the *Ramayana* (Chs. 100 and 102) connects a line of KSrddama kings with Bahli or Bahlika (IHQ., 1933. pp. 37 ff.).

3 Or Namijada, Shahdaur Ins., *Corpus*, II. i. 14, 16.

4 At Maira in the Salt Range, a *Kharoshthi* Inscription has been found in a well which seems to be dated in the year 58 and possibly contains the word *Moasa*, 'of Moa or Moga.'

tracts indigenous tribes like the Audumbaras, Trigartas, Kunindas, Yaudheyas, Arjunayanas had begun to assert their independence probably after the collapse of the Eiiithydemian monarchy. Maues struck coins with the types of Eukratides and Demetrios. But the absence of the *Athena Alkis* type leads Tarn to surmise that he did not annex Menander's home kingdom (*i.e.*, the district round Sakala).¹

The dates assigned to Maues by various scholars range from B.C. 135 to A.D. 154. His coins are found ordinarily in the Panjab, and chiefly in the western portion of the province of which Taxila was the ancient capital. There can thus be no doubt that Maues was the king of Gandhara. Now, it is impossible to find for Maues a place in the history of the Panjab before the Greek king Antialkidas who was reigning at Taxila when king Bhagabhadra was on the throne of Vidisa in Central India for fourteen years. The date of Bhagabhadra is uncertain but he must be placed later than Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, who ruled from *cir.* B.C. 151 to 143. The fourteenth year of Bhagabhadra, therefore, could not have fallen before *c.* 129 B.C. Consequently Antialkidas could not have been ruling earlier than the second half of the second century B.C.,² and his reign could not have ended before 129 B.C. The Saka occupation of Gandhara must, therefore, be later than 129 B.C. All scholars except Fleet identify Maues with *Maharaya* Moga of the so-called Sirsukh or Taxila plate, dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. The generally accepted view is that the era is of Saka institution. As

1 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 322-330. The conquest of this kingdom may have been effected by Axes I. Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 112 ; Tarn, *GBI*, 349 ; or by Rajuvula, Allan, *CICAI*, 185.

2 Cf., now Marshal), *Monuments of Sanchi*, I, 268n.

the era is used only in Northern India and the borderland, it is permissible to conjecture that it came into existence after the Saka occupation of those regions. We have already seen that this occupation could not have taken place before 129 B.C. The era used in the Taxila plate could not, therefore, have originated before 129 B.C. The year 78 of the era could not have fallen before B.C. (129-78 =) 51. Consequently the rule of Maues-Moga cannot have ended before B.C. 51. He must be placed even later, because we learn from Chinese records that Yin-mo-fu was in possession of Kipin or Kapisa-Gandhara about 48-33 B.C., and he was preceded by Wu-tou-lao and his son. As there is no real ground for identifying Maues-Moga with any of these rulers he will have to be placed after 33 B.C. He cannot perhaps be placed later than the middle of the first century A.D., because we learn from Philostratos and the author of the *Periplus* that about the time or a little later both Taxila and Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, *Le.* the Saka kingdom in the Indus valley, had passed into the hands of the Parthians. It seems, therefore, that Maues-Moga ruled after 33 B. C, but before the latter half of the first century A.D. According to Fleet, Moga flourished in the year 22 A.D.—the year 78 of the era commencing 58 B.C. which afterwards came to be known as the *Krita-Malava-Vikrama* era. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled. The Khalatse Inscription of the year 187 (?) of Uvima (? Wema Kadphises) and the Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of the year 191 of Jihonika possibly suggest that the era to which the dates of these inscriptions, and presumably that of the so-called Sirsukh (Taxila) plate of Moga, are to be referred, began much earlier than B.C. 58.

Numismatists say that Maues was succeeded on the throne of Gandhara by **Azet** who put **an** end to the

remnant of Greek rule in the Eastern Panjab by annexing the kingdom of Hippostratos. In the opinion of Marshall he also conquered the Jumna valley where the Vikrama era was in use.¹ The coins of Azes are very closely related to the issues of the rulers of the Vonones group, and the assumption has always been made that Azes, the king of the Palrjab, is identical with Azes, the colleague of Spalirises. Some scholars think that there were two kings of the name of Azes and that the first Azes was the immediate successor, not of Maues, but of Spalirises and that Maues came not only after Azes I, but also after Azes II. But the last part of the theory cannot be accepted in view of the synchronism of Gondophernes and Azes II proved by the fact that Aspavarman served as *Strategos*, i.e., general or governor, under both the monarchs.² As Gondophernes ruled in the year 103,³ while Maues-Moga ruled in the year 78,³ and as both these dates are *usually* referred by scholars to the same era, both Gondophernes and his contemporary Azes II must be later than Maues-Moga. There is no room for Maues-Moga between Azes I and Azes II, because we shall see presently that the succession from Azes I to Azes II is clearly established by numismatic evidence. Maues came either before Azes I or after Azes II; but we have already seen that he could not have reigned after Azes II. He must, therefore, be placed before Azes I. He may have been ruling in the Panjab when Vonones was ruling in Sistan. When Vonones was succeeded by Spalirises, Maues was succeeded by Azes I. We have already seen that Spalirises and Azes I issued

1 JRAS. 1947, 22.

2 Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, p. 150.

3 Cf. the Takht-i-Bafhi Inscription.

4 Cf. the Taxila Plate of Patika.

joint coins.¹ The relationship between the two monarchs is not known. They may have been related by **blood**, or they may have been mere allies like Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises.-

King Azes I struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of **Azilises** in *Kharoshthi* on the reverse.³ Then again we have another type of coins on which the name in Greek is Azilises, and in *Klharoshthi* is Aya (Azes). Dr. fihandarkar and Smith postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordinate colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot, therefore, be identical, and they must be

1 Rapson on pp. 573-574 of *CHI*, identifies Azes, the colleague of Spalirises, with Azes II, and makes him the son of Spalirises. On page 572, however, the suggestion is found that Azes II was the son and successor of Azilises. It is difficult to see how the two views can be reconciled. For an inscription of Azes see *Corpus*, I I. i. 17 (Shahdaur Inscription of Sivarakshita). The name of Aja or Aya (Azes) has also been recognised by certain scholars in the KalawSn Inscription of the year 134 and in the Taxila silver scroll record of the year 136. The absence of any honorific title before the name makes it difficult to say whether it refers to a king, and, if it does refer to a king, whether the ruler in question was Azes I or Azes II. Moreover, if Aja or Aya is a royal name, then it would seem, from the analogy of other early Indian epigraphs, that the years 134 and 136 actually belonged to his reign; not years of an era which *he founded* but of an era which *he used*. The absence of any honorific title has, however, led some writers to suggest that Aja-Aya was the *founder* of the reckoning mentioned in the epigraphs, and not the *reigning* sovereign in the years 134 and 136. The identity of the reckoning with the era of 58 B.C. cannot be regarded as certain, though the theory has many advocates. -Another thorny problem is the relation between this reckoning and the reckoning or reckonings used by Moga and Gondophernes. For the Kalawan Inscription see *Bp. hid.* XXI. 251 flf.; *IHQ.* 1932, 825; 1933, 141; India in 1932-33, p. 182.

2 Cf. Whitehead, p. 178; Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 16.

3 Coins of Azilises are imitated by MahSdeva Dharaghosha Audumbara (*CHI*, 529). Along with certain caskets discovered in Taxila (*ASI*, *AR*, 1934-35, pp. 29, 30) was a silver coin of the *dioskouri* type of Azilises and a Roman coin issued by Augustus. The deposit was probably made early in the first century A. D. We have here new data for settling the chronology of the O. P. 90—56.

distinguished as Azes I and **Azes II**. Whitehead, however, observes that the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best *didrachms* of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouroi reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then following Dr. Smith we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. In conclusion Whitehead says that the differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign.¹ Marshall, however, points out that the stratification of coins at Taxila clearly proves the correctness of Smith's theory, according to which Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, and Azilises by Azes II.²

Recent discoveries have unearthed the gold coin of a king named **A(h)ama**. Whitehead has no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. His date is, however, uncertain.

Unlike most of the Indo-Greek princes,³ the Saka kings style themselves on their coins *Basileus Basileus*,

MaiM-Azes group of kings. It may be remembered that Kadphises I copied the bust of Augustus or one of his immediate successors on his coins. Azilises should not be far removed in date from the Julian Emperors or from the period of Kushan invasion.

1 Inferior workmanship according to some, is a sign of remoteness (from Gandhara ?) rather than of late date (cf. *CHI*. 569f). G. Hoffmann and Sten Konow not only reject the duplication of Azes, but suggest the identification of Azes with Azilises. According to Marshall Azilises ruled north-westwards as far as Kapiśi (*JRAS*, 1947, 25 ff).

2 The coins which Smith assigns to Azes II are found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I (*JRAS*, 1914, 979). For Konow's view, see *EP. Ind.*, 1926, 274 and *Corpus*, II. i. xxxix-xl. The name 'Azes' is found in association with several rulers of various dates, while that of Azilises is found only with one (vi*, Azes). This possibly points to the plurality of the kings named Azes.

3 With the exception perhaps of Eukratides one of whose coins bears

corresponding to the *Prakrit* on the reverse *Maharajasa Rzjarajasa*. They also appropriate the epithet *Mahatasa*, corresponding to the Greek *Megalos*, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. The title *Rfijaraja*—king of kings—was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the viceroys (*satraps*) Liaka and Patika of Ohuksha (Chach) in the Western Punjab. One of the kings named Azes had under him at least one subordinate ruler, e.g., the *Stratagos* Aspavarman. The title *Satrap* or *Kshatrapa* occurs in the Behistun Inscription of Persia in the form *Khshathrapavart* which means 'protector of the kingdom.'¹ "*Strategos*" a Greek word, means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians continued in North-Western India the Perso-Hellenic system of government by *Satraps* and military governors. Coins and Inscriptions prove the existence of several other Satrapal families besides those mentioned above.

The **North Indian Kshatrapas** or *Satraps* may be divided into three main groups, viz. :—

1. The *Satraps* of Kapisi, Puspapura and Abhisara prastha,
2. The *Satraps* of the Western Panjab, and
3. The *Satraps* of Mathura.

A Manikiala inscription affords the bare mention of a **Satrap of Kapisi**, who was the son of the *Satrap* Granavhryaka.² A Kabul Museum stone Inscription of the year 83³ discloses the name of a *Satrap* of Puspapura

the legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa* Evukratidasa (*Corpus*, II. i. xxix n.), and of a few other rulers including Hermaios (Whitehead, p. 85).

1 Cf. *Ksha-pavan* of the *Rig-veda* (*Vedic Index*, I. 208), *Rashtra-pala* of the *Arthashastra* and *Goptri* or *Deia-goptri* of the *Malavikagnimitram* and the Gupta inscriptions.

2 Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, ci : *Ancient India*, 141 ; JASB., 1924, 14, *Corpus*, II, i, 1501.

3 *Acta Orientalia*, xvi, Paro iii, 1937, pp. 234 ff,

named Tiravharna; 'Tuspapura', the city of flowers, may have reference to Pushkaravati (lotus-city). The name of Sivasena, 'the *Kshatrapa* in the town of Abhisara-prastha' occurs in the legend of a copper seal ring found in the Panjab.¹ The territory of the three Satraps may have corresponded to Yona, Gandhara and Kamboja of Asokan epigraphs.

The **Pafijab Satraps** belonged to three families, viz.—

(a) The **Kusulua** or **Kusuluka Group**.—It consisted of Liaka and his son Patika, possibly of the Chhaharata or Kshaharata family, who apparently governed the district of Chuksha.² According to Fleet there were two Patikas.³ But in the opinion of Marshall there was only one viceroy of the name of Patika.⁴ The Satrapal line of Kusuluka was intimately connected with the Satraps of Mathuril.⁵ The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the district to which they belonged, *i.e.*, a part of Eastern Gandhara, from the rule of the Greek house of Bukratides to the Sakas.⁶ We learn from the Taxila, or the so-called Sirsukh, plate, dated in the year 78, that Liaka was a Satrap of the great king Moga and that Patika, his son, was a great gift-lord (*rnahadanapati*).⁷

(b) **Manigul** and his son **Zeionises** or **Jihonika**.—Numismatists consider them to be Satraps of Pushkala-vatl during the reign of Azes II. But the Taxila Silver

1 *Corpus*, II. i. 103.

2 Bihler, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 54; Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. 2528. Chuksha, according to Stein, is the present Chach in the north of the District of Attock. See also *AGI*², 63, 126.

3 *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1035. The existence of at least two Liakas is, however, proved by the Taxila plate and the Zeda inscription (*Corpus*, II. i. 145). A Lia(ka) appears also to be mentioned in the Minsehra inscription of the year 68. He may have been identical with the father of Patika, *Ep. Ind.* XXI, 257.

4 *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 979 ff.

5 *C/*. Inscription G on the Mathura Lion Capital.

6 *R&pson's. Ancient India*, p. 154.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 257; *JRAS*, 1932, 953n,

Vase **Inscription of the year 191** discovered by Marshall in 1927¹ shows that Jihonika was a *Kshatrapain* Oukhsa near Taxila in the year 191 of an era of Saka (or Parthian ?) institution whose exact epoch is not known.² The successor of Zeionises was apparently Kuyula Kara³

(c) **The House of Indravarman**⁴—It consisted of Indravarman, his son Aspavarman, and Aspa's nephew Sasa(s) or Sasa(n). Aspavarman acted as governor of both Azes II and Gondophernes, while Sasa(s) served under Gondophernes and Pakores.

The Satraps of Mathurft.

The earliest of this line of princes probably were the associated rulers Hagana and Hagamasha. They were perhaps succeeded by Rajuvula, who may have governed Sakala at an earlier stage. According to Sircar he established himself in Mathura late in life. The genealogical table of the house of Rajuvula or Rajula as arranged by Sten Konow⁵ is given below in a foot-note;

RSjuvula or Rajula is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription in *Bralmi* characters at

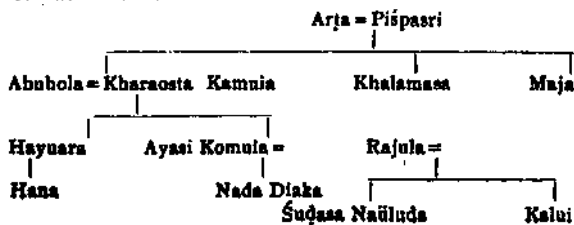
1 JRAS., 1928, January, 137 f. *Corpus*, I I. i. 81f.

2 Ep. Ind., XXI. 255f.

3 CHI, 582n, 588.

4 Indravarman has been identified by some scholars with Itravarma, son of Vijayamitra, who is known from certain coins* Vijayamitra is further regarded as identical with, or a successor of, Vijakamitra, a feudatory of Minedra (Menander). The importance of these identifications, in determining the chronological relation of the Indo-Greeks and the sakas, is obvious (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 102 ff; Mookerji, IC, XIV, 4, 1948, 205 f).

5 Carhwt II i. 47.



Mora near Mathura calls him a *Mahaksliatrpa* or Great Satrap (viceroy). But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as "king of kings, the Saviour" showing that he probably declared his independence.

Rajuvula was apparently succeeded by his son Sudasa, Somdasa or **Sorjasa**. Inscription B on the Mathura Lion Capital mentions him as a *Kshatrava* (Satrap) and as the son of the *Mahakshatrava* Rajula (Rajuvula). But later inscriptions at Mathura written in *Brahmi* characters call him a *Mahakshatraja*. One of these inscriptions gives a date for him in the year 72¹ of an unspecified era. It is clear that during his father's lifetime he was only a *Satrap*. But on his father's death some time before the year 72, he became a Great Satrap. Sten Konow adduces grounds for believing that Sudasa dated his inscription in the so-called *Vilcrama* era.² Consequently the year 72, in his opinion, possibly corresponds to A. D. 15.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar refers the dates of the Northern Satraps (of Taxila and Mathura) to the *Saka* era, and places them in the middle of the second century A.D. But Ptolemy, who flourished about that time, places neither Taxila nor Mathura within Indo-Scythia, *i.e.*, the *Saka* dominion. This shows that neither Taxila nor Mathura was a *Saka* possession in the second century A.D. The principal Indo-Scythian possessions in Ptolemy's time were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Abhira country in Western India), and Syrastrane (Kathiawad).³ This is exactly what we find in the Junagadh

The genealogy, as reconstructed by Sten Konow, is not accepted by many scholars. An older view makes Kharaosta the son of a daughter of Rajuvula. For R's connection with C. Panjab, see Allan, CCAI, 183. Cf. 438 *ante*.

1 42 according to Rapson. Bat 72 is preferred by most scholars.

2 *Bp. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139141.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 354.

inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradatnan I, who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. In Ptolemy's time Taxila was included within the Arsa (*Sanskrit* Urasa) territory,¹ and Mathura belonged to the Kaspeiraioi.² Dr. Majumdar suggests that Ptolemy probably noticed the Saka empire of Maues and his successors (which included Taxila, Mathura and Ujjayini) under the name of 'Kaspeiraioi.'³ But we should remember that far from including Taxila, Mathura and Western India within one empire, Ptolemy sharply distinguishes the land of the Kaspeiraioi from Indo-Scythia which was the real Saka domain in the middle of the second century A.D.⁴ Moreover, the territory of the Kaspeiraioi must have included the region below the sources of the Jhelum, Chenab and the Ravi, i.e., Kasmira and its neighbourhood;⁵ and there is no evidence that the dynasty of Maues ever ruled in Kasmira. It was only under the kings of Kanishka's dynasty that Kasmira and Mathura formed parts of one and the same empire. As suggested by the Abbe Boyer the Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy evidently referred to the Kushan empire.

We learn from the Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions that when Sudasa, i.e. Sodasa, was ruling as a mere *Kshatrapa*, Kusuluka Patika was a *Mahakshatrapa*. As Sodasa was a Mahakshatrapa in the year 72, he must have been a

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 348.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 350.

3 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 98 n.

4 Cf. Ptolemy, *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 354, and the Junigadh inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradaman.

5 Land of Kasyapa? *Rajatarahgini*, 1, 27.1A. IV, 227. Stein accepts the identification of the territory of the Kaspeiraioi with Kasmir, but rejects Wilson's assumption that Kasmir was derived from Kasyapa pura (*JASB*, 1899, Extra 2, pp. 9-13). The evidence of Ptolemy seems to suggest that the city of Kaspeira stood close to Multan. Alberuni (I, 298) in a later age mentions Kasyapapura as a name of Multan itself.

Kshatrapa before 72. Consequently Kusuluka Patika must have been reigning as a *Mahakshatrapa* contemporary of the *Kshatrapa* Sodasa before the year 72. The Taxila plate of the year 78, however, does not style Patika as a *Kshatrapa* or *Mahakshatrapa*. It calls him *Mahadanapati* (great gift-lord) and gives the satrapal title to his father Liaka.¹ Dr. Fleet thinks² that we have to do with two different Patikas. Marshall and Sten Konow on the other hand, hold the view that the *Mahadanapati* Patika, who issued the Taxila plate, is identical with the *Mahakshatrapa* Kusuluka Patika of the Mathura Lion Capital, but the era in which the inscription of Sam 72 is dated, is not the same as in the Taxila plate of Sam 78. In other words while Fleet duplicates kings, Marshall and Sten Konow duplicate eras. It is difficult to come to any final decision from the scanty data at our disposal. Fleet's theory is not improbable in view of the fact that we have evidence regarding the existence of at least two Liakas. But the duplication of kings is not absolutely necessary as the designation '*mahadanapati*' given to Patika in the Taxila plate does not preclude the possibility of his having been a *Mahakshatrapa* as well a few years back. We should remember in this connection that there are instances among the Western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line, of *Mahakshatrapas* being reduced to a humbler rank³ while other members of the family held the higher office,⁴ and of a *Kshatrapa* (Jayadaman) being mentioned without the satrapal title.⁵ It is, therefore, not altogether, improbable that the inscription of Sam 72 and

1 Sten Konow, *Corpus*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, 28 ; *Bp. Ind.* XIX, 257.

2 *JRAS.*, 1913, 1001 n.

3 Cf. Majumdar, *The Date of Kanishka*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1917.

4 Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., cxxiv f.

5 *Andhra Inscriptions*.

that of *Sam* 78 are dated in the same era, and yet the two *Patikas* are identical.¹ If Sten Konow and Sir John Marshall are right in reading the name of Aja-Aya (*Azes*) in the Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription of the year 134 and the Taxila Inscription* of 136, we have additional instances of a ruler of this age being mentioned without any title indicative of his rank.

Kharaosta was, according to Konow, the father-in-law, and according to Fleet, a grandson (daughter's son), of Rajuvula and consequently a nephew of Sodasa.² The inscriptions A and B on the Mathura Lion Capital mention him as the *Yibvaraya* Kharaosta. Sten Konow thinks³ that he was the inheritor to the position as "king of kings" after Moga. His known coins are of two types, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in *Kharoshthi* on the reverse. The *Kharoshthi* legend runs thus ; *Kshatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa pukasa*. '*Pra*' according to Sten Konow, may be a reflex of *Prachalcshasa*.⁴

The coins of the family of Rajuvula are imitated from those of the Stratos and also of a line of Hindu princes who ruled at Mathura. This shows that in the Jumna valley Scythian rule superseded that of both Greek and Hindu princes.

1 The *Rajatarangini* furnishes an instance of a son being replaced by his father as king (cf. the case of Partha), and of a king abdicating in favour of his son and again resuming control over the kingdom ; cf. the case of Kalasa who continued to be a co-ruler after the resumption of control by his father, and that of Raja Mansingh of Jodhpur (1804-43). The cases of Vijayaditya VII (Eastern Chalukya, D. C. Ganguli, p. 104) and of Zafar Khan of Gujarat may also be cited in this connection (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, III, 295).

2 JRAS., 1913. 919, 1009.

3 *Corpus*, 36.

4 *Corpus*, xxxv. '*prachakshasa*' (= epiphanous, "of the gloriously manifest one"), occurs on coins of Strato I and Polyxanos. It is, however, possible that the Sanskrit equivalent of the name of the Satrap is *prakhara-ojas*, "of burning effulgence".

A fragmentary inscription found by Vogel on the site of Ganeshra near Mathura revealed the name of a Satrap of the Kshaharata family called Ghataka.¹

The Nationality of the Northern Satraps.

Cunningham held that the inscription P on the Mathura Lion Capital—*Sarvasa Salcastanasa puyae*—gave decisive proof that Rajuvula or Rajula, Sodasa and other connected Satraps were of Saka nationality. Dr. Thomas shows, however, that the Satraps of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. This is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Patika of Taxila, who bears himself a Persian name, mentions as his overlord the great king Moga whose name is Saka. The inscriptions on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature.² Attention may, however, be called here to the fact that in the *Harivamsa* there is a passage³ which characterises the Pahlavas or Parthians as "*smasrudharinah*" (bearded).⁴ Judged by this test, kings of the family of Rajuvula and Nahapana, who are not unoften taken to be Parthians, could not have belonged to that nationality as their portraits found on coins⁵ show no traces of beards and whiskers. They were, therefore, almost certainly Sakas.

1 JRAS., 1912, p. 121.

2 *Efi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 138 ff. ; JRAS, 1906, 215 f. For Sten Konow's views see *Corpus*, II. i. xxxvii.

3 1.14, 17.

4 The passage is also found in the *Vayu Purana*, Ch. 88, 141.

5 JRAS., 1913, between pp. 630-631.

SECTION II. THE PAHLAVAS OR PARTHIANS.¹

Already in the time of Eukratides, Mithradates I, King of Parthia (0. 171-138/37 B.C.), had probably conquered portions of the Panjab or Sind, and in the days of the Saka Emperors of the family of Maues-Moga, princes of mixed Saka-Pahlava origin ruled as Satraps in Northern India. But it is important to note that Isidore of Charax, possibly a younger contemporary of Augustus, who wrote not earlier than 26 B.C. (reign of Phraates IV and the revolt of Tiridates) and is quoted by Pliny, does not include the Kabul Valley, Sind or the Western Panjab within the empire of the Parthians or Pahlavas. The easternmost provinces of the Parthian empire mentioned by that writer are Herat (Aria), Farah (the country of the Anauoi, a segment of Aria (*i.e.*, the Herat Province), the districts between the Lake Hamun and the Helmund (Drangiana and Sakasthana), and Kandahar (Arachosia or "White India"). Towards the middle of the first century A.D., however, Saka sovereignty in parts of Gandhara must have been supplanted by that of the Parthians. In 43-44 A.D., when Apollonios of Tyana is reputed to have visited Taxila, the throne was occupied by Phraotes, evidently a Parthian.² He was however independent of Vardanes, the great King of Babylon and Parthia (c. 39-47/48 A. D.)³, and himself powerful enough to exercise

1 The Parthians (Parthava, Pahlava) were an Iranian people established on the borders of the district that is today Mazandaran and Khurasan. About 249/8 B.C. they revolted against the Seleukids under the command of Arshaka (Arsaces), a leader of Scythia [A *Survey of Persian Art*, p. 71].

2 *Apratihata* (Gondophernes) according to Herzfeld and Tarn (*Greeks*, 341).

3 Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, 270.

suzerain power over the Satrap of the Indus. Christian writers refer to a king of India named Gundaphar or Gudnaphar and his brother Gad who are said to have been converted by the Apostle St. Thomas and who, therefore, lived in the first century A.D.¹ We have no independent confirmation of the story of the biographer of Apollonios. But the "so-called" Takht-i-Bahi record of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) shows that there was actually in the Peshawar district a king named **Guduvhara (Gondophernes)**. The names of Gondophernes and, in the opinion of some scholars, of his brother Gad, are also found on coins.² According to Bapson the two brothers were associated as sub-kings under the suzerainty of Orthagnes (Verethragna). Sten Konow, however, identifies Orthagnes with Guduvhara himself, while Herzfeld suggests that he was the "unnamed son of Vardanes, mentioned by Tacitus, who claimed the throne against Volagases I about A.D. 55."³ Dr. Fleet referred the date of the Takht-i-Bahi (Bahi) inscription to the Malava-Vikrama era, and so placed the record in A.D. 47.⁴ He remarked "there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B.C. 58 ; instead of having recourse, as in other cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about the same time. This places Gondophernes in A.D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition

1 The original Syriac text of the legend of St. Thomas belongs probably to the third century A.D. (JRAS., 1913, 634). Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 3. 309.

2 Whitehead, pp. 95, 155. Gondophernes = Vindapharna, "Winner of glory" (Whitehead, p. 146, Rapson and Allan). The king assumed the title of Devavrata. Konow, following Fleet, takes the word Gudana on the coins to refer to the tribe of Gondophernes (*Corpus*, I I . i. xlv).

3 *Corpus*, xlv; *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 70.

4 JRAS., 1905, pp. 223-235 ; 1906, pp. 706-710 ; 1907, pp. 169-172 ; 1913-1940 ; 1913, pp. 999-1003. Cf. the views of Cunningham and Dowson (IA, 4, 307). The discovery of the Khalatse and the Taxila silver vase inscriptions, however,

which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas,* the Apostle."

The power of Gondophernes did not probably in the beginning extend to the Gandhara region. His rule seems to have been restricted at first to Southern Afghanistan.¹ He succeeded, however, in annexing the Peshawar district before the twenty-sixth year of his reign. There is no epigraphic evidence that he conquered Eastern Gandhara (Taxila) though he certainly wrested some provinces from the Azes family. The story of the supersession of the rule of Azes II by him in one of the Scythian provinces is told by the coins of Aspavarman. The latter at first acknowledged the suzerainty of Azes (II) but later on obeyed Gondophernes as his overlord. Evidence of the ousting of Saka rule by the Parthians in the Lower Indus Valley is furnished by the author of the *Periplus* in whose time (about 60 to 80 A.D.) Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, i.e., the Saka kingdom in the Lower Indus Valley, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out. If Sten Konow and Sir John Marshall are right in reading the name of Aja-Aya or Azes in the Kalawan Inscription of 134 and the Taxila Inscription of 136, then it is possible that Saka rule survived in a part of Eastern Gandhara,² while Peshawar and the Lower Indus Valley passed into

makes the theory of Fleet less plausible unless we believe in the existence of a plurality of Saka-Pahlava eras. Dr. Jayaswal was inclined to place Gondophernes in 20 B.C. But this date is too early to suit the Christian tradition.

1 JRAS., 1913, 1003, 1010.

2 For Fleet's interpretation of "Sa 136 ayasa ashadasa masasa, etc.," see JRAS., 1914, 995 ff.; also *Calcutta Review*, 1922, December, 493-494. Konow thought at one time that *ayasa* stood for *adyasya* (=the first). He took the word as qualifying *ashadasa*. But he changed his views after the discovery of the Kalawan Inscription of 134. He now thinks that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa* does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as 'connected with Parthian rulers' (*Ep. Ind.*, xxx. 255 f.). He refers the dates 134, 136 to the era of 58 B.C.

the hands of the Parthians. But the absence of an honorific title before the name of Aja-Aya and the fact that in the record of the year 136 we have reference to the establishment of relics of the Buddha in Takshasila "for the bestowal of health on the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra* Khushana," probably suggest that the years 134 and 136 belong, not to the *pravardhamana-vijaya-rajya* (the increasing and victorious reign) of Azes, but to a period when his reign was a thing of the past (*atitarajya*), though the reckoning was still associated with his honoured name. The dating in the Janibigha inscription (*Lahshmana-senasyzaatlitarajye sam83*) possibly furnishes us with a parallel.¹

The Greek principality in the Upper Kabul Valley had apparently ceased to exist when Apollonios travelled in India. We learn from Justin that the Parthians gave the *coup de grace* to the rule of the Bactrian Greeks. Marshall says² that the Kabul valley became a bone of contention between the Parthians and the Kushans. This is quite in accordance with the evidence of Philostratos who refers to the perpetual quarrel of the "barbarians" with the Parthian king of the Indian borderland in 43-44 A.D.

With Gondophernes were associated as subordinate rulers his nephew Abdagases (in S. Afghanistan), his generals Aspavarman and Sasa(s) or Sasa(n), and his governors Sapedana and Satavastra (probably of Taxila).

After the death of the great Parthian monarch his empire split up into smaller principalities. One of these (probably Sistan) was ruled by **Sanabares**, another (probably embracing Kandahar and the Western Panjab) by **Pakores**, and others by princes whose coins Marshall

1 Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 165 f.

2 ASI, AR, 1929-30, 56 ff.

recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them was Sasa(s) or Sasa(n) who acknowledged the nominal sway of Pakores. The internecine strife among these Parthian princelings is probably reflected in the following passage of the *Periplus* :—

"Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara ; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

Epigraphic (and in some cases numismatic) evidence proves that the Pahlava or Parthian rule in Afghanistan, the Panjab and Sind was supplanted by that of the Kushana, Gushana, Khushana or **Kushan**¹ dynasty. We know that Gondophernes was ruling in Peshawar in the year 103 (A.D.47 according to Fleet, somewhat earlier according to others). But we learn from the Panjtara inscription that in the year 122 the sovereignty of the region had passed to a Gushana or Kushan king.² In the year 136 the Kushan suzerainty had extended to Taxila. An inscription of that year mentions the interment of some relics of the Buddha in a chapel at Taxila "for bestowal of perfect health upon the *Maharaja, rajatiraja devaputra* Khushana," The Sui Vihar and Mahenjo Daro Kharoshthi Inscriptions prove the Kushan conquest of the Lower Indus Valley. The Chinese writer Panku, who died in A. D. 92, refers to the Yue-chi occupation of Kao-fou or Kabul. This shows that the race to which the Kushans belonged took possession of Kabul before A. D. 92. It is, no doubt, asserted by a later writer⁴ that Kao-fou is a mistake for Tou-mi. But the mistake

1 For a note on the dynastic nomenclature, see Schafer *JAOS.* 67. 4.

2 We learn from Philostratos that already in the time of Apollonios (A.D. 43-44) the barbarians (Kushans?) who lived on the border of the Parthian kingdom of Taxila were perpetually quarrelling with Phraotes and making raids into his territories (*The Life of Apollonius*, Loeb Classical Library, pp. 183 ff.).

in Kennedy's opinion would not have been possible, had the Yue-chi not been in possession of Kao-fou in the time of Panku.¹ The important thing to remember is that a Chinese writer of 92 A. D., thought Kao-fou to have been a Yue-chi possession long before his time. If Sten Konow is to be believed, the Kushans had established some sort of connection with the Indian borderland as early as the time of Gondophernes. In line 5 of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription Sten -Konow reads "*erjhuna* " *Kapasa puyae*"² "in honour of prince Kapa", i.e., Kujula Kadphises, the Kushan king, who is said to have succeeded Hermaios in the Kabul valley. Kujula Kadphises has been identified with the Kouei-chouang (Kushan) prince K'ieou-tsieou-k'io who took possession of Kao-fou (Kabul), Po-ta and Ki-pin. It appears from numismatic evidence that this Kushan chief³ was possibly an ally of Hermaios with whom he appears to have issued joint coins.⁴ Kadphises seems also to have been at first on friendly terms with the Parthian rulers of Gandhara. But

1 JRAS., 1912, pp. 676-678. Note also Pan-ku's reference to a man's head on the coins of Ki-pin (JRAS., 1912 p. 685 n.) which possibly suggests an acquaintance with the coinage of Kujula Kaphsa (or Kasa ?).

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 294; XVIII (1926), p. 282. *Corpus*, II, i. 62. Some regard this "Kapa" as a phantom. It is interesting to recall in this connection a statement of Philostratos (*The life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Loeb Classical Library, p. 185) that in A.D. 43-44, the Parthian king of Taxila had enlisted the services of certain "barbarians" to patrol his country so that instead of invading his dominions they themselves kept off the "barbarians" that were on the other side of the frontier and were difficult people to deal with. Prince "Kapa" (if the reading and interpretation be correct) may have been at first one of these friendly barbarian chiefs. His date is indicated by his (?) imitation of a Roman emperor's head of a style not later than about A.D. 60 (JRAS., 1913, 918).

3 Or one of his ancestors ? Cf. Tarn, *The Greeks*, p. 339, 343.

4 Pedigree coins according to Tarn.

the destruction of Hermaios' kingdom by the Parthians¹ probably supplied him with a *casus belli*. He made war on the latter and eventually destroyed their power in the north-west borderland of India.

1 Before the Parthian conquest, Kapisi apparently had to obey, for a time, the rule of Maues and Spalirises (*CHI*, 590 f). The Kushans, the "barbarian" enemies of "Phraotes", may have had a hand in the restoration of Greek rule before its final disappearance in the Kabul valley.

SECTION III. THE GREAT KUSHANS.

We are informed by the Chinese historians that the Kushans (chiefs of the Kuei-shuang or Kouei-chouang principality) were a section of the Yueh-chi (Yiie-chi) race. The modern Chinese pronunciation of the name according to Kingsmill is said to be Yue'-ti. M. Levi and other French scholars write Yue-tchi or Yue[^]tchi.

We learn from Ssfi-ma-ch'ien (the Chinese annalist, who recorded the story of the travels of Chang-k'ien, the famous envoy), that between B.C. 174 and 165 the Yue-clii were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang (Tun-huang) country and the K'i-lien mountains, or Tien-chan Range, south and east of Lake Issykul in Chinese Turkestan.¹ At that date the Yue-chi were defeated and expelled from their country by the Hiung-nu who slew their king and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain ruler succeeded to her husband's power. Under her guidance the Yue-chi in the course of their westward migration attacked the Wu-sun whose king was killed.² After this exploit the Yue-chi attacked the Sakas in the plains of the Jaxartes or the Syr Darya and compelled their king or 'lord* to seek refuge in Kipin (Kapisa-Lam paka-Gandhara).³

Meantime the son of the slain Wu-sun king grew up to manhood and, with the assistance of the Hiung-nu

1 Smith says (EH1⁴ p. 263) that they occupied land in the Kansuh Province in North-Western China. See also *CHI*, 565.

2 The main section of the Yue-chi passed on westwards beyond Lake Issykkul, the rest diverged to the South and settled on the frontier of Tibet. The latter came to be known as the "Little Yue-chi". Eventually they established their capital at Purusbapura in Gandhara. Smith, EH1⁴, 264; Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. lxxvi.

3 A part of the Saka horde apparently seized Ferghana (Ta Yuan) c. 128 B.C. (Tarn, *Greeks*, 278 n 4, 279).

drove the Yue-chi further west into the Ta-hia territory washed by the Oxus. The Ta-hia, who were devoted to commerce, unskilled in war and wanting in cohesion, were easily reduced to a condition of vassalage by the Yue-chi who established their capital or royal encampment to the north of the Oxus (Wei), in the territory now belonging to Bukhara (in ancient Sogdiana). The Yue-chi capital was still in the same position when visited by Chang-kien in or about B.C. 128-26.¹

The adventures of Chang-kien as related by Ssil-mach'ien in the *Sse-lce* or *Shi-ki* (completed before B.C. 91) were retold in Pan-ku's *Ts'ien Han-shu* or *Annals of the First Han Dynasty* that dealt with the period B.C. 206—A.D. 9 or 24, and was completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death in A.D. 92, with three important additions, namely :—

1. That the kingdom of the Ta-Yue-chi had for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Kien-she), to the north of the Oxus,² and Kipin lay on its southern frontier.

2. That the Yue-chi were no longer nomads.

3. That the Yue-chi kingdom had become divided in to five principalities, viz., Hi(eo)u-mi (possibly Wakhan³ between the Pamirs and the Hindukush), Chouangmi or Shuang-mi (Chitral, south of Wakhan and the Hindukush) Kouei-chouang or Kuei-shuang, the Kushan principality, probably situated between Chitral and the Panjshir

i JRAS., 1903, pp. 19-20; 1912, pp. 668 ff., PAOS., 1917. pp. 89 ff.; Whitehead, 171; CHI, 459, 566, 701; Tarn, *Greeks*, 84, 274 n, 277; Konow, *Corpus*, I I. i. xxii-xxiii, liv, lxii.

2 Cf. *Corpus*, I I. i. liv.

3 A *Bakanapati*, apparently lord of Wakhan, figures in the inscription of *Maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kushanaputra Shahi Vamataksha*(ma ?) whose identity is uncertain. The title *devaputra* connects him with the Kanishka Group of Kushan kings, and not the Kadphises group. *ASI.* 19U-12, Pt. I. 15; 1930-34, pt. 2. 28\$.

country, Hit(h)un (Parwan on the Panjshir) and Kao-fou (Kabul).¹

We next obtain a glimpse of the Yiie-cki in Fan-Ye's *Hou Han-shu* or *Annals of the Later Han Dynasty* which cover the period between A.D. 25 and 220. Fan-Ye based his account on the report of Pan-young (*cir.* A.D. 125) and others.² He himself died in 445 A.D. The capital of the Yue-chi was then probably the old Ta-hia (Bactrian) city of Lan-shi (Lan-sheu)³ to the south of the Oxus. Fan-Ye gives the following account of the Yue-chi conquest :

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hiung-ni. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five *Hi~h(e)on* or *Yabgous*, viz., those of Hieoumi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Toumi. More than hundred years after that, the *Yabgou* (*Yavuga*) of Kouei-chouang (Kushan) named **K'ieou-tsieou-k'io** attacked and vanquished the four other *Yabgous* and called himself king or lord (*Wang*); he invaded Ngan-si (the Arsakid territory, i.e., Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fou (Kabul), overcame Po-ta⁴ and Ki-pin and became complete master of these

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1 A later historian regards Kao-fou as a mistake for Tou-mi which, however, was probably not far from Kabul, JRAS., 1912, 669. For the proposed identifications see *Corpus*, II. i. lvi. Cf. JRAS., 1903, 21; 1912, 669. In *Ep. Ind.* XXI, 258, S. Konow suggests the identification of Kuei-shuang with Gandhara or the country immediately to its north.

2 Cf. Konow, *Corpus*, liv : "It is accordingly the events of the period A.D. 25-125 which are narrated by Fan Ye, though there are some additions referring to a somewhat later time in the case of countries which were near enough to remain in contact with China after the reign of emperor Ngan" (107-25). See also *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 258.

3 Alexandria=Zariaspa or Bactria (Tarn, *Greeks*, 115, 298).

4 Perhaps identical with the country of Po-tai which, in the time of Sung-yun, sent two young lions to the King of Gandhara as present (Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol I, ci). Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII) identified P'u-ta with Ghazni, but later on (*Ep.* XXI, 258) suggested its identification with ButkhSk, ten miles east of Kabul,

kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (lit. India, on the banks of a great river, apparently the kingdom of Taxila referred to by Philostratos), and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designated them Kushan after their king, but the Han retained the old name, and called them Ta-Yue-chi."

"Kieou-tsieou-kio" has been identified with **Kujula¹ Kadphises (I),²** or Kozola Kadaphes, the first Kushan king who struck coins to the south of the Hindukush. Numismatic evidence suggests that he was the colleague or ally,³ and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last Greek prince of the Kabul valley. The prevalent view 'that Kadphises conquered Hermaios is, in the opinion of Marshall, wrong. Sten Konow finds his name mentioned in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103 belonging to the reign of Gondophernes.⁴ The inscription probably belongs to a period when the Kushan and Parthian rulers were on friendly terms. But the Parthian attack on the kingdom of Hermaios apparently led to a rupture which ended in war. The result was that the Parthians were ousted by Kadphises I.

1 Cf. *Kusuluka*. The expression probably means 'strong' or beautiful (Konow, *Corpus*, 1). According to Burrow (*The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents*, 82, 87) *Kujula* = Gusura = Vazir. Dr. Thomas possibly thinks that the word *Kujula* has the sense of 'Saviour'.

2 Pahlavi *Kad* = chief + *pises* or *pes* = form, shape, JRAS., 1913, 632 n.

3 Fleet and Thomas, JRAS, 1913, 967, 1034 ; in the opinion of some scholars Hermaios was dead at the time of the Kushan conquest. Coins bearing his name continued, according to this view, to be struck long after he had passed away. Tarn regards the Hermaios-Kadphises coins as "pedigree coins". Supporters of the 'alliance' theory may point to the gold dollars circulating in Chungking engraved with relief portraits of Marshal Chiang Kaishek and President Roosevelt of the United States (*A.B. Patrika*, 29-3-1945).

4 The interpretation of Konow is not accepted by Professor Rapson, JRAS., 1930, p. 189,

Marshall identifies Kadphises I with the Kushan king of the Panjtar record (of the year 122) and the Taxila scroll of the year 136.¹ We should, however, remember that in the Taxila inscription of 136 the Kushan king is called *Devaputra*, a title which was characteristic of the Kanishka group and *not* of Kadphises I or II unless we identify Kadphises I with Kuyula Kara Kaphsa.² The monogram on the scroll is by no means characteristic only of coins of the Kadphises group, but it is also found, in Marshall's and S. Konow's opinion, on the coins of Zeionises and Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. If, however, S. Konow and Marshall are right in reading the name of Uvima Kavfchisa in the Khalatse inscription of the year 184 or 187, and in identifying him with Vima Kadphises, the king of the Panjtar and Taxila records of 122 and 136 may have been a predecessor of Wema (Vima), and should preferably be identified with Kadphises I. But the reading 'Uvima Kavthisa' and his identification with Kadphises II are by no means certain.

Kadphises I probably coined no gold but only copper. His coinage shows unmistakable influence of Rome.³ He

1 J R AS, 1914, pp. 977-78; Rapson, *CHI*, 582, identifies the Kushan king of 136 with Vima (*i.e.*, Kadphises II).

2 Mentioned by R.D. Banerji, *Prachina Mudra*, p. 85. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the reading.

3 In one class of his copper coins appears a Roman head which was palpably imitated from that of Augustus (B. C. 27-A.D. 14), Tiberius (A. D. 14-37), or Claudius (A.D. 41-54). JRAS., 1912, 679 ; 1913, 912 ; Smith, *Catalogue*, 66 ; *Camb. Short Hist.* 74 Rome and its people, Romakas, first appear in the *Mahabharata* (II. 51, 17) and occur not unfrequently in later literature. Diplomatic relations between Rome and India were established as early as the time of Augustus who received an embassy from king 'Pandion*' (JRAS, 1860. 309 ff. *Camb. Hist. Ind.* I. 597.) about B.C. 27-20. An Indian embassy was also received by Trajan (A. D. 98-117) shortly after A.D. 99. Strabo, Pliny and the *Periplus* refer to a brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. See JRAS., 1904, 591 ; IA. 5. 281 ; 1923, 50, Pliny deplores the drain of specie (JRAS, 1912. 986 ; 1913, 644-1031).

copied the issues of Augustus or those of his **immediate** successors preferably Claudius (A. D. 41-54),¹ and used the titles *Yavuga* (chief), *Maharaja*, *Bdjatiraja* (the great king, the king of kings) and "*Sachadhrama thita* ", "Steadfast in the True Faith" (of the Buddha ?).²

"K'ieou-tsieou-k'io," or Kadphises I, was succeeded by his son **Yen-kao-tchen**, the Vima, Wima or Wema Kadphises of the coins, who is usually designated as **Kadphises II**. We have already seen that he conquered Tien-tchou or the Indian interior, probably Taxila, and set up a chief who governed in the name of the Yue-chi. According to Sten Konow³ and Smith⁴ it was Kadphises II who established the Saka Era of A. D. 78. If this view be accepted then he was possibly the overlord of Nahapana, and was the Kushan monarch who was defeated by the Chinese between A.D. 73 and 102 and compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). But there is no direct evidence that Kadphises II established any era. No inscription or coin of this monarch contains any date which is referable to an *era* of *his* institution. On the contrary we have evidence that Kanishka did establish an era, that is to say, his method of dating was continued by his successors, and we have dates ranging probably from the year 1 to 99.

The conquests of the Kadphises kings opened up the path of commerce between China and the Roman Empire and India. Roman gold began to pour into this country in payment for silk, spice and gems. Kadphises II began to issue gold coins.⁵ He had a bilingual gold and copper

1 *The Cambridge Shorter History*. 74, 75.

2 Smith, *Catalogue*, 67 n ; Konow, *Corpus*, I I . i. Ixvif. ; Whitehead, 181.

3 *Ep.Ind.*, XIV. p, 141.

4 *The Oxford History of India*, p 128.

5 A gold coin of Wima or Vima, (NC 1934, 232) gives him the title *Basilcus Basilewn Soter Megas* (Tarn, *Greeks*, 354 n 5). This throws welcome light on the problem of the identification of the nameless king Soter Megas.

coinage.¹ The obverse design gives us a new lifelike representation of the monarch. The reverse is confined to the worship of Siva, which was gaining ground since the day³ of the *Siva-Bhagavatas* mentioned by Patanjali.² In the *Kharoshthi* inscription Kadphises II is called "the great king, the king of kings, lord of the whole world, the *Mahivara*, the defender " ³

We learn from Yu-Houan, the author of the *Wei-liu*⁴ which was composed between A.D. 239-265 and covers the period of the Wei down to the reign of the emperor Ming (227-239),⁵ that the Yue-chi power was flourishing in Kipin (Kapisa-Gandhara), Ta-hia (Oxus valley), Kao-fou (Kabul) and Tien-tchou (India) as late as the second quarter of the third century A.D. But the early Chinese annalists are silent about the names of the successors of Yen-kao-tchen (Kadphises II). Chinese sources, however, refer to a king of the Ta-Yue-chi named Po-tiao or Pua-d'ieu (possibly Vasudeva) who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230.⁶ Inscriptions discovered in India have preserved the names with dates of the following great Kushan sovereigns besides the Kadphises group, viz., **Kanishka I** (1-23),⁷ Vasishka (24-28),⁸ Huvishka

1 A silver piece resembling the ordinary small copper type of Vima Kadphises is also known (Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 174). Other silver coins of the monarch are apparently referred to by Marshall (*Guide to Taxila*, 1918. 81). A silver coin of Kanishka is also known (ASI, AR, 1925-26 pl, lxf). Smith (EHI⁴, p. 270) and others make mention of silver coins of Huvishka.

2 V, 2, 76; cf. Saiva, Panini, IV, 1, 112.

3 As already stated Sten Konow finds the name of Vima (Uvima) Kavthisa (Kadphises ?) in the Khalatse (Ladakh) inscription of the year 187 (?). *Corpus*. II. i. 81. The identity of the King in question is, however, uncertain.

4 A History of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 220-264).

5 *Corpus*, II, i. Iv.

6 *Corpus*, II, i, lxxvii.

7 See JRAS., 1913, 980; 1924, p. 400. "Three Mathura Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushan Dynasty" by Dayaram Sahni; and IHQ., Vol. III (1927), p. 853, "Further Kanishka Notes" by Sten Konow.

8 If Vasishka be identical with Vas Kushana of a Sanchi epigraph, his reign

(28-60),¹ Kanishka II, son of Va-jheshka (41), and Vasudeva (67-98).² Huvishka, Va-jheshka and Kanishka II are probably referred to by Kalhana as Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who apparently ruled conjointly. It will be seen that Kanishka I ruled in the year 41, a date which falls within the reign of Huvishka (28-60). Thus the account of Kalhana is confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

In the chronological order generally accepted by numismatists, the Kanishka group succeeded the Kadphises group. But this view is not accepted by many scholars. Moreover, there is little agreement even among scholars who place the Kanishka group after the Kadphises kings. The more important theories of Kanishka's date are given below :

1. According to Dr. Fleet, Kanishka reigned *before* the Kadphises group, and was the founder of that reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, which afterwards came to be known as the Vikrama Sam vat.³ This view (held at one time by Cunningham and Dowson, and maintained by

(as sub-king) commenced not later than the year 22 as we learn from an inscription of that year on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha (*Pro. of the Seventh Session of the I. H. Congress, Madras, p. 135*).

1 See Ep. Ind., XXI, 55 ff.—*Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the Year 28*. Cf. Ep. Ind. xxiii, 35—*Hidda inscription of 28*.

2 Hyd. Hist. Cong. 164.

3 For discussions about the origin of the so-called Vikrama era see JRAS., 1913. pp. 637. 994 ff. ; Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, xx. (1891) 124 ff. ; 397 ff. ; *Bhand, Com. Vol.* pp. 187 ff. *CHI.*, pp. 168, 533, 571 ; ZDMG, 1922. pp. 250 ff. Ep. Ind. xxiii. 48 ff. ; xxvi. 119 ff. ; Kielhorn (and now Altekar) adduce evidence which seems to show that the early use of the era, as may be inferred from records with dates that may be recognised to refer to this reckoning, was mainly confined to Southern and Eastern Rajputana, Central India and the Upper Ganges Valley. The name of the era found in the earliest inscriptions recalls designations like that of king KRITA of Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, III. 19. Kritiya rulers are mentioned by Fleet, JRAS, 1913, 998n. Krita may also have reference to the inauguration of a Golden Age after a period of toil and moil. From the fifth to the ninth century the reckoning was believed to be used

Franke) was accepted by Kennedy, but was ably controverted by Dr. Thomas, and can no longer be upheld after the discoveries of Marshall.¹ Inscriptions, coins as well as the testimony of Hiuen Tsang clearly prove that Kanishka's dominions included Grand hara, but we have already seen that according to Chinese evidence Yin-mo-fu, and not the Kushans, ruled Kipin (Kapisa-Grandhara) in the second half of the first century B.C. Allan thinks that "the gold coinage of Kanishka was suggested by the

especially by the princes and people of Maiava. The connection of the name Vikrama with the era grew up gradually and was far from being generally adopted even in the ninth century A.D. The phraseology employed in the poems and inscriptions of the next centuries shows a gradual advance from the simple *Samvat* to *Vikrama Samvat*, *Srinripa Vikrama Samvat* and so on. The change in nomenclature was probably brought about by the princes and people of Gujarat whose hostility to the Malavas is well known. The Satavahanas could not have founded this or any other era because they always used regnal years, and Indian literature distinguishes between *Vikrama* and *Salivahana*. As to the claims of Azes, see *Calcutta Review*, 1922, December, pp. 493-494. Fleet points out (JRAS., 1914, 995 ff.) that even when the name of a real king stands before the statement of the years, so that the translation would be "in the year of such and such a king" he is not necessarily to be regarded as the actual founder of that particular reckoning. The nomenclature of an era, current in a comparatively late period, more than a century after its commencement, is no proof of origins. Therefore, the use of the terms *Ayasa* or *Ajasa* in connection with the dates 134 and 136 of the Kalawan and Taxila inscriptions, does not prove that Azes was the founder of the particular reckoning used. His name may have been connected with the reckoning by later generations in the same way as the name of the Valabhi family came to be associated with the Gupta era, that of *^fitavahana* with the Saka era, and that of Vikrama with the "Krita"-Malava reckoning itself which commenced in 58 B.C. Regarding the claims of Vikrama see *Bhand. Com. Vol. and Ind. Ant.*, cited above. The *Puranas* while mentioning Gardabhilla are silent about Vikramaditya. Jaina tradition places Vikramaditya after 'Nahavahana, or Nahapana. Regarding the contention of Fleet that the Vikrama era is a northern reckoning attention may be invited to the observations of Kielborn and to a note on *Chola-Pandya Institutions* contributed by Professor C. S. Sriivasachari to *The Young Men of India*, July, 1926. The Professor points out that the era was used in Madura in the 5th century A. D. Kielhorn proves conclusively that the area where the era of 59 B.C. was used in the earliest times did not include the extreme north-west of India.

¹ Thomas, JRAS.. 1913 ; Marshall, JRAS., 1914.

Roman *sdidus*" and that the Kushan monarch can hardly be placed before Titus (79-31 A.D.) and Trajan (98-117 A.D.).¹

2. According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kanishka's rule began about 125 or 144 A.D.,² and ended in the second half of the second century A.D.³ Now, we learn from the Sui Vihar inscription that Kanishka's dominions included a portion at least of the Lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junagadh inscription of Budradaman that the *Mahalcsashatrapa's* conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvira (which included Multan according to the Puranas and Alberuni) and even to the land of the Yaudheyas in the direction of the Sutlej. Rudradaman certainly flourished from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as *Mahaleshatrapa* to anybody else (*svayam adhigata Mahakshatrapa nama*).⁴ If Kanishka reigned in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the Sui Vihar region in the Lower Indus Valley with the

1 *Catnb. Short History*, p. 77.

2 Recently Ghirshman suggested the period A. D. 144-72 for Kanishka (*Bdgram, Recherches Archeologique et Historiques sur Us Kouchans*). The argument that India was still in A. D. 125 governed by a Viceroy (and therefore, not by Kanishka or Huvishka) is effectively disposed of by Thomas in *JRAS.*, 1913. 1024. He points out that the historian of the Later Han is obviously referring to the conditions at the time of the invasion of Wima Kadphises, and not to the state of things in A.D. 125.

3 Dr. Sten Konow's views are difficult to ascertain. In the *Indian Studies in honour of C. R. Lanman* (Harvard University Press), p. 65, he mentions A.D. 134 as the initial point of the Kanishka reckoning which he and Dr. Van Wijk "have tried to establish" (*cf. Acta Orientalia*, III, 54 ff.). But in *1HQ.*, I 11 (1927), p. 851, he, along with Dr. Van Wijk, shows a predilection for A.D. 128-29 (*cf. Corpus*, lxxvii ; *Acta Orientalia*, V, 168 ff.). Professor Rapson (in *JRAS.*, 1930, 186 ff) points out the conjectural and inconclusive character of the two doctors' calculations. "The year 79," says he, "seems to be out of the running and a dark horse, the year 128-9, is the favourite."

4 *Ep. Ind. VIII.4**.

contemporary sovereignty of Rudradaman ?¹ Again Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vasishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 28-60, and Vasudeva's dates 67-98, suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kahislika was the originator of an era. But we know of no era, ever current in, or known to, North-West India, which commenced in the second century A.D.

3.. Dr. R. O. Majumdar thought that the era founded by Kanishka was the Traikutaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era of 248 A.D.² Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil points out that this is not possible.³ "In fact, the reign of Vasudeva, the last of the Kushans, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vasudeva reigned at Mathura. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vasudeva, was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nagas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nagas were Mathura, Kantipura and Padmavati." The Kushan realm in the Indian borderland was, in A.D. 360, ruled by Grumbates.⁴ The theory of Dr. Majumdar cannot, moreover, be reconciled with the Tibetan tradition which makes Kanishka a contemporary of king Vijayakirti of Khotan,⁵ and the Indian tradition which makes Huvishka a contemporary of Nagarjuna, and hence of a king of the Imperial Satavahana line, who can hardly be placed later than the second century A.D., as he is described as 'lord of the three seas' and sovereign of

1 See IHQ., March, 1930, 149.

2 For this era see JRAS., 1905, pp. 566-68.

3 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 31.

4 E. H. I.,⁴ p. 290.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 142.

(South) Kosala (in the Upper Deccan).¹ Lastly, the catalogues of the Chinese *Tripitaha* state that An-Shih-Kao (148-170 A.D.) translated the *Margabhumī Sūtra* of Safigharaksha who was the chaplain of Kanishka.² This shows conclusively that Kanishka flourished before 170 A.D.³ The arguments against the theory of Dr. Majumdar are equally applicable to the surmise of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who placed Kanishka's accession in A.D. 278,

4. According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson and many other scholars Kanishka was the founder of that reckoning commencing A.D. 78, which came to be known as the *Saka* era.⁴ This view is not accepted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the following grounds :—

1 *Rajatarahginī*, I. 173 ; *Harsha-charita* (Cowell), p.252 ; Watters, *Yuan-Chwang*, II, p. 200. The epithet *trisamudradhipati* which the *Harsha-charita* (Book VIII) applies to the Satavahana friend of Nagarjuna cannot fail to remind one of Gautamiputra Satakarni 'whose chargers drank the water of the three oceans' (*tisamudatoyapitavahana*), or one of his immediate successors.

2 Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 64n. Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*, App. II, 4.

3 According to the theory of Dr. Majumdar, Vasudeva I ruled from (249 + 74) 323 to (249 + 98) 347 A.D. But Chinese evidence places a Po-tiao (Vasudeva?) in 230 A.D. The Khalatse Ins. also presents difficulties.

4 For the origin of the *Saka* era see Fleet, CII., preface 56; JRAS, 1913, pp. 635, 650, 987 ff.; Dubreuil, A. H. D, 26; Rapson *Andhra Coins*, p. cv; S. Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. xvi f. Nahapana, who was not even a *Mahakshatrapa* in the years 42-45, and who never became a paramount sovereign, could not possibly have been the founder of the era. The theory which represents Nahapana as the founder of the era used in his inscriptions (dated 42-46) is also contradicted by a Jaina tradition (relied on by Sten Konow, *Corpus*, II. i. xxxviii) which assigns to him (Nahavahana) a period of only 40 years. Chashtana has no better claims and the evidence of the *Periplus* shows that he could not have ruled at Ujjain in 78 A.D. As to the theory that Kadphises II founded the reckoning in question, it may be pointed out that no inscription or coin of this monarch contains any date which is referable to an era of his institution. The only Scythian king who did establish an era in the sense that he used a regnal reckoning that was continued by his successors, is Kanishka. And the only reckoning that is attributed by Indian writers, since the days of the early Chalukyas, to a Scythian king is the *Saka* era of 78 A.D.

(contd.)

(a) If we admit that Kujula-Kadphises **and** Hermaios reigned about 50 A.D. and that Kanishka founded the Saka era in 78 A.D. we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reigns of Kadphises I and the whole of the reign of Kadphises II.

(But the date, A.D. 50, for Kadphises I is uncertain. Even if we accept it as correct, the period of 28 years is not too short in view of the fact that Kadphises II succeeded an octogenerian. When Kadphises I died "at the age of more than eighty"¹ his son must have been an old man. It is, therefore, improbable that "his reign was protracted.")

(b) Marshall, says Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has discovered at Taxila in the Chir Stupa a document dated 136 which, in the *Vikrama* era, corresponds to 79 A.D., and the king mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka.

(Now, the epithet *Devapitira* applied to the Kushan king of the Taxila scroll of 136, is characteristic of the Kanishka group, and not of the Kadphises kings.¹ So

Regarding the objection that the Saka era was foreign to the north it may be pointed out that the era of 58 B.C., was equally foreign to the extreme north-west of India. The assertion that the Saka era was never used in the north-west simply begs the question. It assumes what it has got to prove, viz., that the reckoning used by the house of Kanishka does not refer to the Saka era. The very name Saka points to its foreign, and possibly north-western, origin, as the imperial Sakas resided in that region, and it is only the viceroys who dwelt in Malwa, Kathiawar and the Deccan. On the analogy of every famous Indian regnal reckoning it may be confidently asserted that the Saka era, too, originated - with a sovereign and not with a mere viceroy.

1 I am glad to note that a somewhat similar suggestion is now made by Dr. Thomas in Dr. B. C. Law Volume, II. 312. It is, however, by no means clear why it is said that the possibility of the identification of Devaputra with Kanishka 'has been ignored'. The Kadphises kings meant here are Kujula (Kadphises I), and Vima (Wema) and not Kuyula Kara Kaphsa whose identification with Kadphises I is a mere surmise. *Kara* or *Kala* probably means a Maharajaputra, a prince (Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents*, 82). Even if Kuyula Kara be identical with Kujula (*cf. Corpus*, II, i. lxxv) and the Kushan king of the Taxila inscription of 136, it may be pointed out that it is by no means certain that the date 136 refers to the *Vikrama* era.

the discovery need not Shake the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A.D. The omission of the personal name of the Kushan monarch does not necessarily imply that the first Kushan is meant. In several inscriptions of the time of Kumara Gupta and Budha Gupta, the king is referred to simply as *Ovpta nripa*.)

(c) Professor Dubreuil says : "Sten Konow has shown that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to prove that Kanishka reigned in the second century."

(This Kanishka may have been Kanishka of the Ara Inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the Saka era, would give a date in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao of Sten Konow,¹ the king of the Yue-chi who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230, may have been one of the successors of Vasudeva I. "Coins bearing the name of Vasudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away."² Dr. Smith, Mr. R. D. Banerji and Dr. S. Konow himself clearly recognise the existence of more than one Vasueva.)³

(d) Sten Konow has also shown that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Saka era are not dated in the same fashion. (But the same scholar also shows that all the inscriptions of the Kanishka era are also not dated in the same fashion. In the *Kliaroshthi* inscriptions, Kanishka and his successors recorded the dates in the same way as their Saka-Pahlava predecessors, giving the name of the month and the day within the month. On the other hand, in their *Bralvmi* records Kanishka and his successors *usually* adopted the Ancient

1 Vasudeva ? Ep. Ind., XIV, p. HI. Corpus, II, i. lxxvii ; cf. Acta, II, 133,

2 EHI, 3rd ed., p. 272.

3 Ibid, pp. 272-78, Corpus, ii, I. lxxvii.

Indian way of dating.¹ Are we to conclude from this that the *Kliaroshti* dates of Kanishka's inscriptions are not to be referred to the same era to which the dates of the *Bralmi* records are to be ascribed? If Kanishka adopted two different ways of dating, we fail to understand why he could not have adopted a third method to suit the local conditions in Western India. Sten Konow himself points out that in the Saka dates we have the name of the month as in the *Kharoshthi* records with addition of the *Pakshu*. "The Saka era which (the Western *Kshatrapas*) used was a direct imitation of the reckoning used by their cousins in the north-west, the additional mentioning of the '*palcsha*'* being perhaps a concession to the custom in the part of the country where they ruled." It is not improbable that just as Kanishka in the borderland used the old Saka-Pahlava method, and in Hindusthan Proper used the ancient Indian way of dating prevalent there, so in Western India his officers added the '*pdksha*' to suit the custom in that part of the country.)²

1 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. H I. For an exception see *ibid*, XXI. 60.

2 As to the statement of Fleet endorsed by S. Konow, *Corpus*, lxxxvii, that the use of the Saka era was foreign to Northern India attention may be invited to Kielhorn's *List of Ins. of Northern India*, Nos 351, 352, 362, 364-365, 368, 379, etc. So far as North-West India is concerned there is as little positive proof of the early use of the *Vikrama* era as of the era of 78 A.D. The paucity of early records dated in the Saka era in the valley of the Upper Ganges and its tributaries is possibly due to the fact that the era of 58 B.C. already held the field. Later eras of undoubtedly northern origin, like those of the Guptas and Harsha, have practically been forgotten, but the era of 58 B.C. is still in use. In Southern India the case is different. The use of regnal years in the records of the Mauryas (many of which are located in the south) and those of the Satavahanas, Chetas, and other early dynasties, proves beyond doubt that there was no early reckoning in use that could compete with the new era that was introduced by the Saka satraps. The story of the foundation of the Chalukya-Vikrama era suggests that the Saka reckoning was at times deliberately sought to be discontinued because of its foreign association. This might have happened in the north as well as in the south,

According to Sten Konow Kanishka came from Khotan¹ and belonged to the Little Ylie-chi. The theory presents many difficulties.² It is certain that his successors in 230 were still known as the Ta (Great?) Yue-chi. The family name according to Kumāratala's *Kalpanamanditlha* was Kiu-sha.³

Kanishka completed the Kushan conquest of Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kapisa,⁴ Gandhara and Kasmira to Benares. Traditions of his conflict with the rulers of Soked (Saketa) and Pataliputra in Eastern India are preserved by Tibetan and Chinese writers.⁵ Epigraphic records give us contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Peshawar and possibly from Zeda (near Und) in the Yuzufzai country, but also from Manikiala near Rawalpindi, from Sui Vihar about 16 miles south-west of Bahawalpur (north of Sind), from Mathura and Sravasti, and from Sarnath near Benares.⁶ His coins are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghazipur and Gorakhpur.⁷ The eastern portion of his empire was apparently governed by the *Maha-Kshatrapa* Kharapallana and the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara. In the northern portion we find the general Lala and the Satraps Vespasi and Liaka. He fixed his own residence at Peshawar (Purusha-

1 *Corpus*, I I, i. lxxvi; cf. lxi; *JRAS.*, 1903, 334.

2 *Ibid*, p. lxxvii.

3 Cf. Kusa of Kanika lekha and Kusadvlpa of the *Puranas*. See now Shafef, *Linguistics in History*, *JAOS*, 67, No. 4,

4" Cf. The story of the Chinese hostage mentioned by H. Tsang.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 142 ; *Ind Ant.*, 1903, p. 382 ; *Corpus*, I I, i, pp. lxxii and lxxv. The reference may be to Kanishka I I.

6 In recent years Mr. K. G. Goswami has drawn attention to a Brahml Inscription of Kanishka, dated in the year 2 (?), which he found in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad (*Calcutta Review*, July, 1934, p. 83).

7 A gold coin from Mahasthana (Bogra) represents the standing bearded figure of Kanishka—possibly an imitation of the coinage of the great Kushan king.

pura) and possibly established Kanishkapura¹ in Kasmira. It is, however, more probable that Kanishkapura was established by his namesake of the Ara inscription. After making himself master of the south (*ie.* India) Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the king of the Parthians.² In his old age he led an army against the north and died in an attempt to cross the Tsung-ling mountains (Taghdumbash Pamir) between the Pamir Plateau and Khotan. The Northern expedition is apparently referred to by Hiuen-Tsang who speaks of his rule in the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains, and of a Chinese Prince detained as a hostage at his court.

It is not improbable that Kanishka was the Kushan king repulsed by general Pan-ch'ao during the reign of the Emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). It has no doubt been argued that Kanishka "must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorious contact with him, their historians would have mentioned it." But if we identify Pan-ch'ao's Kushan contemporary with Kadphises II, the silence of the Chinese becomes still more mysterious and inexplicable because he was certainly well-known to the annalists. On the other hand, Kanishka was not known to them and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-ch'ao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of his predecessor, Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Pan-ch'ao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said with regard to Wema, the events of whose reign, as recorded by Chinese annalists, do not

1 Cunningham (AGI⁸. 114) located it near [^]rinagar. Stein and Smith identify it with Kanispor, "situated between the Vitasta river and the high road leading from Varahamula to Srinagar" (EHI⁴ p. 273).

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 382.

include a first class war with China. The legend of Kanishka's death published by S. Le*vi contains a significant passage which runs thus : — " I have subjugated three regions ; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission."¹ Have we not here a covert allusion to his failure in the encounter with his mighty northern neighbour ?

Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of Sakyamuni. Numismatic evidence and the testimony of the Peshawar Casket inscriptions show that he actually became a convert to Buddhism possibly at the commencement of his reign, if not earlier. He showed his zeal for his faith by building the celebrated relic tower and *Sahgharama* at Purushapura or Peshawar which excited the wonder of Chinese and Muslim travellers.² He convoked the last great Buddhist council which was held in Kasmira or Jalandhar.³ But though a Buddhist, the Kushan monarch continued to honour the Greek, Sumffrian, Zoroastrian Elamite, Mithraic and Hindu gods worshipped in the various provinces of his far-flung empire.⁴ The court of Kanishka was adorned by Parsva, Vasumitra,

1 EHI⁴, p. 285 ; JRAS, 1912, 674.

2 The fame of the *Kanishka Mahavihara* remained undiminished till the days of the Pala Kings of Bengal as is apparent from the Ghoshravan Inscription of the time of Devapala. Kanishka's *Chaitya* is referred to by Alberuni.

3 One account possibly mentions Gandhara as the place where the Assembly met. The earliest authorities seem to locate it in Kashmir. *Kundalavana vihara* appears to be the name of the monastery where the theologians assembled probably under the presidency of Vasumitra. The chief business of the Synod seems to be the collection of canonical texts, and the preparation of commentaries on them (Smith, *EHF*⁴, pp. 283 ff ; Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, 71).

4 See JRAS, 1912, pp. 1003, 1004, The Elamite (Sumerian ? Hastings, 5, 827) goddess Nana possibly gave her name to the famous Nanaka coins (c/. Bhand., *Cartn. Lee*, 1921, p. 161). For the influence of the Mithra (Mihir, Mihira, Miir) cult on Kushan India, see Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Gaivistn and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 154. According to Professor Rapson

Asvaghosha,¹ Charaka, Nagarjuna,² Samgharaksha, Mathara, Agesilaos the Greek and other worthies who played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign. Excavations at Mat near Mathura have disclosed a life-size statue of the great king.³

After Kanishka came Vasishka, Huvishka and Kanishka of the Ara inscription. We have got inscriptions of Vasishka dated 24 and 28 which possibly prove his control over Mathura and Eastern Malvva.⁴ He may have been identical with Vajheshka, the father of Kanishka of the Ara inscription, and Jushka of the *Rajatarahgint*, the founder of the town of Jushkapur, modern Zukur to the north of Srinagar.⁵

Huvishka's dates range from 28 to 60. A Mathura Inscription⁶ represents him as the grandson of a king who has the appellation "*Sacha dhramathita*" i.e. steadfast or abiding in the true Law, which occurs on the coins of Kuyula Kaphsa.⁷ Kalhana's narrative leaves the impression that Huvishka ruled simultaneously with

(*Andhra Coins*, xii) the diversity of coin-types does not show religious eclecticism, but reflects the different forms of religion which prevailed in the various districts of the vast empire of the Great Kushans. Cf., *Asavari* and *Bednur* type of coins of the time of Iltutmish and of Hyder Ali.

1 For the legend about Kanishka and Asvaghosha see a recent article by H. W. Bailey (JRAS, 1942 pt. I)—trans. with notes of a fragment of a Khotan Ms. The king's name is spelt Cadrria (Chandra) Kanishka.

2 It is possible that Nagarjuna was a contemporary, not of Kanishka I, but of Kanishka II and Huvishka.

3 E H I \ p. 272. Cf. Coin-portrait, JRAS, 1912, 670.

4 As the Sanchi images may have been brought from Mathura, the find-spots need not be regarded as forming necessarily a part of the empire of the king mentioned in the *pedestals*.

5 E H I ⁴, p. 275.

6 JRAS, 1924, p. 402.

7 The epithet is also applied to Amgoka in the Ksharoshthi documents (Burrow, p. 128).

Jushka and Kanishka, i.e., Va-jheshka and **Kanishka of the Srfi inscription**' of the year 41. The Wardak vase inscription possibly proves the inclusion of Kabul within his dominions. But there is no evidence that he retained his hold on the Lower Indus Valley which was probably wrested from the successors of Kanishka I by Rudradaman. In Kasmira Huvishka built a town named Hushkapura.¹ Like Kanishka I, he was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathura.² He also resembled Kanishka in his taste for a diversity of coin-types. Besides a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities we have, on one of his coins, the remarkable figure of Roma.³ A Mathura inscription refers to the restoration during his reign of a delapidated *Devakula* of his grandfather.

Smith does not admit that the Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 was different from the great Kanishka. Liiders, Fleet, Kennedy and Sten Konow, on the other hand, distinguish between the two Kanishkas.⁴ According to Luders, Kanishka of the Ara inscription was a son of Vasishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I. Kanishka II had the titles *Maharaja*, *Rajatiraja*, *Devaputra* and possibly *Kaisara* (Caesar). It is probable that he, and not Kanishka I, was the founder of the town of Kanishkapura in Kasmira.

1 It is identified with Ushkur inside the Baramula Pass (EH1⁴ p. 287).

2 C/. Liiders, List No. 62

3 *Catnb. Short Hist.*, 79. Numismatic evidence possibly suggests that the 'lion-standard' was to some of the Great Kushans what the *Garuda-dhvaja* was to their Gupta successors. Cf. Whitehead, 196.

4 C/. *Corpus*, II. i. Ixxx; 163. Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 143. JRAS, 1913, 98. The mention of a distinguishing patronymic in the record of the year 41, and the fact that no inscriptions of Kanishka are known that are referable to the period 24 to 40 of the era used by the family (when the Kushan throne was occupied by Vasishka and, possibly Huvishka as a junior partner), suggest that Kanishka of the year 41 is not to be identified with Kanishka of the years 1-23.

The last notable king of Kanishka's line was **Vasudeva I**. His dates range from the year 67^x to 98, *i. e.*, A. D. 145 to 176 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist. His coins exhibit the figure of Siva attended by Nandi. There can be no doubt that he reverted to Saivism, the religion professed by his great predecessor Kadphises II. A king named Vasudeva is mentioned in the *Kavya Mimamsa* as a patron of poets and a *Sabhapati*, apparently 'President of a Society' (of learned men). That the Kushan Age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Saivism and the allied cult of Kartikeya, of the *Mahayana* form of Buddhism and the cults of Mihira and of Vasudeva-Krishna, and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kasyapa Matanga (c. 61-68 A.D.).

"The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia."

The inscriptions of Vasudeva have been found only in the Mathura region. From this it is not unreasonable to surmise that he *gradually* lost his hold over the north-western portion of the Kushan dominions.

About the middle of the third century A.D., we hear of the existence of no less than four kingdoms all 'dependent on the Yue-chi,' and ruled probably by princes of the Yue-chi stock-²

1 Mr. M. Nagor makes mention of an inscription incised on the base of a stone image of the Buddha acquired from Palikhera (Mathura Museum, no 2907) which records the installation of the image in the year 67 during the reign of Vasudeva.

2 Cf. Kennedy, JRAS, 1913, 1060 f. Among the successors of Vasudeva I may be mentioned Kanishka (III); Vasu (Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 211-12 ; cf. RDB, JASB, Vol IV (1908), 81 ff ; Altekar, N.H.I.P, VI. 14 n) or Vasudeva II.

These were Ta-hia (the Oxus region, *i.e.*, Bactria), Ki-pin (Kapisa), Kao-fou (Kabul) and 'Tien-tchou' lit. India, meaning probably the country on either side of the Indus with a vague suzerainty over a wider area). In 280 the Ta Yue-chi, *i.e.*, the Great (?) Yue-chi king Po-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor. The Yuerchi kingdom of 'Tientchou' began to fall to pieces some time after this date and probably disappeared as an important power in the fourth century A. D. having already lost some of the remotest provinces to the Nagas. Those nearer the Indus emerged as petty states. Sakasthana and parts of North-West India were conquered by the Sassanians in the days of Varhran II (A. D. 276-93). During the early part of the reign of Shapur II (A. D. 309-79) the Sassanian suzerainty was still acknowledged in those regions.

who is apparently to be identified with Po-tiao, A.D. 230 (*Corpus*, I I . i. lxxvii) ; and Grumbates, A.D. 360 (Smith, *EHI*⁴, p. 290). Kings claiming to belong to the family of Kanishka continued to rule in Ki-pin and Gandhara long after he had passed away (*Itinerary of Oukong*, Cal Rev., 1922, Aug-Sept., pp. 193, 489). The last king of Kanishka's race was, according to tradition, Lagatiirman who was overthrown by his Brahmana minister Kallar (Alberuni, I I , 13). For an alleged invasion of India in the later Kushan period by Ardeshir Babagan (A.D. 226-41), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, see Ferishta (Elliot and Dowson, VI, p. 557). Varhran II (A.D. 276-93) conquered the whole of Sakasthana and made his son Varhran III governor of the conquered territory. Sakasthana continued to form a part of the Sassanian empire down to the time of Shapur II. A Pahlavi Inscription of Persepolis, which Herzfeld deciphered in 1923, dated probably in A.D. 310-11, when Shapur II (309-79) was on the throne, refers to the Sassanian ruler of Sakasthana as '*Sakansah*, minister of ministers (*dabiran dabl*) of Hind, Sakasthana and Tukharisthan" (*MASI*, 38, 36). The Paikuli Inscription mentions the Saka chiefs of North-Western India among the retainers of Varhran III, governor of Sakasthana in the last quarter of the third century A.D. (*JRAS.* 1933, 219). The Xbhiras of Western India seem also to have acknowledged the sway of the Sassanians (Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, cxxxiv). J. Charpentier points out (*Aiyangar Com.* Vol. 16) that at the time of Cosraas Indico-pleustes (c. 500 A.D.) the right side of the Indus Delta belonged to Persia. Persians figure also in early Chalukya epigraphs and the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa.

SECTION IV. THE NAGAS AND THE LATEB KUSHANS.

The successors of the Great Kushans in Mathura and certain neighbouring tracts were the Nagas.¹ The prevalence of Naga rule over a considerable portion of northern and central India in the third and fourth centuries A.D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence. A Lahore copper seal inscription of the fourth century A.D. refers to a king named Mahesvara Naga, the son of Nagabhatta.² The Allahabad Pillar inscription refers to King Ganapati Naga, ..while several Vakataka records mention **Bhava Naga**, sovereign of the Bharasivas, whose grandson's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, and who accordingly must have flourished before the rise of the Gupta Empire. Some idea of the great power of the rulers of Bhava Naga's line and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that the dynasty performed ten *Asvamedha* sacrifices and "were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) *Bhagirathi* (Ganges) that had been *obtained by their valour*"³ The valiant deeds of the family culminating in the performance of ten *Asvamedha* sacrifices indicate that they were *not* a feudatory line owing allegiance to the Kushans. We learn from the *Puranas* that the Nagas established themselves at Vidisa (Basnagar near Bhilsa), Padmavati

1 A Yupa Inscription from Barnala (in the Jaipur state) discloses the existence of a line of kings, one of whom bore a name that ended in—*Varddhana*. They belonged to the Sohartta or Sohartri *gotra*. But the dynastic designation is not known (*Ep. Ind.* xxvi. 120). The record is dated in *Krita* 284 corresponding to A. D. 227-28.

2 Fleet, C II, p. 283

3 C II, p. 241 ; Alft), p. 72.

(Padam Pawaya, "in the apex on the confluence of the Sindhu and Para),"¹ Kantipuri (not satisfactorily identified),² and even Mathura which was the southern³ capital of Kanishka and his successors. The greatest of the Naga Kings was perhaps Chandramsa,⁴ 'the second Nakhavant/ whose name reminds us of the great king **Chandra** of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription. It is by no means clear that the two are identical. But if Chandra preceded the rise of the G-upta empire, it is natural to seek a reference to him in the Puranic texts which were not compiled till the Gupta-Vakataka age. The hand of a Naga princess was sought by Chandra Gupta II in the fourth century, and a 'Naga' officer governed the Qangetic Doab as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.⁵ The Kushans, however, continued to rule in the Kabul valley and parts of the Indian borderland. One of them gave his daughter in marriage to Hormisdas (or Hormuzd) II, the Sassanian King of Persia (A. D. 301-09). As already stated Varhran II (A. D. 276-93) and his successors up to the time of Shapur II seem to have exercised suzerainty over their Scythic neighbours. "When Shapur II besieged Amida in A. D; 350, Indian

1 Coins of a *Maharaja* or *Adhiraja* named Bhavanaga have been found at this place. His identity with Bhavanaga of Vakataka epigraphs proposed by Dr. Altekar (J. Num. S. I, V. pt. II) must await future discoveries.

2 Mention is made of a Kantipuri in the *Skanda Purana* (Nagarakhanda, ch. 47. 4ff). In the story narrated in the text a petty prince of Kantipuri 'marries a princess of Dasarna, the valley of the Dhasan, in Eastern Malwa which, in the time of the *Meghaduta*, included Vidisa. Kantipuri probably lay not far from the last-mentioned city.

3 JRAS, 1905, p. 233.

4 "Nrpan Vidisakathi c=api bhavisyamstu nibodhata
Sesasya Naga-rajasyaputrah para puranjayah
Bhogl bhavisyate (?) raja nrpo Naga-kul-Odvahah
Sadacandras tu Chandrathko dvitiyo Nakhavams tatha."

—*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.

5 For later traces of Naga rule, see Bom. Gaz., 1.2, pp.281, 292, 313, 574 ; Ep. Ind., X, 25.

elephants served under . his command."¹ Shortly afterwards the Sassanian supremacy was replaced by that of the Guptas, and the "*Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi*" i.e., the Kushan monarch or monarchs of the North-west sent valuable presents to Samudra Gupta.² In the fifth century³ the **Kidara Kushans** established their rule over Gandhara and Kasmira.⁴ In the sixth century the Kushans had to fight hard against the Huns and in the following centuries, against the Muslims. In the ninth century A. D. a powerful Muslim dynasty, that of the Saffarids, was established in Sistan (Seistan) and the sway of the family soon extended to Ghazni, Zabulistan, Herat, Balkh and Bamiyan.⁵ The later kings of the race of Kanishka seem to have had one residence in Gandhara at the city of Und, Ohind, Waihand or Udabhandu, on the Indus. Another capital was situated in the Kabul valley. The family was finally extinguished by the Brahmana Kallar of Lalliya who founded the Hindu Shahiyya dynasty towards the close of the ninth century A.D. A part of the kingdom of Kabul fell into the hands of Alptigin in the tenth century.⁶

1 JRAS, 1913. p. 1062. Smith (EHI⁴, p. 290) and Herzfeld (MASI, 38, 36) give the date A.D. 360.

2 Cf also JASB, 1908, 93.

3 Or probably earlier (about the middle of the fourth century according to Altekar, NHIP, VI. 21).

4 JRAS, 1913, p. 1064. Smith, *Catalogue*, 64, 89. R. D. Banerji, JASB 1908, 91.

5 Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud*, 186.

6 Nazim, p. 26.

CHAPTER IX. SCYTHIAN RULE IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

SECTION I. THE KSHAIURATAS.

We have seen that in the second and first centuries B.C.,¹ the Scythians possessed Ki-pin (Kapisa-Gandhara) and Sakasthana (Seistan) and soon extended their sway over a large part of Northern India. The principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the north. But a Satrapal family, the Kshaharatas, extended their power to Western India and the Deccan, and wrested parts of Maharashtra from the Satavahanas. The Satavahana king apparently retired to the southern part of his dominions, probably to the *Janapada* of the Bellary District which came to be known as Satavahanihara, and was at one time under the direct administration of a military governor (*mahasenapati*) named Skanda-naga.¹ The waning power of the indigenous rulers of the Deccan and the waxing strength of the invaders seem to be hinted at in the following lines of the *Periplus* :

"The city of Calliena (Kalyana) in the time of the elder Saraganus (probably Satakarni I) became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandanes (possibly Sunandana Satakarni)² the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza (Broach) under guard."⁵

1 Ep. Ind. XIV, 155.

2 Wilson in JASB, 1904. 272 ; Smith ZDMG Sept 1903 ; IHQ, 1932, 234; JBORS, 1932, 7f. The adjective 'elder'¹ becomes pointless unless the passage mentions a *younger* Saraganus, and this person can only refer to Sandane from whom the elder king is distinguished.

The name of the Scythian conquerors of the Broach region and of Maharashtra, Kshaharata, seems to be identical with "Karatai," the designation of a famous Saka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy.¹

The known members of the Kshaharata, Khakharata, or Chaharata family are Liaka, Patika, Grhataka, Bhilmaka and **Nahapana**. Of these Liaka, Patika, and Ghataka belonged to the Taxila and Mathura regions respectively. Bhumaka was a *Kshatrapa* of Kathiawar. Rapson says that he preceded Nahapana. His coin-types are "arrow, discus and thunderbolt." These types have been compared with the reverse type "discus, bow and arrow" of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes (I).

Nahapana was the greatest of the Kshaharata Satraps. Eight Cave Inscriptions discovered at Pandulena, near Nasik, Junnar and Karle (in the Poona district) prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Maharashtra within his dominions. Seven of these inscriptions describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadata (Risbabhadatta), the Saka, while the eighth inscription specifies the charitable works of Ayama, the *Amatya* (minister or district officer). Ushavadata's inscriptions indicate that Nahapana's political influence probably extended from Poona (in Maharashtra) and Sfirparaka (in North Konkan) to Prabhasa in Kathiawar, Mandasor (Dasapura) and Ujjain in Malwa and the district of Ajmer including Pushkara, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushavadata resorted for consecration after his victory over the Malay as or Malavas.

1 *hid. Ant.*, 1884, p. 400. Mr. Y. R. Gupte points out (*Ind. Ant.*, 1926, 178) that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname Kharata which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharata (Kshaharata).

The Nasik records give the dates 41, 42, and 45, of an unspecified era, and call Nahapana a *Kshatrapa*, while the Junnar epigraph of Ayama specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapana as *Mahalcsliatrapa*. The generally accepted view is that these dates are to be referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D. The name Nahapana is no doubt Persian, but the Kshaharata tribe to which Nahapana belonged was probably of Saka extraction and Ushavadata, son-in-law of Nahapana, distinctly calls himself a Saka. It is, therefore, probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of *Salca* era from the Saka princes of the House of Nahapana. Rapson accepts the view that Nahapana's dates are recorded in years of the Saka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and, therefore, assigns Nahapana to the period A.D. 119 to 124.¹ Several scholars² identify Nahapana with Mambarus (emended into Nambanus)³ of the *Periplus* whose capital was Minnagara in Ariake. According to one theory Minnagara is modern Mandasor,⁴ and Ariake is Aparantika.⁵

1 Allan thinks that the coins of Nahapana cannot be assigned to so late a date in the second century A.D. He points among other things to the similarity of the bust on the obverse of Nahapana's silver coins and that on the coins of Rajuvula. But he admits that this may be due to derivations from a common prototype such as the coins of Strato I. *Camb. Short Hist.*, 80 f.

2 E. g. M. Boyer in *Journal Asiatique*. 1897; JASB, 1904. 272. In JRAS, 1918, 108, Kennedy points out that the name certainly ends in—bares—baros, and not in banos.

3 JRAS, 1912, p. 785.

4 This is the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who apparently follows *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. 1. 15 n. ; cf , however, *Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 143, *Capital of Nahapana* (=Junnar). Fleet identifies Minnagara with Dohad in the Panch Mahals (JRAS, 1912, p. 788 ; 1913, 993n). In a paper read at the sixth conference of Orientalists at Patna Dr. Jayaswal referred to a Jaina work which mentions Broach as the capital of Nahapana (see now *Avasyaka sutra*, JBORS, 1930, Sept. Dec , 290). For a different tradition see IHQ, 1929, 356. Vasudhara (?) *nagari*,

5 Cf. also I A. 7, 259, 263: Ariake may also be Aryaka of Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita*.

R.D. Banerji and G. Jouveau-Dubreuil are of opinion that Nahapana's dates are not referable to the Saka era. They say that if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapana are dated in the Saka era, there will be only an interval of five years between the inscription of this king, dated 46 and the inscriptions of Rudradaman, dated 52. Within these years must have taken place :

- (1) The end of Nahapana's reign ;
- (2) The destruction of the Kshaharatas ;
- (3) The accession of Chashtana as *Kshatrapa*, his reign as *Kshatrapa*, his accession as a *Mahahshatrapa*, and his reign as *Mahalchhatrapa* ;
- (4) The accession of Jayadaman as *Kshatrapa*, his reign as *Kshatrapa*, and perhaps also his reign as *Mahalchhatrapa* ;
- (5) The accession of Rudradaman and the beginning of his reign.

There is no necessity, however, of crowding the events mentioned above within five years (between the year 46, the last known date of Nahapana, and the year 52, the first known date of Rudradaman). There is nothing to show that Ohashtana's family came to power *after* the destruction of the Kshaharatas. The line of Chashtana may have been ruling in Cutch and perhaps some adjacent territories, as the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 suggest, while the Kshaharatas were ruling in parts of Malwa and Maharashtra. Moreover, there is no good ground for believing that a long interval elapsed from the accession of Chashtana to that of Rudradaman. Drs. Bhandarkar and R. C. Majumdar have pointed out that the Andhau inscriptions clearly prove that Chashtana and Rudradaman ruled conjointly in the year 52. Professor J. Dubreuil rejects their view on the ground that

there is no "oha" after Rudradaman in the text of the inscription : *Bajna Ghastanasa Ysamotiha-putrasa rajna Badradamasa Jayadama-putrasa varshe dvipachdse*, 50, 2. Professor Dubreuil translates the passage thus :

"In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradaman, son of Jayadaman, *grandson* of Chashtana and *great-grandson* of Ysamotika".

The Professor who objects to a 'cha'⁹ himself makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and "great-grandson" no trace of which can be found in the original record. Had his translation been what the writer of the Andhan inscriptions intended, we should have expected to find the name of Ysamotika first, and then the name of Chashtana followed by those of Jayadaman and Rudradaman—*Ysamotika prapautrasa Chashtana pautrasa Jaijadama-putrasa Itudradamanm*. Moreover, it is significant that in the text of the inscription there is no royal title prefixed to the name of Jayadaman who ruled between Chashtana and Rudradaman according to Dubreuil. On the other hand, both Chashtana and Rudradaman are called *raja*. The two are mentioned in exactly the same way—with the honorific *raja* and the patronymic. The literal translation of the inscriptional passage is "in the year 52 of king Chashtana son of Ysamotika, of king Rudradaman son of Jayadaman," and this certainly indicates that the year 52 belonged to the reign *bqjbh* of Chashtana and Rudradaman.² The conjoint rule of two kings was known to ancient Hindu writers on polity.³ The theory of the conjoint

1 Cf. the Junagadh, Gunda and Jasdhan inscriptions.

2 Cf. the coin legends "*Heramayasa Kaliyapaya*." "*Gudupharasa Sasasa*," "*Khatapana Haganasa Hagamashasa*", etc., where, too, we have no *cha* after the second name. Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, 86, 147 ; *CHI*, 538.

3 Cf. *Dviraja* in the *Atharva Vedaiy*. 20, 9) ; *Dvairajya* in the *Kautiliya Arthasastra* p. 325 ; *Dorajja* of the *Ayaranga Sutta* ; the classical account of Patalene, p. 259 *ante* ; the case of Dhritarashtra and Duryodhana in the Great

rule of Chashtana and his grandson is supported by the fact that Jayadaman did not live to be *Mahalcshatrapa* and must have predeceased his father, Chashtana, as unlike Chashtana and Rudradaman, he is called simply a *Kshatrapa* (not *Mahahshatra'pa* and *Bhadramihlcha*) even in the inscriptions of his descendants.¹ We have already noticed the fact that the title *raja*, which is given to Chashtana and Rudradaman in the Andhau inscriptions, is not given to Jayadaman.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says that the inscriptions of Nahapana cannot be referred to the same era as used on the coins and inscriptions of Chashtana's dynasty because if we assume that Nahapana was dethroned in 46 S. E., Gautamiputra must have held Nasik up to 52 S. E. (from his 18th to his 24th year), then Pulumayi held the city up to the 22nd year of his reign, i.e., up to at least 74 S. B. But Rudradaman is known to have defeated Pnlutnayi and taken Nasik before that time. Banerji's error lies in the tacit assumption that Rudradaman twice occupied Nasik before the year 73 of the Saka era. There is no clear evidence to suggest that the Satavahanas lost Poona and Nasik to that great satrap though they may have lost Malwa and the Konkan. Another untenable assumption of Mr. Banerji is that Rudradaman finished his conquests before the year 52 or A. D. 130, whereas the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch and perhaps some adjoining tracts by the House of Chashtana.

The theory of those who refer Nahapana's dates to the Saka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by

Epic ; of Eukratides and his son in Justin's work ; of Strato I and Strato II ; of Azes and Azilises, etc., etc. The *Mahavastu* (III. 432) refers to the conjoint rule of three brothers :—"Kaliigeshu Simhapuram natna nagarath tatra trayo bhralaro ekamatrika rajyam karayathi." See also IA, 6, 29. Cf. Nilakanta Sastri, *Pattdyan Kingdom*, 120, 122, 180.

1 Cf. the Gunda and Jasdhan inscriptions. "

Professor Rapson, and Dr. Bhandarkar after him, that a Nasik inscription of Nahapana refers to a *gold* currency, doubtless of the Kushans who could not have ruled in India before the first century A. D.¹

The power of Nahapana and his allies, the Uttamabhadras,² was threatened by the Malayas (**Malavas**) from the north, and the Satavahanas from the south. The incursion of the Malavas was repelled by Ushavadata. But the Satavahana attack proved fatal to Saka rule in Maharashtra.

We know very little about Ohakora and Sivasvati mentioned in the Puranas as the immediate successors of Sunandana during whose reign Satavahana prestige had sunk very low and marauders from Barygaza had been harrying the ports that had once enjoyed the protection of the elder Satakarni, probably Satakarni I. But the king whose name occurs next in the list, viz., Gautamiputra, regained the lost power of the house and dealt a severe blow at the power of the intruders from the north. The Nasik *prasasti* calls him the "uprooter of the Kshaharata race," and the "restorer, of the glory of the Satavahana family". That Nahapana himself was overthrown by Gautamiputra is proved by the testimony of the Jogalthembi hoard (in the Nasik district) which consisted of Nahapana's own silver coins and coins restruck by Gautamiputra. In the

1 Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, pp. Iviii, clxxxv ; Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1918-1919, 'Deccan of the Satavahana Period'.

2 The Uttamabhadras may have been a section of the Bhadra tribe mentioned in a list of *ganas* along with the Rohitakas (cf. Rohtak in south-east Punjab), the Xgreyas (of Agra ?) and the Malavas (Mbh. III. 253.20). In Mbh. VI. 50. 47 the Pra-bhadras are associated with the *ganas* or corporations of the Daserakas, apparently of the desert region of Rajputana (Monier Williams, Dic. 405),

restruck coins there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapana as would certainly have been the case if any ruler had intervened between Nahapana and Gautamiputra.

SECTION II. THE RESTORATION OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE.

Gautamiputra's victory over the Kshaharatas led to the restoration of the Satavahana power in Maharashtra and some adjoining provinces. The recovery of Maharashtra is proved by a Nasik inscription, dated in the year 18¹, and a Karle epigraph addressed to the *Amatya* or the king's officer in charge of Mamala (the territory round Karle, modern Maval in the Poona district). But this was not the only achievement of Gautamiputra. We learn from the Nasik record of queen G-autami Balasri that her son destroyed the Sakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians), and that his dominions extended not only over Asika,² Asaka (Asmaka on the Godavari, i.e., part of Maharashtra),³ and Millaka (the district around Paithan), but also over Suratha (South Kathiawar), Kukura (in Western or Central India, possibly near thePariyatraorthe Western Vindhya),⁴ Aparanto (North Konkan), Anupa (district around Mahismati on the Narmada), Vidarbha (Greater Berar), and Akara-Avanti (East⁵ and West Malwa). He is further styled lord of all the mountains from

1 The Nasik Edict was issued from the camp of victory of the Vejayanti army (Ep. Ind. VIII. 72) and was addressed to the *Amatya* or the king's officer in charge of Govardhana (Nasik).

2 On the Krishnavena, i.e., the river Krishna (Kharavela's ins., IHQ, 1938. 275) ; cf. Arshika, Patanjali. IV, 2. 2.

3 Shamasastri's translation of the *Arthasastra*, p. 143, n. 2. Its capital Potana probably corresponds to Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions.

4 *Brihat Samhita*, XIV, 4.

5 Eastern Malwa was possibly under Vasishka, the successor of Kanishka I, in the year 28 of the Kushan Era which corresponds to A.D. 106 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. Akara has been identified with Agar, 35 miles north-east of Ujjain, Bomb. Gaz., Gujarat, 540 ; Ep. Ind., xxiii. 102.

the Vindhyas to the Malaya or Travancore hills, and from the Eastern (Mahendra) to the Western (Sahya) Ghats. The possession of Vejayanti in the Kanarese country is possibly hinted at in the Nasik inscription of the year 18. The names of the Andhra country (Andhrapatha) and South Kosala are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Inscriptions, coins and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang prove that both these territories were at one time or other included within the Satavahana empire. The earliest Satavahana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Pulumayi, son of Gautamiputra. It is, however, possible that some vague claim of suzerainty over the areas in question is implied in the boast that Gautamiputra was lord of the Vindhyas and the Eastern Ghats (Mahendra) and that his chargers "drank the water of the three oceans" (*tisamudatoya-pita-vahana*)). Moreover "Asika" seems to have included a considerable portion of the valley of the Krishna.

In the Nasik *prasasti* Gautamiputra figures not only as a conqueror, but also as a social reformer. "He crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of the twice-born, apparently the Brahmanas, as well as the lowest orders (*Dvijavarahutubavivadhana*)¹ and stopped the contamination of the four *varnas* (castes)."

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Gautamiputra reigned conjointly with his son Pulumayn. They give the following reasons in support of their theory :—

1 *Kutumba* means 'a household', 'a family' and *avara-kutuba* may be taken to mean 'households or families of the lowly'. The use of the word *kutuba* may suggest that the 'lowly' order or orders, whose families or households are referred to, are the traders and agriculturists (*kutumbika*).

(1) In Gantaml's inscription (dated in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumayi) she is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not *both* at one and the same time.

(2) If it were a fact that Gautamiputra was dead when the queen-mother's inscription was written, and Pulumayi. alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription. But there is not a word in praise of him. A king dead for 19 years is extolled, and the reigning king passed over in silence.

(3) The inscription dated in the year 24, engraved on the east wall of the Veranda of the Nasik Cave No. 3, which records a grant made by Gautamiputra and the "king's mother whose son is living", in favour of certain Buddhist monks "*dwelling in the cave which was a pious gift of theirs,*"⁹ presupposes *the gift of the Nasik Cave No. 3* in the 19th year of Pulumayi. Consequently Gautamiputra was alive after the 19th year of his son.

As-regards point (1), it may be said that usually a queen sees only her husband and sometimes a son on the throne. Queen Gautami Balasri, on the other hand, was one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) few who saw grandchildren on the throne. Therefore she claimed to be the mother of a great king and the grandmother of a great king.

As to point (2), is the silence satisfactorily explained by the theory of conjoint rule? Those who prefer the opposite view may point out that although it is not customary for an ordinary subject to extol a dead king and pass over a reigning monarch in silence, still it is perfectly natural for a queen-mother in her old age to recount the glories of a son who was associated with her in a previous gift.

As to point (3), it is not clear that the gift referred to in the postscript of the year 24 was identical with the grant of the year 19 of Pulumayi. The donors in the postscript were king Cautamiputra and the *rajamata*, the king's mother, apparently Bala9ri, while the donor in the year 19 of Pulumayi was the queen-mother *alone*. In the inscription of the year 24, the queen-mother is called *Mahadevi Jivasuta Rajamata*, the great queen, the king's mother, whose *son is alive*. In Pulumayi's inscription the epithets *Mahadevi* and *Rajamata* are retained but the epithet "*Jivasuta*" "whose son is alive," is significantly omitted. The donees in the former grant were the *Tehirasi* or *Trirasmi* ascetics in general, the donees in the latter grant were the monks of the *Blhadavaniya* school. The object of grant in the former case may have been merely the *Veranda* of Cave No. 3, which contains the postscript of the year 24, and whose existence before the 19th year of Pulumayi is attested by an edict of G-autamiputra of the year 18. On the other hand, the cave given away to the *Bliadavaniya* monks was the whole of Cave No. 3.

[If Gautamiputra and his son reigned simultaneously, and if the latter ruled as his father's colleague in Maharashtra, then it is difficult to explain why Gautamiputra was styled "*Govadhanasa Benalcatalcasvami*" "lord of Benakataka in Govardhana" (Nasik),¹ and why he addressed the officer at G-ovardhana directly, ignoring his son who is represented as ruling over Maharashtra, while in the record of the year 19, Pulumayi was considered as

1 The use of the expression "*Govadhanasa*" suggests that there were other localities named BenSkataka from which this particular place is distinguished. A Bennakata in the eastern part of the Vakataka kingdom is mentioned in the Tirodi plates of Pravarasena I I (? 111) (IHQ* 1935. 293 ; Ep. Ind. XXII, 167 ff). BenS or Benna is apparently the name of a small stream in each case.

so important that the date was recorded in the years of his reign, and not in that of his father who was the senior ruler.¹

The generally accepted view is that Pulumayi came after Gautamiputra.

The date of Gautamiputra Satakarni is a matter regarding which there is a wide divergence of opinion). There are scholars who believe that the epithets *varavarana-vikrama*, *charu-vikrama*, "whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant," and *Saka-nishndana*, destroyer of Sakas, suggest that he was the original of *Raja Vikramaditya* of legend who founded the era of 58 B. C. But, as already pointed out, the use of regnal years by Gautamiputra and his descendants indicates that no era originated with the dynasty. Further, Indian literature clearly distinguishes between *Vikramaditya* of Ujjain and *Salivahana* or the *Satavahanas* of *Pratisthana*. The view accepted in these pages is that Gautamiputra was the conqueror of *Nahapana* and that his 18th year fell after the year 46 of the Saka era, the last recorded date of his vanquished opponent. In other words the conquest of *Nasik* by Gautamiputra took place some time after A. D. $78 + 46 = 124$, and his accession after A. D. $124 - 18 = 106$. As he ruled for at least 24 years, his reign must have terminated after A. D. 130.

In the Puranic lists compiled by Pargiter the immediate successors of Gautamiputra are Puloma, his son, and Satakarni. Puloma is doubtless identical with *Siro P(t)olemaios* of *Baithana* mentioned by Ptolemy and *Vasishthputra Svami Sri Pulumavi* of inscriptions and

1 Cf. R. D. Banerji, *JRAS*, 1917. pp. 281 *et seq.* Note also the epithet (*Dakshina*) *patheivara* 'lord of the Deccan,' applied to Pulumayi in the *pratasti* of the year 19.

coins. Satakarni is perhaps to be identified with **Vasishthiputra Sri Sfitakariji** of a Kanheri Cave Inscription, or with Vasishthiputra Chatarapana Satakarni of a Nanaghat record. His exact position in the genealogical list cannot be determined with precision^ The Kanheri epigraph represents Vasishthiputra Sri Satakarni as the husband of a daughter of the *Mahakshatrapa* Eu(dra). Eapson identifies this Rudra with Rudradaman I. There can hardly be any doubt that the Satavahana king mentioned in the Kanheri record, or one of his close relations who bore a similar name, was identical with Satakarni, lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradaman "twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection." Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of Vasishthiputra Sri Satakarni of Kanheri with Vasishthiputra Siva Sri Satakarni

. * * * *

of coins and Siva Sri of the *Matsya Purana* cannot be regarded as more than a conjecture. The ruler mentioned in the Kanheri Inscription may have been a brother of Pulumayi.

We have seen that the capital of **Pulumayi** was Baithan, *i.e.*, Paithan or Pratishtana on the Godavari, identified by Bhanlarkar with Navanara or Navanagara, *i.e.*, the new city. Inscriptions and coins prove that the dominions of this king included the Krishna-Godavari region as well as Maharashtra. It has already been pointed out that the Andhra country is not clearly mentioned in the list of territories over which Gautamiputra held his sway. It is not altogether improbable that Vasishthiputra Pulumayi was the first to establish the Satavahana power firmly in that region. Sukthankar identifies him with Siri PulumSyi, king of the Satavahanas, mentioned in an inscription discovered in Adoni taluk of the Bellary district. But the absence of the distinguishing metonymic makes the identification uncertain and probably

indicates that the king referred to in the inscription is Pulumayi I of the Puranas or some other **prince** of the dynasty who bore the same name. D. C. Sircar identifies him with the last king of Pargiter's list. Numismatic evidence suggests that the political influence of a Pulumayi extended to the Coromandel coast, and possibly to the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. But in the absence of epigraphic corroboration the matter cannot be regarded as definitely proved. Moreover, the absence of the metronymic *Vasishthputra* makes it uncertain in some cases as to whether the son¹ of the great Gautamputra is meant.

Vasishthputra Pulumayi must have come to the throne some time after A. D. 130. He is known from a Karle epigraph to have ruled for at least 24 years, so that his reign terminated after A.D. 154.)

The successors of Puloma according to the Puranic lists compiled by Pargiter are Siva Sri¹ Puloma and Sivaskanda (or Sivaskandha)² Satakarni.

Yajnsri Satakarni.³

(The immediate successor of Sivaskanda according to the collated text of Pargiter was Yajna Sri. If the Puranas are to be believed his accession took place more

1 Mirashi in the *Journal of the Num. Soc.* 11(1940), p. 88 attributes to him the coins of "Sivasri Pulumayi I I I" of the Tarhala hoard. He draws a distinction between this king (who was a *Pulumayi*) and Vasithiputa Sivasiri *Satabamni* who is known to Rapson's Catalogue. The *Vishnu Purana*, however, represents Sivasri as a Satakarni (and not a Pulumayi). The matter must, therefore, be regarded as *subjudice*.

2 Mirashi (*ibid*, 89) identifies him with King Sirikhada or Skanda Satakarni of the TarhSla hoard (Akola district) and other coins whose name was wrongly read as Chada Satakarni by Smith and Rudra Satakarni by Rapson. This "Rudra*" was represented as a ruler of the Andhra-desa.

3 In JRAS, July, 1934, 560ff, Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the name of this king was Sri Yajna Satakarni as stated in inscriptions, and not Yajna Sri (as stated in the Puranas). It should, however, be remembered that *Sri* is here an honorific

than 35 years after the close of the reign of Gautamiputra Satakarni, i.e., after A. D. 165 and ended after A. D. 194. Yajna Sri's inscriptions, which prove that he reigned for at least 27 years, are found at the following places, viz., Nasik in Maharashtra, Kanheri in Aparanta, and China in the Krishna district. His coins are found in Gnjrat, Kathiawar, Aparanta, the Chanda District in the Central Provinces, and the Krishna district of the Madras Presidency. There can be no doubt that he ruled over both Maharashtra and the Andhra country and recovered Aparanta (N. Konkan) from the successors of Rudradaman I. Smith says that his silver coins imitating the coinage of the Saka rulers of Ujjain probably point to victories over the latter, and that the coins bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that the king's power extended over the sea. He thus anticipated the naval ventures of the Kadambas of Goa, of Sivaji and of the Angrias.¹

(Yajnasri was the last great king of his dynasty. After his death the Satavahanas probably lost North-Western Maharashtra to the Abhira king Isvarasena.³ The later

and it is frequently used as a suffix in the names of members of the Satavahana royal house (cf. Veda or Skanda-Siri, Haku-Siri, Bala-Sri, Siva-Sri, etc.; Rapson, *Andhra Coins* pp. xlvi, 1, lii). The mere fact that in certain documents Sri precedes the name of a king does not prove conclusively that it was never used as a suffix. In the famous inscription of Kharavela the king is called both Siri Kharavela and Kharavela-Siri. In the *Mudrarakshasa* Srimat Chandragupta is also styled Chanda-Siri. Cf. Asoka Sri in *Parisista-parvan*, IX. 14.

1 Rapson, however, says (*Corns of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. 22) in reference to certain lead coins (of the Coromandel coast): "obv. Ship with two masts. Inscr. not completely read, but apparently *Siri-Pu (luma) visa*."

2 The earliest reference to the Abhiras to which an approximate date can be assigned is that contained in the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali. The *Mahabhashya* as well as the *Mahabharata* connects them with the Sudras—the Sodrai of Alexander's historians. Their country—Abiria—finds mention in the *Periplus* and the geography of Ptolemy. In the third quarter of the second century A. D., Abhira chieftains figured as generals of the Saka rulers of Western India. Shortly afterwards a chief named Jsvradatta, probably an Abhira, became

Satavahana prince¹—Vijaya, Chanda Sri (variant Chandra Sri) and Pulomavi of the Puranas—seem to have ruled in Berar, the Eastern Deccan and the Kanarese country.¹) The existence of Vijaya seems now to be confirmed by numismatic evidence.² Chanda Sri may have been identical with Vasisthi-putra "Sam¹siri Chamda Sata" of the Kodavali rock-cut well Inscription discovered near Pithapuram in the Godavari region, while Pulomavi is, in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar, to be identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Myakadoni inscription of the Bellary District. Coins disclose the existence of a few other kings of the line who must be assigned to the latest Satavahana period. Satavahana rule in the

Mahakshatrapa. His relation to the Abhira king Madhariputra Isvara Sena, son of Siva Datta, remains doubtful. But some scholars are inclined to identify the two chiefs. It is also suggested that this dynasty of Isvara Sena is identical with the Traikutaka line of Aparanta, and that the establishment of the Traikutaka era in A. D. 248 marks the date at which the Abhiras succeeded the Satavahanas in the Government of Northern Maharashtra and the adjoining region. The last known rulers of the Traikutaka line were Indradatta, his son Dahrasena (455-56 A. D.), and his son Vyaghrasena (489-90), after whom the kingdom seems to have been conquered by the Vakataka king Harishena.

1 The Berar (Akola) group includes certain princes, not included in the Puranic lists, e.g., Sri Kumbha Satakarni, Sri Karna Satakarni (unless he is identified with the so-called Svatikarna, the fourteenth king of Pargiter's list) and Sri saka Satakarni (Mirashi, *J. Num. Soc.*, II, 1940). Mirashi thinks that the real name of the so-called Krishna (II) of the Chanda hoard was Karna. Among kings of uncertain identity mention may be made of Sri Sivamaka Sata of the Amaravati inscription and Mathariputra Sri Sata of Kanheri.

2 Mirashi, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, II (1940), p. 90. The only clear letters are *ya-Satakarni*. The ascription to Vijaya must be regarded as tentative.

Krishna, Guntur and Bellary districts was eventually supplanted by the Ikshvakus¹ and the Pallavas.

Provincial Government under the Satavahanas.

A word may be said here regarding the internal organisation of the Satavahana empire. The sovereign

1 The *Ikshvakus* are known from inscriptions discovered on the ruins of the Jagayyapeta *stupa* in the Krishna District and also at Nfigarjunikonda and Gurzala in the Guntur district (Ep. Ind. 1929. If. ; 1941, 123 f). They were matrimonially connected with the Kekayas, probably a ruling family of Ancient Mysore (Dubreuil, *AHD*, pp. 88, 101). The most well-known rulers of the Ikshvaku family of the Eastern Deccan are Chamtamula, 3rd Vira-Purusha-datta, Ehuvala Chamtamula II and possibly 'Rulupurisadata' (Ep. Ind. xxvi. 125). The Ikshvakus were succeeded by the "Ananda" kings of Guntur, the Brihat-phalayanakas of Kudurahara (near Masulipatam), the Salankayanas of Vengi (c. 1A, 5. 175 and the Salakenoi of Ptolemy), and the Vishnukundins of Lendulura (near Vengal).

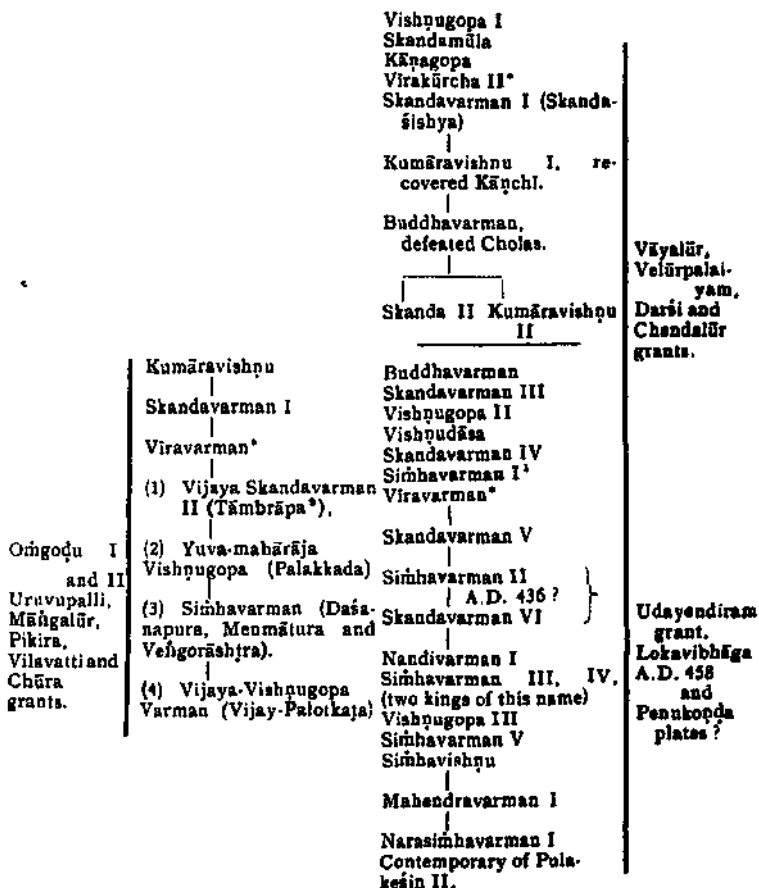
2 The *Pallavas*—a people of unknown origin, claiming descent from Asvatthaman and Naga princesses, are the most important of all the dynasties that succeeded the Satavahanas in the Far South. The claim of descent from Brahmanas as of the Bharadvaja *gotra*, the performance of the *Aivamedha* and patronage of Sanskrit learning connect the dynasty with the Satavahas, while the Brahmana-Naga connection, (cf, *Samkirna-jati*, *Brahma-kshatra*, SII, Nos7, 48), the performance of Vedic sacrifices including the horse-sacrifice, early association with the Satavahana *Janapada* in the Bellary district and the use of *Prakrita* in their early records, connect the family with the Satavahanas. There is no question of any Parthian affinity as the genealogical lists of the family are singularly devoid of Parthian nomenclature. The elephant's scalp used as a crown is no test of race. The well-known hostility of the family to the Cholas and the decidedly northern character of their culture preclude the possibility of a pure Tamil extraction. The first great Pallava king, Siva-Skanda-varman, is known from the inscriptions found at Mayidavolu (in Guntur) and Hirahadagalli (in Bellary) to have ruled over an extensive empire including Kanchi, Andhrapatha and Satavahani *ratha*, and performed the *Aivamedha* sacrifice. About the middle of the fourth century A. D, the emperor Samudra Gupta invaded Southern India, defeated the reigning Pallava king, Vishnugopa, and gave a severe blow to the power and prestige of the empire of Kanchi which, in the long run, probably led to its disruption. The evidence of the Penukonda Plates, the Tslagunda inscription and the Hebbata grant (IHQ. 1927, 434) seems to suggest that the Pallava supremacy continued for some time to be acknowledged by the early Gahgas of Anantapura and East Mysore and the early Kadambas of Vijayantl (Banavasi) and Mahisha-Vishaya (Mysore). The history of the Pallavas

himself seems to have resided in Pratishtāna or in "camps of victory" in Govardhana (Nāsik district),

during the fifth and sixth centuries is obscure. Certain inscriptions disclose the names of the following kings, but little is known about them :—

Kings of Kṛṣṇā, Guṇṭūr
and Nellore districts

King of Kāñchi



* Kings marked with asterisks may have been identical. But this is by no means certain. The settlement of early Pallava genealogy and chronology must still await future discoveries.

1 A Siṃhavarman is mentioned in the Palnād inscription. But his identity and date are uncertain.

2 Tāmbraṇa is identified with Chembrolu

Vaijayanti (in North **Eanara**) and other places.¹ The imperial dominions were divided into administrative units called *ahara* or *janapada* and placed under rulers who fell into two classes, viz., (a) *amatyas* who were ordinary civil functionaries and (b) military governors and feudatories styled *mahasenapati*, *maharathi*, *mahabhoja*, and even *Bajan*. *Amatyas* are mentioned in connection with Aparanta (North Konkan), Govardhana (Nasik), Mama(l)la (Poona), Banavasi (North Kanara) and Khaddavali (Godavari region). *Maharathis* are found associated with Chitaldrug, Nanaghat, Karle and Kanberi (in the North Konkan). They intermarried with the imperial family (and at times adopted its nomenclature) and also; with the Chutu, Kansika and Vasisbtha clans. The *Mahabhojas* had close relations with Chutu rulers of Banavasi. *Mahasenapatis* are found in Nasik in the days of Yajna Sri, and in Bellary in the time of a Pulumayi. The rule of these military governors, some of whom belonged to the Kusika family or were matrimonially connected with it, was very much in evidence in the last days of the Satavahana empire. Potentates with the title of *raja* ruled in the Kolhapur region. The most notable among these were Vasishthiputra Vilivayakura, Mathariputra Sivalakura and Gautamiputra Vilivayakura (If). The Vilivayakura group cannot fail to remind one of Baleokouros of Hippokoura mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.).

It is from the ranks of military governors and feudatories that the princes who carved out independent principalities on the dissolution of the Satavahana empire, evidently sprang. The Salankayanas (Salakenoi), for

1 E. G. Navanara—perhaps really identical with the port of Calliena (Kalyana, an ancient name of which, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV. 114 is Navanagara).

example, who appear to have been a feudatory family in the Andhra country, afterwards set up an independent sovereignty. The Pallavas were doubtless connected with the military governors of the Bellary district.

The Satakarnis of Kuntala.

In the days of the great Gautamiputra, son of Bala Sri, Banavasi or Vijayanti (Kanara) seems to have been the capital of an imperial province under an *amatya* named Sivagupta. By an obscure transition the sovereignty of the territory passed into the hands of a family, possibly styled Chutu in inscriptions,¹ whose connection with the Satavahana-Satakarnis is not known. The evidence of the Myakadoni inscription and notices in the *Kamasfitra* of Vatsyayana, the *Gathdsaplamti* and the *Kavya Mimrlmsa*, probably suggest that a group of **Satavahanas** preceded the so-called Chutu Main Kuntala or the Kanarese country. Some of them were great patrons of Prakrit learning. The most famous amongst them was Hala. Another king of the group was Kuntala Satakarni mentioned in the *Kamasutra* whom the Puranas regard as a predecessor of Hala. The **Chutu** line is represented by Haritiputra Vishnukada-Chutu kulananda Satakarni, *Raja* of Vijayantipura, and his daughter's son Siva-Skandanaga Sri who is identified by Rapson with Skandanaga Sataka of a Kanheri Inscription, and also with Haritiputra Siva-[Skanda]-varman, lord of Vijayanti, mentioned in a Malavalli record (in the Shimoga district of Mysore). The last identification seems to be doubtful, as the mother and daughter of Vishnukada could hardly

1 Some scholars do not accept the theory that Chutu is a dynastic designation. They regard it as a personal name. *Prog. Rep. of the ASI. W. Circle, 1911-12* p. 5.

have belonged to the same *gotra*. Haritiputra Siva-**varman** was apparently succeeded by the Kadambas.¹

1 The *Kadamba* line was founded by Mayursarman, a Brahmana, who rose against the Pallavas and helped by "Vrihad Bana" and other kings, compelled the lord of KaSchI to confer on him the *Pattabandha* of military governorship. He soon pushed his conquests to the western ocean. His great-grandson KSkustha-varman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. Krishna-varman I performed the *Asvamedha*. Mrigesavarman defeated the Gafigas **and** Pallavas and had his capital at Vaijayantl. Junior branches of the family ruled at PalSsika, UchchasringI and Triparvata. The Kadambas were finally overthrown by the Chalukyas. See Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula* ; Sircar, *JIH*, 1936, 301 ff,

SECTION III. THE SAKAS OF UJJAIN AND KATIUIWAR.

The greatest rivals of the restored Satavahana Kinpire were at first the Saka *Kshatrapas* of Ujjain. The progenitor of the Saka princes of Ujjain was Ysamotika who was the father of Ohashtana, the first *Mahalcshatrapa* of the family. The name of Ysamotika is Scythic.¹ His descendant, who was killed by Chandra Gupta II, is called a Saka king by Bana in his *Harsha-charita*. It is, therefore, assumed by scholars that the *Kshatrapa* family of Ujjain was of Saka nationality.

The proper name of the dynasty is not known. Rapson says that it may have been Karddamaka. The daughter of Rudradaman boasts that she is descended from the family of Karddamaka kings ; but she may have been indebted to her mother for this distinction. The Karddamaka kings apparently derive their name from the Kardama, a river in Persia.²

According to Dubreuil, **Chashtana** ascended the throne in A.D. 78, and was the founder of the Saka era. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the capital of Chashtana (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene of Ptolemy), whereas we learn from the *Periplus* that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A.D.³ The *Periplus* speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time.

1 JRAS, 1906, p. 211. Le'vi and Konow (*Corpus*, I I. i. lxx) identify Ysamotika with Bhumaka on the ground that the Saka word 'Ysatna' means earth. But identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of persons. Cf. the cases of Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

2 Parasika. Shamasastri's translation of the *Kautillya*, p. 86. See also IHQ, 1933, 37 ff. Cf. the Artamis of Ptolemy, VI. 11. 2, a tributary of the Oxus.

3 The *Periplus* mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans, who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakale), king of the Auxumites, who reigned from A. D. 76 to 80 (JRAS, 1917, 827-830)

The earliest known date of Chashtana is S. E. 52, i.e., A.D. 130. We learn from the Andhau inscriptions that in the year A.D. 130 Chashtana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradaman. Professor Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar point out that his foreign title *Kshatrapa*, and the use of the *Kharoshthi* alphabet on his coins, clearly show that he was a viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushans. Jayadaman, son of Chashtana, seems to have acted merely as a *Kshatrapa* and to have predeceased his father, and the latter was succeeded as *Mahakshatrapa* by Rudradaman.

Rudradaman¹ became an independent *Mahakshatrapa* some time between the years 52 and 72 (A.D. 130 and 150). We learn from the Junagadh Rock Inscription of the year 72 that men of all castes chose him as protector and that he won for himself the title of *Mahakshatrapa*. This probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamiputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess.

The place names in the inscription seem to show that the rule of Rudradaman extended over Purv-apar-Akar-Avanti (East and West Malwa), Anupa-nivrit or the Mahishmati region (Mandhata in Nimad, or Mahesvara),² Anartta³ (territory around Dwaraka), Surashtra (district

1 For references to Rudradaman in literature, see Chatterjee, *Buddhist Studies* (ed. Law), pp. 384 f.

2 IA, 4, 346.

3 Xnartta may, "ttccoiding to some, however, designate the district around Vadanagara (*Bom. Gaz.* 1, i, 6). In that case Kukura may be placed in the Dwaralpa region. The *Bhagavata Purana* refers to Dwaraka as "*Kukura-Andhaka-Vrishnibhih gupta*" (1. 11, 10). The *Vayn Purana* (ch. 96. 134) represents Ugrasena, the *Yadava raja*, as *Kukurodbhava*, of Kukura extraction. In *Mbh.* III. 183. 32, too, Kukuras are closely associated with Dasarbas and /yndhakas who are known to have been Yadava clapsT In II. 52. 15 they

around Junagadh), Svabhra (the country on the banks of the Sabarmati), Maru (Marwar), Kachohha (Cutch), Sindbu-Sauvira (the Lower Indus Valley)¹ Kukura probably between Sind and the Pariyatra Mt.),² Aparanta (N. Konkan),³ Nishada (in the region of the Sarasvati and the Western Vindhya),⁴ etc. Of these places Surashtra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa and Akaravanti formed part of Gautamiputra's dominions, and must have been conquered either from that king or one of his immediate successors. The Junagadh inscription gives the information that Rudradaman twice defeated Satakarni, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar this Satakarni was Gautaralputra himself, whose son Vasishtiputra Satakarni was Rudradaman's son-in-law. According to Rapson the lord of the Deccan defeated by the Saka ruler

are associated with the Ambashtas and the Pahlavas. A branch of the people may have lived in the lower valley of the Chenab and the Indus, while another branch occupied a portion of Kathiawar.

1 Sindhu is the inland portion lying to the west of the Indus (Walters, *Yuan Chwang*, I I. 252, 253, read with 256; Vatsyayana. *Kamasutra*, Benares Ed., 295), Sauvira includes the littoral (*Milinda Panho*, S. B. E.. XXXVI, 269), as well as the inland portion lying to the east of the Indus as far as Multan (Alberuni. I, 302; IA, 7, 259). The Jaina *Pravachanasaroddhara* names Vitabhaya as the capital.

2 *Brihat Samhita*, V, 71; XIV, 4.

3 Aparanta in its extended sense (cf. Asoka, RE, V) no doubt embraces not only Surparaka but Nasik, Bharukachchha, the Mahi valley, Cutch, Surashtra, Anartta, Abu, etc. (*Vayu*, 45 129 f.; *Matsya*, 114 50-51; *Mark*, 57, 49 f.—the Puranic text is corrupt and Surparakali, jSachchihya and Anartta should be substituted for Suryarakah, Kasmirah and Avantiyah). But as the Junagadh record distinguishes Aparanta from Surashtra, Anartta, etc., it is clearly used here in its restricted sense.

4 Cf. *Nishada-rashtra*, Mbh., I I I. 130. 4 (the place of the disappearance—*Vinahana*—of the river Sarasvati is described as the *dvara* of *Nishadarashtra*); note also *Party atrachar ah*, Mbh., X I I, 135, 3-5. In Mbh.ii. 31.4-7 a Nishadabhumii is placed between the Matsyas (of Jaipur) and the Chambal. The Vedic commentator Mahidhara explains the word Nishada as meaning a Bhil (*Vedic Index*, 1.454). According to B'uhler (IA, 7, 263) Nishada probably corresponded with Hissar and Bhatnagar.

was Pulumayi. It is more probable that the defeated ruler was Vasisthiputra Satakarni himself, who may have been a brother and a predecessor of Pulumayi.

The Great Satrap also conquered the Yaudheyas, possibly of Johiya-bar, along the Sutlej, who are known, from a stone inscription, to have occupied also the Bijayagadh region in the Bharatpur state. If the Kushan chronology accepted by us be correct, then he must have wrested Sindhu-Sauvira from one of the successors of Kanishka I.

Rudradaman apparently held his court at Ujjain, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of his grandfather Chashtana, placing the provinces of Anarta and Surashtra under his Pahlava (Parthian) *Amatya*¹ Suvisakha. The *Amatya* constructed a new dam on the famous Sudarsana Lake which owed its origin to the "care bestowed by the Maurya government upon question of irrigation, even in the most remote provinces."

The Great *Rshatrapa* is said to have gained fame by studying grammar (*sabda*), polity (*artha*), music (*gandharva*), logic (*nyaya*), etc. As a test of the civilised character of his rule it may be noted that he took and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. The Sudarsana embankment was rebuilt and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by

1 With this bureaucratic designation is to be contrasted the title *RojZi* applied to Tushaspha, the local ruler of Surashtra in the days of Asoka, who "was more than a mere official" (IA., 7, 257 n.). While some of the Saka provinces or districts were placed under *amatyas* or officers whose functions were mainly of a civil character, others seem to have been governed by generals (*Mahadandanayaka*). The name of such a military governor is disclosed by a Sanchi inscription (JASB, 1923, 343).

exacting taxes (*Kara*), forced labour (*Vishti*) benevolences (*Pranaya*), and the like.¹ The king was helped in the work of government by an able staff of officials, who were "fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers" (*amatya-giina'samndijiildaih*) and were divided into two classes, viz., *Matisachiva* (Counsellors) and *Karma-sachiva* (Executive Officers).

Rudradaman had at least two sons and one daughter. The princess was given in marriage to Vasishthiputra Sri Satakarrri of the Satavahana family of the Deccan. A Nagarjunikonda inscription² refers to a princess from Ujjain named Rudradhara Bhattarika who was the queen (*Mahadevi*) of an Ikshvaku ruler of the Guntfir district and some adjoining regions in the lower Krishna valley. It has been surmised by Vogel that she probably belonged to the house of Chashtana. Her father is styled a *Maharaja*, a title which seems to have been formally assumed by one of the latest successors of Rudradaman I, TO., Svami-Rudrasena I I I, who ruled from c. A.D. 348 to 378, and was, apparently, a contemporary of Samudra-Gupta. It is, however, difficult to say if the Ikshvaku queen was a daughter of Rudrasena I I I or of some earlier prince.

Rudradaman I, was succeeded by his eldest son **Damaghsada 1**. After Damaghsada there were, according to Rapson, two claimants for the succession : his son Jivadaman and his brother Rudra Siriiha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter. To **Rudra Simha's** reign belongs the Gunda inscription of the year 103 (= A. D. 181) which records the digging of a tank by an Abhira general named Rudrabhilti, son of the general Bapaka or Bahaka. The Abhiras afterwards

1 *Bomb, Gaz*, I, 1, 39.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, Iff.

possibly usurped the position of *Mahahshatrapa*. According to Dr. Bhandarkar an Abhira named Isvaradatta was the *Mahahshatrapa* of the period 188-90 A. D. But Rapson places Isvaradatta after A.D. 236.

Rudra Sim ha I was followed by his sons **Rudrasena I**,¹ Sanghadaman and Damasena. Three of Damasena's sons became *Mahahshatrapas*, *vh.* Yasodaman, Vijaysena and Damajada Sri. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II who was followed by his sons Visvasimha and Bhartridaman. Under Bhartridaman his son Visvasena served as *Kshatrapa*.

The connection of Bhartridaman and Visvasena with the next *Mahahshatrapa* **Rudradaman II** and his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of the line was **Rudra Simha III** who ruled up to at least A.D.388.

Rapson points out that from A.D. 295 to c. 340 there was no *Mahahshatrapa*. The elder branch of the family came to an end after 305 and passed by an obscure transition to a new line of Satraps and Great Satraps. The rulers from A.D. 295 to 332 held only the subordinate title of Satrap, and the higher title was not revived till a few years before A.D. 348, when Rudrasena III styled himself *Raja Mahahshatrapa* and *Maharaja Kshatrapa*. Now, it is precisely during the period when the old line passed away in obscurity, and the office of *Mahahshatrapa* remained in abeyance, that we find Sakasthana and portions of Hind annexed to the Sassanian empire and dominated by Sassanian viceroys. The Sassanian conquest began before the end of the reign of Varhran (Bahrain) II (A. D. 293) and the Sassanian suzerainty

1 To Rudrasena's reign belong the Mulwasar tank inscription, and the Jasdhan Pillar Inscription of A. D. 205. In the latter epigraph we have the title *Bhadramukha* applied to all the ancestors of Rudrasena, excepting Jayadama.

was maintained till the early part of the reign of Shatrl I I (A. D. 309-79). The hold of the Persians on the distant Indian provinces became weak in the middle of the fourth century A. D. when Rudrasena Illasstfmed the title of *Maharaja*, and Samudra Gupta, the prototype of the Raghu of Kalidasa, forced the foreign potentates of the north-west borderland to do him homage.

The revived power of the Sakas of Western India did not last long, being finally destroyed by the Guptas. Already in the time of Samudra Gupta the Sakas appear among the peoples who hastened to buy peace by the offer of maidens and other acts of respectful submission. The Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II testify to that monarch's conquest of Eastern Malwa. One of the Inscriptions commemorates the construction of a cave by a minister of Chandra Gupta who "came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The subjugation of western Malwa is probably hinted at by the epithet "*Simlia-vikranta-gamini*" resorting to (as a vassal of) Simha Vikrama, *ie.*, Chandra Gupta II, applied to Naravarman of Mandasor.¹ Evidence of the conquest of Surashtra is to be seen in Chandra Gupta's silver coins which are imitated from those of Saka Satraps. Lastly, Bana in his *Harsha-charita* refers to the slaying of the Saka king

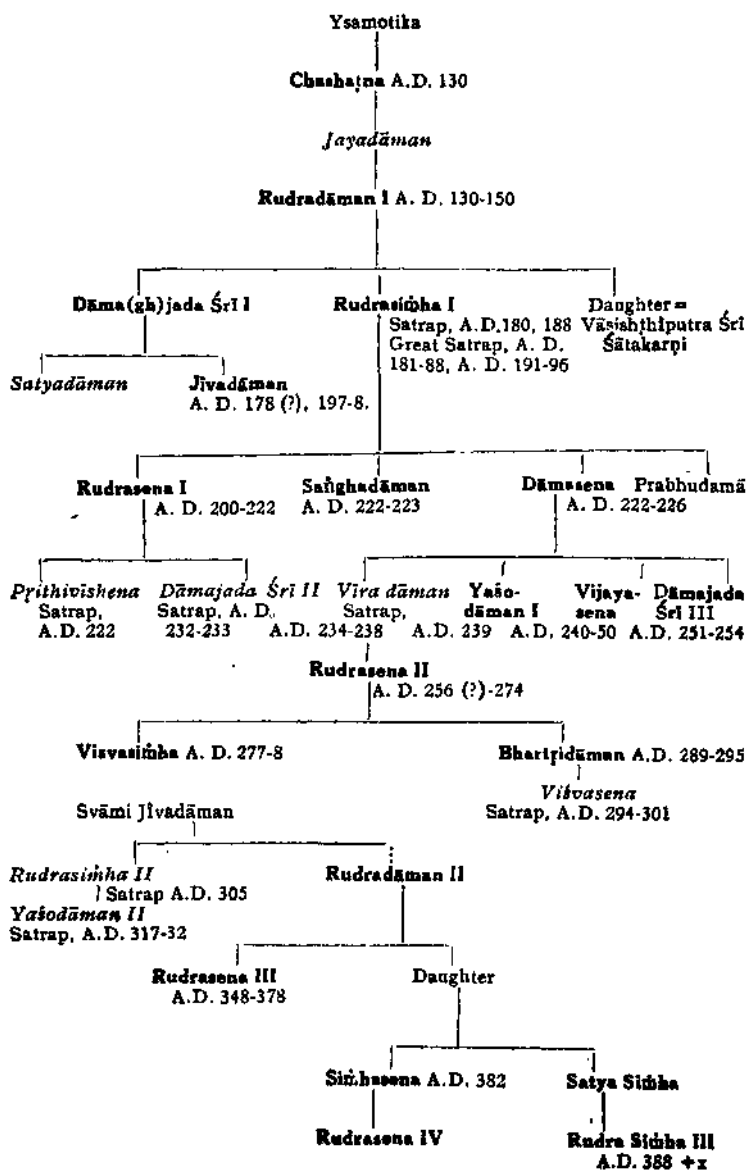
1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 162. The small copper coins of Chandra Gupta II bearing a vase as type were probably struck by him in the Malava territory which may have been under Saka domination in the second century A. D., (Allan, *qiCAI*, cvi).

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by Chandra Gupta : *Aiil ?)ipure cha para-lcalatra kamnlcam
kftmini-veiagvptaicha Chandra Guptah Saka-patim
asatayaditi.*¹

According to the commentator Sahkara the *Parakalaira* and *Kamim* referred to above was Dhruva-devi, and the ruler of the Sakas was secretly killed by Chandragupta disguised as Dhruva-devi while the former was making advances of love. The *Srihgaraprakasa* by Bhoja throws additional light on the point quoting passages from the *Devichandraguptam* (see *Aiyangar Com.* Vol. 359ff ; also Levi, J. A. 1923, 201 ff; *Devichandraguptam* by A. Rangaswami SarasvatI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 181 ff.). The last mentioned work is a play by Visakhadatta, the author of the *Mudrarakshasa*. Quotations from the *Devichandraguptam* are also found in the *Natya darpana* of Ramachandra and Gunachandra,

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ŚAKAS OF UJJAIN



SECTION IV. ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY OF THE
SCYTHIAN PERIOD.¹

The little that we know about the administration of the Scythian Epoch leaves no room for doubt that the institutions of the age were not haphazard improvisations of military upstarts, having no relations with the past, but a highly developed and organised system—the fruit of the labours of generations of political theorists and practical statesmen (*VaMri-PrayoMri*).

The influence of political thinkers (*Arthachintalcas*) on Indo-Scythian Polity is evident. The ablest among the princes of the time assiduously studied the science of polity (*Arthavidya*) ;³ and the care taken to train the occupant of the throne, the employment of officers endowed with ministerial qualifications (*Amatyaguna*), the classification of ministers and other high officials (*Sachivas*), abstention from oppressive imposition of *Pranaya* (Benevolences), *Vishti* (forced labour) etc., and the solicitude for the welfare of the *Pauras* and *Janapadas*, people of cities as well as country parts, clearly show that the teaching of the writers of treatises on polity (*Arthasastra*) was not lost upon the Scythian conquerors of India. There was no great cleavage with the past,

1 The expression "Scythian Period" has been used in this section in a broad sense to denote the epoch of all the Post-Mauryan dynasties that ruled in India during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. During the greater part of this period the most powerful potentate in India was the Scythian "King of Kings" who had his metropolis in the North-West, but whose commands were not unoften obeyed on the banks of the Ganges and the Godavari. See *Cat. Rev.*, Sept., 1925.

2 The Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman (*Ind. Ant.*, 1878, p. 261; *ES. Ind.*, VIII, 36 f.).

and the references to *Mahamatras*¹ *Rajjukas*,² and *Samolharamtaka* or *Sancharin*³ spies, indicate that the official machinery of the Maurya period had not ceased to function at least in Southern India.

But we must not suppose that the entire administrative structure of the period was a replica of the Maurya constitution. The foreign conquerors of North-Western India brought with them several institutions which had been prevalent for ages in the countries through which they passed. Thus the Persian system of government by Satraps was introduced in several provinces of Northern, Western and Southern India, and officials with the Greek titles of *Meridarch**(probably District Officer) and *Strategos*(general or governor) ruled contemporaneously with functionaries having the Indian designation of *Amatya* (minister or civil officer in charge of a district) and *Mahasenapati* (great general or military governor).

The tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away the **tribal republics** which continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha and Alexander. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such communities⁵ and like the *Lichchhavis* and *Salcyas* of old, the most powerful among them were found very often ranged against their aggressive royal neighbours who were now mostly Scythian. Unfortunately, the contemporary records do not throw much light

1 *Liiders' Ins.*, Nos. 937. 1144. Note the employment of a *Sramana* as *Mahamatra* (High Officer) by a Satavahana ruler.

2 *Ins. Nos.* 416, 1195. The *Rajjukas* were Surveyors and Judges in the country parts.

3 *Ins.* No. 1200; cf *IA*, 5, 52, 155.

4 A *Meridarkha* Theudora is mentioned in a Swat Kharoshthi epigraph. Another *Meridarkha* is mentioned in a Taxila Kharoshthi inscription. The two *meridarchs* are mentioned as establishing Buddhist relics and sanctuaries (*Corpus*, II. i. xv).

5 -E.g., the Malavas (Malayas), Yaudheyas, Arjunayanas and possibly the the Audumbaras, Kulutas, Kunindas (see *Camb. Hist.* 528, 529), and Uttamabhadras. Cf. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, Sec. VII.

on their internal organisation¹ and it serves no useful purpose to ascribe to them institutions which really belong to their predecessors or successors.

Though the Scythians could not annihilate the republican clans, they did destroy many monarchies of Northern and Western India, and introduce a more exalted type of kingship. The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high-sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers. The deification of rulers, and the use of big titles are not unknown to ancient Indian literature, but it is worthy of note that a supreme ruler like Asoka, whose dominions embraced the greater part of India and possibly Afghanistan, was content with the titles of *'Iiaja'* and *"Devanampiya Piyadasi."*¹ The great rulers of the Scythian age, on the other hand, were no longer satisfied with those modest epithets, but assumed more dignified titles like *Chahravartin* (emperor of a circle of states), *Adhiraja* (super-king), *Rajatiraja* (supreme king of kings), and *Devaputra* (the son and not merely the beloved of the gods).

In Southern India we come across titles of a semi-religious character like *Kshemaraja*,² *Dharma-Maharaja-dhirtija* and *Dharma-Yuvamaharaja*,* assumed by pious defenders of Indian faiths, engaged in upholding *dharma* as practised by the ancient teachers and law-givers, and

1 'Of Gracious Mien, Beloved of the Gods.'¹

2 Luders' Ins., No. 1345. 'The beneficent or propitious king', 'prince of peace'.

3 "The Righteous King of Kings", "the Righteous Crown Prince". Luders* Ins., Nos. 1196, 1200. For the significance of the title, cf. IA, 5, 51, *"Kaliyugadoshavasanna-dharmoddharana-nitya sannaddha."* Cf. also the epithets *"Manva-dipranita-vidhi-vidhanadhartna Dharmaraja iva,"* *"prakshalitakali'kalankal"* applied to the Maitraka Kings of Valabhi (*Bhuvnagar Inscriptions*, 31.). Sometimes even Saka rulers and generals posed as *Oharma' vijayt* (JASB, 1923, 343).

purging it of the evils of the Kali Age} probably to distinguish themselves from the unbelieving foreigners and barbarian outcastes of the North-West.

The assumption of big titles¹ by kings and emperors was paralleled by the use of equally exalted epithets in reference to their chief consorts. Asoka's queens appear to have been styled merely *Devi*. The mother of Tivara, for instance, is called "*Dutla Devi*" (the second queen) and the implication is that the elder queen was *Prathama Devi*. But in the Scythian epoch we come across the titles of *Agra-Mahishi* and *Mahadevi* which distinguished the chief queen from her rivals. Among such chief consorts may be mentioned Ayasi-Kamuia, Naganika, and Balasri.

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the practice of erecting *Devahulas* or "Royal galleries of portrait statues." The most famous of these structures was the *Devahila* of the *Pitamaha* (grandfather) of Huvishka referred to in a Mathura inscription.^a The existence of royal *Devahulas* as well as ordinary temples,

1 It is a characteristic of Indian history that imperial titles of one period became feudatory titles in the next. Thus the title *Raja* used by Asoka became a feudatory title in the Scythian and Gupta periods, when designations like *Rajaraja*, *Rajadhiraja*, *Maharajadhiraja*, *Parama-Bhattaraka* and *Parama* Rajadhiraja* (Allan, 63), came into general use. But even *Maharajadhiraja* became a feudatory designation in the age of the Pratiharas when the loftier style of *Paramabhattacharaka*, *Maharajadhiraja*, *Paramesvara* was assumed by sovereign rulers,

2 JRAS, 1924, p. 402. For images of later kings, cf. *Beginnings of South Indian History*. 144, 153 ; Raverty, *Tabaqat*, I, 622 (effigy of Bikramajit) ; C. S. Srinivasachari, *The Evolution of Political Institutions of South India, Section IV* ("*The Young Men of India*." June and July, 1924), p. 5. Images of Sundara Chola and one of his queens were set up in the Tanjore temple and deified. C. V. Vaidya (*Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, 98) refers to the prevalence of the custom of raising some temple at the place of burning the dead body of the kings. But it is not clear if the temples contained images of the dead king and his queens. The deification and worship of the dead kings may be compared to *devapitripuja* referred to in the *Kautilya* (II. 6).

fit the presence of the living *Devaputrm* probably earned for Mathura its secondary name of "The city (?) of the gods/"¹

The exaltation of royalty in the epoch under review had the sanction of certain writers on kingly duty (*Bajadharmā*) who represented the king as a "*mahatī devatā*" a great divinity, in human shape. But it was probably due in the first instance to the Scythians² who acted as carriers of Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas of kingship. The title *Rajatiraja*, supreme king, surpassing other kings, as Rapson points out, is "distinctively Persian." "It has a long history from the *Xshayathianam Xshayathiya*³ of the inscriptions of Darius down to the *Shahan Shah* of the present day.⁵ The Kushan epithet "*Devaputra*" is apparently of Chinese origin* being the literal translation of the Chinese emperors' title "Son of Heaven" (*Tien-tze ; tien tzu*).* If Liiders is to be believed, one at least of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns (Kanishka of the Ara Inscription)

1 For a different suggestion see Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 252. Tarn prefers to translate Ptolemy's phrase as 'daughter of the gods'. But see Levi, *J A. 1915*, p. 91.

2 The titles 'Theos' and 'Theotropos' were used by certain Indo-Greek rulers, but their example does not seem to have been widely followed. Gondophernes, it is true, calls himself *Devavrata*, but not yet *Deva* or *Devaputra*. As to theory that the Kushans had been invested competitively with the title "son of the gods" in opposition to the Hiungnu rather than to the Chinese, it has to be admitted that there is no definite evidence that the title in question originated with the Hiungnu, and was *not* borrowed in ancient times from the Chinese. Cf. B. C. Law *Volume*, II. 305 fit. The Kushans had direct contact with the Chinese in the time of Panchao.

3 Cf. the use of the term '*Kshapayitva*' in connection with the subversion of the Sunga sovereignty by Simuka. The expressions *Kshatrasya Kshatra* (*Bfihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 1.4. 14), *Adhiraja*, *Chakravartin*, etc., etc., are, no doubt, known to our ancient literature. But there is no proof of the use of the last two as formal styles of sovereigns till the Post-Mauryan period, while the first is never so used.

4 *JRAS* 1897, 903; 1912, 671, 682. Allan, *Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* xxvii. Artabanus (I or II) called, himself 'son of a God' (Tarn, *The Greeks*,

assumed the Roman title of "*Kaisar*" and the dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber may have had something to do with the practice of erecting *Devahdas* on the banks of the Jumna.

A remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of *Dvairajya* or Diarchy in Northern and Western India and *Yauvarajya* (rule of a crown-prince) in N. W. India and the Far Souths. Under both these forms of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. In a *Dvairajya* or Diarchy the rulers appear to have been of equal status, but in a *Yauvarajya* (rule of a crown-prince) the reigning prince was apparently a vicegerent. As instances of *Dvairajya* may be mentioned the cases of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagana and Hagamasha, Gondophernes and Gad, Gondophernes and Abdagases, Chashtana and Rudradaman, Kanishka II and Huvishka etc., etc. Among ruling *Yavarajas* may be mentioned Kharaosta and the Pallava *Yuva-Maharajas* Siva-Skanda-varman, Vijaya-Buddha-varman¹ and Vishnu-gopa of Palakkada.

The king or viceroy, resided in cities called *Adhishthana*. The number of such *Adhishthanas* and various other kinds of cities (*Nagara*, *Nagari*), was fairly numerous. But regarding their administration our information is very meagre. We hear of "*nigama-sabhas*"

p. 92). This may suggest Greek influence too. Some writers fail to distinguish between occurrence of similar royal epithets in *literature* and their *formal* use in contemporary *epigraphic* records in the time of the Kings themselves (B. C. Law Volume, I I , pp. 305 ff.

1 IHQ. 1933, 211.

br town councils and of a city official called *Nagarakshadarsa*^x whose functions are nowhere distinctly stated in the inscriptions but seem to have been similar to those of the *Nagaravyavaharikas*, or city judges, of the Maurya Age.

Regarding general administration, and the government of provinces, districts and villages, we have more detailed information. The designations of some of the highest officers of state did not differ from those in vogue during the Maurya period. *Mahamatras*, and *Bajjukas* play an important part in the days of the Satavahanas and Scythians as in the time of Asoka. But side by side with these functionaries we hear of others who do not figure in inscriptions of the Maurya Epoch although some of them appear in the *Arthasashtra* attributed to Kautilya.

The officers most intimately associated with the sovereign were the privy councillors,—the *Matisachivas* of the Junagadh epigraph and the *Bahasyadhikrta* of the Pallava grants. Among other prominent court officials must be mentioned the *Raja Vaidya*? Royal Physician, and the *liaja Lipilcara*, Royal Scribe.³

No less important than the privy councillors were the high military officials—the *Mahasendapati*,⁴ the *Dandanayaka* and the *Mahadanda-nayaka*⁵ who probably

1 EHI⁴, 226; Liider's Ins., No. 1351 (Udayagiri Cave Inscription). Cf. *Akshadaria*, Patanjali, *Index of Words*. Oka, *Amarakosa*, 123, *Agni Purana*, 366, 3 ; *Vin.* iii. 47. According to the last mentioned text the '*akkhadassas*' constituted a class of *Mahamattas*, like their prototypes in the time of Asoka. In later ages the *Akshadarsa* might have had revenue functions. Cf. Kshlra's comment on the passage from the *Amarakosa* referred to above. The duties of the *Akshapatalikas* of the Gupta period may be mentioned in this connection.

2 Ins., 1190-93.

3 Ins., 271 ; *Kaut.*, I I , 10.

4 1124, 1146.

3 1328, cf. *Majumdar's List of Kharoshthi Ins.* No. 36. For the duties of a *Dandanayaka*, cf. IA, 4, 106, 275n ; 5, 49 ; Fleet. C II, 16. *DandanSyakas* sometimes carved out principalities (*rajya*) for themselves (JASB, 1923, 343).

correspond to the *Sendpati* and *Ndyaha*¹ of the *Kanfuia Artliasdstra*. These important functionaries had probably under them subordinates like *Sendgopas* (captains), *OaulmVcas*² (commanders of platoons), *Arahshadhihrilas*³ (guards), *Asvavdralcas*⁴ (troopers), *Bliatamanushyas*⁶ (mercenaries), etc.

We have already referred to one class of civil officers (*Amatyas* or *Sachivas*), viz., the *Mati sachivas* (counsellors). There was another class of *Amatyas* who served as executive officers (*Karma sachivas*). From them were chosen governors,⁶ treasurers/ superintendents,⁸ and secretaries⁹ as in the days of Megasthenes.

Among treasury officials mention is made of the *Ganjavara*,¹⁰ the *Koshthdgrika*¹¹ and the *Bhdndgdrika*¹² who was one of the principal ministers of state (*Rdjmdmtya*). But we have no epigraphic reference to the *Sannidhdtri* (lit. piler) or the *Samdharatri* (collector) till the days of the "Saila" kings of the Vindhyas and the Somavamsi kings of Kosala. The main heads of revenue received into the *Bhdndgdra* or *Eosa* (treasury) were, as enumerated in the Junagadh Inscription, *Bali* (extra tribute), *Sulk* (duty), and *Bhdga* (customary share of the king). These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradaman with

1 Kaut., Bk. X. Ch. 1, 2, 5.

2 Luders' Ins., 1200 ; Ep. Ind., Xi V, 155 ; cf. *Manu*, VII, 190.

3 Luders, 1200.

4 Luders, 381, 728.

5 Luders, 1200.

6 Luders* Ins., 965.

7 1141.

8 1186.

9 1125.

10 Luders, 82 ; *Rajatarahgitti*. V. 177. Note the employment of a Brahmana treasurer by a Scythian ruler.

11 Ep. Ind., XX, 28,

12 Luders, 1141.

kanaka (gold), *rajata* (silver), *vafra* (diamond), *vaiduryaratna* (beryl), etc. Rulers less scrupulous than the *Mahakshatrapa* doubtless oppressed the people with arbitrary imposts, forced labour and benevolences (*kara-vishti-pmnaya-hiya-bhih*). Besides the *Bhandagara*, whose existence is implied by LudeiV Ins., No. 1141, we have reference to *the storehouse, *Koshthagara*,¹ which is described in Book II, Chapter 15, of the *KautUiya Artliasatra*. The inscriptions afford us glimpses of the way in which the revenue was spent. The attempts to provide for "*pmiya*" or drinkable water are specially noteworthy. The Junagadh Inscription tells us how "by the expenditure of a vast amount of money from his own treasury" a great Scythian ruler and his *amatya* restored the Sudarsana lake. References to the construction or repair of tanks, wells, lakes and other reservoirs of water, *Pushkarinis*, *udapanas*, *hradas* or *tadagas*, are fairly common. Luders' Ins., No. 1137, makes mention of makers of hydraulic engines (*Audayantrika*), while another epigraph² refers to a royal official called *Paniyagharika* or superintendent of waterhouses. Inscription No. 1186, after recording the gift of a *tadaga* (pond), a *naga* (statue of a serpent deity) and a *vihara* (pleasance, monastery), refers to the *Amatya* Skandasvati who was the *Karmantika* (superintendent of works), an official designation, known to the *Artlmsastral*

In the department of Foreign Affairs we have the *Data* (envoy or messenger), but we do not as yet hear of dignitaries like the *Samdhivigrahika* (officer in charge

1 In Ins. No. 937.

2 Luders, 1279.

3 Blk. I, Ch. 12.

of peace and war) and *Kumaramatyā*¹ who figure so prominently in inscriptions of the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods.

Inscriptions of the period under review refer also to officials like the *Mahasamiyas* who preserved records,^a and others whose exact functions and status are nowhere indicated. Amongst these may be mentioned the *Abhyamtaropasthayaka*, 'servant of the interior (harem ?)', *Madabika*,³ *Tuthika* and *Neyika*.⁴

The big empires of North-Western India were split up into vast satrapies and smaller provinces ruled by *Mahakshatrapas* and *Kshatrapas*. The satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the limits of the Scythian Empire, were divided into districts called *Rashtra*^ *Ahara*, *Janapada*, *Desa* or *Vishaya*. We do not as yet hear of the organisation into *Bhuktis* (lit. allotments, administrative divisions) so widely prevalent in Post-Scythian times. *Rashtra*^ *Ahara* (or *Hara*) and *Janapada* seem to have been synonymous terms in this age, as is proved by the case of the *Satahani-ra*^a (*rashtra*) or *Satavahani** *Kara* which is styled a *janapada* in the Myakadoni Inscription. The chief officer in a *Rashtra* or *Ahara* was the *Rashtrapati*, *Rashtrika* (*Bathika*) or *Amatyā*. The *Amatyā* *Suvisakha*, for instance, governed *Surashtra*

1 *Kumara* means 'a youth,' 'a prince'. Hence *Kumaramatyā* may mean 'junior minister,' or 'prince's minister*'. The word *Kumara* as the opposite of *Praudha* may correspond to *Chikka*, *Chenna* or *Immadi* of the South. Another interpretation is also possible. *Kumaramatyā* may mean an *amatyā* from one's youth just as *Kumara-sevaka* means *akaumaraparicharakah*.

2 For another interpretation see JBBRAS, N.S., IV., 1928, pp. 64. 72; IHQ 1933, 221. In the opinion of V. S. Bakhle the *Mahasamiya* "seems to refer to the resolution of the corporate assembly of the city or to that body itself."

3 The word *Madabika* may perhaps be connected with *Madamba* of the Jaina *Kalpasutra*. 89. Para. 62 refers to an official styled *Madambiyā* f Burgomaster). For a tax *Mandapika* see *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 137.

4 Sircar equates *Neyika* with *Naiyogika*,

under the *Mahahshatrapa* Rudradaman. The *Amatyas* Vishnupalita, Syamaka, and Siva-skanda-datta successively governed the *Ahara* or district of Govardhana (Nasik) in the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Pulumayi, while the neighbouring *Ahara* of Maniala (Poona District) was under an *Amatya* whose name ended in—Gupta. In the Far South the chief officer of the *Ahara* seems to have been called 'Vyaprita'.¹ The *Janapadas*, particularly those on vulnerable frontiers, were sometimes placed under the charge of military governors (*Strategos*, *Mahasenapati*, *Mahadandanayaka*, etc.). The *Janapada* of Satavahani-hara was, for instance, under the *Mahasenapati* Skandanaga.² Part of Eastern Malwa seems to have been governed by a Saka *Mahadandanayaka* shortly before its annexation by the Imperial Guptas and portions of the Indian borderland were governed by a line of *Strategoi* (Aspavarman, Sasa)³ under Azes and Gondophernes.

Desa, too, is often used as a synonym of *Bashtra* or *Janapada*. It was under a *Desfidhikrita*, the *Deshmulch* of mediaeval times, an officer mentioned in the Hirahadagalli grant of Siva-Skanda-varman. The next smaller unit was apparently the *Vishaya* governed by the *Vishayapati*.⁴ But sometimes even 'Vishaya' was used as a synonym of *Desa* or *Rashtra*, and there were cases in the Post-Gupta period of the use of the term to designate a larger area than a *Bashtra*.⁵

The smallest administrative units were the villages called *Grama* or *Oramahara*,⁶ and the smaller towns or

1 Luders, 1327. 1328.

2 Cf. the Myakadoni Inscription.

3 For an *amatya* named Sasa, see the Kodavati Rock Inscription of the Satavahana king Siri Chandra Sati or Sata (Ep. Ind., XVIII, 318).

4 929n (Luders).

5 Fleet, CII, 32 n.

6 Luders, Ins. No. 1195,

emporium called *Nigama*.¹ The affairs of a *Grama* were controlled by officers styled *Grameyilca Ayutta*² who were apparently headed by the *Gramani*,³ *Gramika*,^{*} *Gramabhojilca*⁵ or (*Grama*) *Mahattarilca*. Luders' (Mathura) Inscription, No. 48, gives the names of two such *Gramikas*, Jayadeva and Jayanaga. In Southern India we have the curious title "*Mulwla*" applied to the head of a village.⁶ The chief men of the *Nigamas* were the *Gahapatis*,⁷ the counterparts of the *Gramavridhdas* of villages. In Luders' Inscription, No. 1153, we have evidence of the corporate activity of a *dhammanigama* headed by the *Gahapati*. The *Grama* and *Nigama* organisation was the most durable part of the Ancient Indian system of government, and centuries of Scythian rule could not wipe it out of existence. The village and the *Nigamas* were also the nurseries of those ideas of associate life which found vent in the organisation of societies, committees, assemblies and corporations styled *Goshthls*,⁸ *Nikayas*,⁹ *Parishads*,¹⁰ *Samghas*,¹¹ etc., about which the inscriptions of the period speak so much. Not the least interesting of these institutions was the "*Goshthl*" which

1 In Pali literature *Nigamas* are distinguished from *gramas*, villages, as well as from *nagaras*, cities which had strong ramparts and gateways (*dridha prakara torana*).

2 1327.

3 1333,

4 48,69a.

5 1200.

6 Ins., 1194. Cf *Murunda* = lord (3aka). For the presence of Sakas in the far south, see Ep Ind., XX, 37.

7 *Gahapati*, house-lord, was a designation specially applied to the leading men of the gentry, the wealthy middle class, *Kalyana-bhattiko*, men accustomed to a good dietary. They are often distinguished from priests and nobles (Rhys Davids and Stede).

8 Luders' Ins., 273, 1332, 1335, 1338,

9 1133.

10 125,925.

11 5,1137.

afforded a field for co-operation between kings and villagers. Lüders' Ins., Nos., 1332 to 1338, speak of a *Ooshtl* which was headed by the *Rajan*, and which counted among its officials the son of a village headman.

A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian, as in other times, was the employment of spies, particularly of the "*Samcharamtakas*," or wandering emissaries, whose functions are described with gruesome details in the *Arthasastra*. The evidence of foreign witnesses in Maurya and Gupta periods seems, however, to suggest that political morality did not actually sink so low as a study of the *Arthasastra* would lead us to think. Vatsyayana probably voices the real feelings of his countrymen when he says that every single maxim for which there is provision in a theoretical treatise need not be followed in actual practice, because theoretical manuals have to be comprehensive, but practical application should have a limited range. No sane man will think of eating dog's flesh simply because its flavour, tonic power, dressing, etc., are discussed in medical treatises.

*Na sastramastitye tavat 'gyayoge haranam bhavet
mstrarthdn vyapino vidyat prayogamstvekadesikan
rasa-vlrya vipahd hi svamamsasyapi vaidyahe
hlrtitd iti tat him syad bhahshanlyam vichahshanaih.*

CHAPTER X. THE GUPTA EMPIRE : THE RISE OF THE GUPTA POWER,

*Imam sagaraparyantam Himavad-Vindhya-hmdalam
mahim elcatapatrahcam Rajasimha¹ prasastu wft*
—*Dutavakyam.*

SECTION I. THE FOUNDATION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY.

We have seen that the tide of Scythian conquest, which was rolled back for a time by the Satavahanas, was finally stemmed by the Gupta Emperors. It is interesting to note that there were many Guptas among the officials of the Satavahana conquerors of the Sakas e.g, Siva Gupta of the Nasik Inscription of the year 18, (Pura or Puru ?) Gupta of the Karle inscription, and Siva-Skanda Gupta of the same epigraph. It is difficult to say whether there was any connection between these Guptas and the Imperial Gupta family of Northern India, two of whom actually bore the names of Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta.²

1 With *Rajasimha* may be compared the epithet *Narendrasimha* occurring on coins of Chandragupta II (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, 43). All the letters here are not clearly legible (*ibid*, cxiii), but on many coins we find the analogous epithet *Simha-vikrama* (pp. 38 ff.). The reference in the *Dutavakya* must be to a paramount ruler of Northern India, bounded by the seas and the Himalayan and Vindhyan ranges, who had the epithet 'lion-like king,' The ruler who answers best to the description is Chandra Gupta II. The author of the *Dutavakya* possibly refers to this monarch. If he is identical with Bhasa, a distinguished predecessor of Kalidasa, his career as a poet may have begun before the accession of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramaditya, 'Narendra-Simha,' i.e. in the time of the great patron and king of poets, (*Kaviraja*). *Samtindra Gupta*

2 In the *Modern Review* (November), 1929, p. 499 f. it has been suggested that the Guptas are of *Karaskara* origin. But the evidence on the point is hardly conclusive. The identification of the "accursed" Chandasena of the *Kaumudimahotsava* (adopted son of Sundaravarman), whose family was

Scions of the Gupta family are not unoften mentioned in old *Brahmi* Inscriptions. The Ichchhavvar¹ Buddhist Statuette Inscription² mentions the benefaction of Maliadevi, queen of Sri Haridasa, sprung from the Gupta race (*Gupla-vamsodita*). A Bharhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription³ of the Sunga period refers to a "Gaupiti" as the queen of *Bajan* Visadeva, and the grandmother of Dhanabhilti, probably a feudatory of the Suiigas.

Traces of "Gupta" rule in Magadha proper, or some neighbouring tract down the Ganges, are found as early as the second century A.D. I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A.D., mentions a Maharaja **Sri Gupta** who built a temple near Mrigasikhavana " which was about forty yojanas

uprooted (p. 500) with Chandra Gupta I, son of *Maharaja Sri* Ghatotkacha whose dynasty ruled gloriously for centuries, is clearly untenable. The mere fact that Lichchhavis helped Chandasena is not enough to prove that the prince in question is identical with Chandra Gupta I. Lichchhavis appear as enemies of Magadha as early as the fifth century B.C. For a summary of the plot of the drama, which is attributed by some to a female writer, see *Aiyangar Com. Vol.*, 361f. If Sundaravarman, and his son Kalyanavarman are real historical figures, and if they actually ruled over Magadha, they must be placed either before *Maharaja Sri* Gupta or after Baladitya (6th century A. D.). The memory of Varman *adhipatya* over Magadha was fresh at the time of the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahasiva Gupta (*Ep. Ittd.*, XI, 191). Cf. also Purnavarman and Devavarman mentioned by Chinese writers, as well as kings of the Maukhari line.. The origin of the Imperial Gupta family is wrapped up in obscurity. We only know that they probably belonged to the *Dharana* gotra (IHQ, 1930, 565). They may have been related to Queen Dharinf, the chief consort of Agnimitra. Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out (IHQ, 1933, 930 ff) that according to a Javanese text (*Tantri Kamandaka*) *Maharaja* AisvaryapSla of the Ikshvaku race traced his genealogy to the family of Samudra Gupta, Little reliance can, however, be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late Writers, Even mpreunreliable.is the testimony of works like the *Bhavishyottara euraqa* Which-according.to aome CritiWi/iU palpable modern-forgery.' (N.H.I.P, VI.133n).

1 Banda district,

2 Liiders, No, 11.

3 Luders, No. 687

to the east of Nalanda, following the course of the Ganges".¹ I-Tsing's date would place him about A.D. 175² Allan rejects the date, and identifies Sri Gupta, with Gupta the great-grandfather of Samudra Gupta, on the ground that it is unlikely that we should have two different rulers in the same territory, of the same name, within a brief period. But have we not two Chandra Guptas and two Kumara Guptas within brief periods? There is no cogent reason for identifying Sri Gupta of *cir.* A.D. 175, known to tradition, with Samudra Gupta's great-grandfather who must have flourished about a century later.

The names of Sri Gupta's immediate successors are not known. The earliest name of a member of the Gupta family of Magadha which appears in inscriptions is that of *Maharaja Gupta* who was succeeded by his son *Maharaja Ghatotkacha*.

1 Dr. Majumdar in *A New History of the Indian People** VI, 129 ; Dr. D. C. Ganguli. *IHQ*.XIV (1938), 332.

2 Allan. *Gupta Coins*, Introduction, p. xv. *Cf. Ind. Ant.* X (1881) 110.

SECTION II. CHANDRA GUPTA I.

The first independent sovereign (*Maharajadhiraja*)¹ of the line was Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghatotkacha, who *may have* ascended the throne in 320 A.D., the initial date of the Gupta Era.² Like his great fore-runner Bimbisara he strengthened his position at some stage of his career, by a matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis of Vaisali or of Nepal,³ and laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Chandra Gupta I with the Lichchhavi family is commemorated by a series of coins⁴ having on the obverse standing figures of Chandra Gupta and his queen, the Lichchhavi princess Eumaradevi, and on the reverse a figure of Lakshmi, the goddess of luck with the legend "*Lichchhavayah*" probably signifying that the prosperity of Chandra Gupta was due to his Lichchhavi alliance. Smith suggests that the Lichchhavis were ruling in Pataliputra as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushans and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta succeeded to the power of

1 In the Riddhapur plates (JASB, 1924, 58), however, Chandra Gupta I and even Samudra Gupta are called (carelessly) simply *Maharajas*.

2 JRAS, 1893, 80 ; Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Rep., Vol. IX, p. 21. The identity of the Gupta king with whom the era (*Gupta prakala*, *Guptanath kala*) of 320 A. D. originated, is by no means clear. The claims of Maharaja Gupta (IHQ, 1942, 273 n) or even (less plausibly) of Samudra Gupta, cannot be altogether disregarded.

3 It is *not* suggested that the marriage took place *after* 320 A. D. The chronology of the Guptas before A. D. 380 is still in a stage of uncertainty. Nothing definite can be stated about the relative date of the marriage till we know more about the length of Chandragupta I's reign, and the exact date of his accession, and that of his son and successor, Samudra Gupta. Some scholars think that Chandra Gupta I's alliance was with the ruling family of Nepal (JRAS, 1889, p. 55) or of Pataliputra (JRAS, 1893, p. 81).

4 There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the attribution of these coins, see Altekar in *Num. Suppl.* No. XLVH, JRASB, III (1937), No. 2. 346, It is difficult to come to any final conclusion till the discovery of coins-whose attribution to Chandra Gupta I is beyond doubt,

his wife's relatives. But Allan suggests that Pataliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Sri Gupta's time.¹

From the record of Samudra Gupta's conquests it has been deduced that his father's rule was confined to Magadha and the adjoining territories. In the opinion of Allan the Puranic verses defining the Gupta dominions refer to his reign ;

*Anu-Ganga-Prayagamcha Sahetam Magadharhstatha
Etan janapadan sarvdm bliolcshyante Gnptavamsajah.*

"Kings born of the Gupta family will enjoy all these territories viz., Prayaga (Allahabad) on the Ganges,² Saketa (Oudh), and Magadha (South Bihar)."

It will be seen that Vaisali (North Bihar) is not included in this list of Gupta possessions. Therefore, it is difficult to concur in Allan's view that Vaisali was one of Chandra Gupta's earliest conquests. Nor does Vaisali occur in the list of Samudra Gupta's acquisitions, though the reference to Nepal as a border state in the famous Allahabad inscription may suggest that North Bihar was included within his dominions. It first appears definitely as a Gupta possession in the time of Chandra Gupta II, and constituted a viceroyalty under an imperial Prince. Prayaga (Allahabad) may have been conquered from a line of kings whose existence is disclosed in certain inscriptions discovered at Bhita.³ Two of these kings, Maharaja Gautamiputra Sri Sivamagha and Rajan Vasishthiputra Bhimasena are assigned

1 Kielhorn's North Indian Inscription, No. 541, however, suggests some connection between the Lichchavis and Pushpapura (Pataliputra).

2 Cf. *Anu-Gangath Hastinapurant, Anu-Gahgam VaranasJ, Anu-Sonam Patali-putram—Patanjali II. 1.2.*

3 And Bandhogarh(Rewa)—4mrta Bazar Patrika, 11-10-38, p. 2 ; NHIP. VI, 41 ff. The Magha kings also known from coins (Fa ten pur hoard).

by Marshall to the second or third century A.D. The name Sivamegha (or Sivamagha) reminds us of the 'Meghas' (Maghas) who ruled in Kosala in the third century A.D.¹ Another king, Maharaja Gautamiputra Vrishadhvaja, is assigned to a third or fourth century A.D.

One of the most memorable acts of Chandra Gupta I was the selection, before the assembled councillors (*Sabhyas*) and princes of the blood, of Samudra Gupta as his successor.

1 JRAS, 1911, 132; Pargiter, DKA, p. 51 ; see also a note on the *Kosati Stone Inscription of Maharaja Bhimavarman*, by Mr. A. Ghosh in *Indian Culture*, III, 1936, 177, ff ; see also J. C.= I. 694, 715.

SECTION III. SAMUDRA GUPTA PARAKRAMAṬṬKA.¹

The exact date when Chandra Gupta I was succeeded by his son, Samudra Gupta, is not known. If the evidence of the spurious Nalanda plate (issued from Nripura) has any value the event may have happened before the year 5 of the Gupta Bra, i.e., A.D. 325. But this is doubtful. It is clear not only from the Allahabad *Prasasti* but from the epithet '*Hatpadaparigrihita*,' applied to Samudra Gupta in the Riddhapur inscription, that the prince was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. The new monarch may have been known also as Kacha.²

It was the aim of Samudra Gupta to bring about the political unification of India (*dharani-bandha*) and make

1 The titles *Parakrama*, *Vyaghraparakrama*, and *Parakramahka* are found on coins (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp, cxi, If) and in the Allahabad *Praisti* (CII, p. 6). Recently a coin has been found with the legend *Sri Vikramah* on the reverse (Bamnala hoard, Nimar district, /, *Num. Soc. Ind.* Vol. V. pt. 2, p. 140. Dec. 1943).

2 The epithet *Sarva-rajo-chchhetta* found on Kacha's coins shows that he was in all probability identical with Samudra Gupta. Cf. Smith, *Catalogue*, 96 ; IA, 1902, 259 f. For another view see Smith, JRAS, 1897, 19 ; Rapson, JRAS, 1893, 81 ; Heras, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, p 83f. To us it is unthinkable that the style "uprooter of all kings" could have been assumed by a Gupta monarch other than the one who is actually credited with that achievement by a contemporary inscription, before the events presupposed by the expression had actually happened. In the Poona plates we find the epithet applied to Chandra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta, along with many other designations of the latter. But it should be remembered that the plates in question are not official records of the Guptas themselves. In no official epigraph of the Imperial Guptas is the style "*Sarva-rajo-chchhetta* applied to any other king except Samudra Gupta. The application of the term to Chandra Gupta II in the Poona Plates is due to the same carelessness which led the writer to describe Chandra Gupta I as a mere *Maharaja* (and not *Maharajadhiraja*). A comparison of the Xmgachhi record with the Banagad Inscription shows that writers of *Prasastis* not unoften carelessly applied to a later king eulogies really pertaining to a preceding ruler,

himself an *Ekarat* or sole ruler like Mahapadma. But his only permanent annexation was that of portions of *Aryavarta* in the upper valley of the Ganges and its tributaries, together with certain districts in Central and Eastern India. Following his "*Sarvalcshatrantalca*"¹ predecessor, this *Sarva-rajo-chchhetta*, "exterminator of all kings," uprooted Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapati Naga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman, and many other **kings of Aryavarta**,² captured the scion of the **family of Kota** and made all the kings of forest countries (*ataviJca-raja*) his servants. Rudradeva has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Rudrasena Vakataka. But the Vakatakas can hardly be regarded as rulers of Aryavarta, and they were far from being uprooted in the time of Samudra Gupta.³ Equally untenable is the indentification of Balavarman with a prince of Assam, a province that was then looked upon as a border state (*Pratyanta*) and not as a part of Aryavarta. Matila has been identified with a person named "Mattila" mentioned in a seal found in Bulandshahr in the **Central Doab**. The absence of any honorific title on the seal leads Allan to suggest that it was a private one. But we have already come across several instances of princes being mentioned without any honorific. Chandravarman has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Susunia⁴ inscription, who was the ruler of Pushkarana and was

1 Destroyer of all Kshatriyas, an epithet of Mahapadma.

2 Father Heras thinks (*Ann. Bhan. Ins.* IX, p. 85) that Samudra Gupta undertook two campaigns in *Aryavarta*. But his theory involves the assumption that Achyuta and Nagasena were "violently exterminated" in the second campaign after being "uprooted" in the first. To obviate the difficulty he takes "uprooted" to mean "defeated". This is, to say the least, unconvincing.

3 C/. IHQ, I, 2, 254, Rudrasena is connected with Deotek in the Chanda Dist. of C. P. *Eighth Or. Conf.* 613 ff. *Ep. Ind.* xxvi. 147, 150.

4 "A sandstone hill 12 miles to the north-west of Bankura,"

possibly the founder of Cbandravarman-kota mentioned in the Ghugrahati grant. Some scholars identify Pushkarana with Pokran or Pokurna in Marwar, and further equate Sitiivarman, the name of the father of Chandravarman, with Sitiivarman of the Mandasor family. But there is very little to be said in support of this conjecture. No mention of Chandravarman, or reference to his exploits, is found in any epigraphic record of the Varman family of Western Malwa. Pushkarana is really to be identified with a village named Pokharan on the Damodar river in the **Bankura** District, some 25 miles to the north-east of Susunia Hill.¹

Granapati Naga, Nagasena and Nandi seem to have been Naga princes. That Ganapati Naga was a Naga prince is evident. This ruler is also known from coins

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1 Cf. Dikshit, *AS/*, *AR*, 1927-28, p. 188; S. K. Chatterji, "*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*," *II*, 1061; *IHQ*, *I*, 2. 255. Pandit H. P. Zastri believed that this local ruler who bore the modest title of *Maharaja* was identical also with the mighty emperor (*bh'umipati prapta aikadhirajya*) Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription who "in battle in the Vanga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the Indus the Vahlakas were conquered." Others suggest the identification of the great Chandra with one or other of the famous Chandra Guptas of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. But Chandra is never styled either Chandravarman or Chandra Gupta and, unlike the court poets of the Varmans and Guptas, the panegyrist of the mighty Chandra, who is said to have carried his arms to the distant corners of India, never gives the slightest hint about his pedigree. He does not even mention the name of his father. It may be noted here that the *Puranas* represent the Nagas as ruling in the Jumna valley and Central India early in the fourth century A.D. We learn from the *Vishnu Parana* that Naga dynasties ruled at Padmavati and Mathura. A Naga line probably ruled also at Vidisa (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, p. 49). Two kings named Sada-Chandra and Chandramsa, "the second Nakhavant," are mentioned among the post-Andhran kings of Naga lineage. One of these, preferably the latter, who was obviously a ruler of note, may have been the Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription. The VShlikas beyond the seven mouths of the Indus" are apparently the Baktrtoi occupying the country near Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy (*Ind. Ant*, 1884, p. 408). An inscription of *Maharajddhiraja Sri Chandra* has been discovered on a Jaina image at Vaibhara hill (*ASI, AR*, 1925-26, p. 125). The identity of this Chandra is not clear.

found at **MathurS**,¹ at Pawaya near Narwar and at Besnagar.² Nagasena, who met his doom at **Padmftvati**³ near Narwar on the Sindh river between (xwalior and Jhansi, ip mentioned as a scion of the Naga family in the *Harsha-charita* (*Ndga-hda-janmanah sarikairavita mantrasya asldnano Nagasenasya Padmavatyam*).⁴ Nandi was also probably a Naga prince. In the *Puranas* Sisu Nandi and Nandiyasas are connected with the Naga family of Central India. We know also the name of a Naga prince named Sivanandi.⁵ Achyuta was probably a king of **Ahichchhatra**, modern Ramanagar in the Bareilly District. To him has been attributed the small copper coins bearing the syllables 'achyu' found at Ahichchhatra.⁶ As to the *Kota-lcula* Rapson⁷ draws our attention to certain coins bearing the inscription *Kota*. These resemble the "Sruta coins" attributed to a ruler of

1 Altekar, *NHLP*, vi, 37.

2 *IHQ*, I, 2, 255. Note the importance of the name of this king from the point of view of religious history. Cf. *Gajamukha* of the *Brihat Samhita*, 58. 58. A reference to king Ganapati Naga in the *Bhava Safaka*, a late work, is more than doubtful. *Gajavakra Sri* of that work is a misreading for *Gata Vaktra Sri* (*IHQ*, 1936, 135ff).

3 Padamavati— "Padam Pawaya (25 miles n. e. of Narwar) in the apex of the confluence of the Sindhu and the Para. Naga coins have been found here ; also a palmleaf capital with an inscription of the first and second century B.C." *EH* 1 \ p. 300 *ASI*, *KR*, 1915-16, pp. 101 ff.

4 "In Padmavati Nagasena, born in the Naga family, whose confidential deliberations were divulged by a *sarika* bird, met his doom."

5 Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 31. It is interesting to note that Garuda was the emblem of the Gupta kings who did much to curb the power of the Nagas. Cf. the passage of the Junagadh Inscription of Skanda Gupta :

*Narapati bhujaganam man-adarpot phananam
pratikrti Gamdajnam nirvishim chavakarta*

In the *PurSnas* Krishna, the deity honoured by the Guptas, crushes the head of the serpent Kaliya.

6 Allan, *Gupta Coins*, xxii ; *CCA*/, lxxix.

7 *JRAS*, 1898, 449 f.

Sravasti and should apparently be referred to the upper Gangetic region.¹

The conquered territories were constituted as *Vishayas* or Imperial sub-provinces. Two of these *vishayas* are known from later inscriptions of the family, namely, *Antarvedi* or the Gangetic Doab and **Airikiqa** in Eastern Malwa. It is significant that a **Naga** styled the *Visliayapati* *Sarva-naga*, figures as a ruler of **Antarvedi** as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.

The annexation of the northern kingdoms named above was not the only achievement of Samudra Gupta. He made the rulers of the *Ataviha rajyas*, or forest states, his servants. But his most daring exploit was an expedition to the south, which made his power felt by the potentates of the Eastern Deccan. We perceive, however, a difference between his northern and southern campaigns. In the north he played the part of a "*digvijayl*" or "conqueror of the quarters," of the Early Magadhan type.² But in the south he followed the Epic and Kautilyan ideal of a "*dharmavijayl*" or "righteous conqueror," i.e., he defeated the kings but did not annex their territory. He may have realised the futility of attempting

1 Smith (*Coins in the Indian Museum*, 258) points out that the Kota coins are common in the Eastern Panjab and the Delhi bazaar. A Kota tribe is said to exist also in the Nilgiris (JRAS. 1897. 863; Ind. Ant. iii, 36. 96, 205). The passage in the Allahabad Inscription that "Samudra Gupta caused the scion of the Kota family to be captured by his armies and took pleasure at Pushpabhaya" has been taken by some scholars to suggest that the *Kotas* were at the time the ruling family of Pataliputra (c/. Jayaswal, *History of India*, c. ISO A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 113). The identification of the *Kdta kula*, with the *Magadha family* of the *Kaumudi-mahotsava* lacks proof.

2 This kind of *Vijaya* or conquest is termed *Asura-vijaya* "demon's conquest" in the *Arthasastra* (p. 332). The name may have been derived from the Assyrians, the ruthlessness of whose warfare is well-known. For a discussion regarding possible derivation of *Asur* from *Assur*, see JRAS, 1916, 355:1924, 265ff. Conquest of this type is first met with in India in the sixth century B.C. (cf A jatasatru's subjugation of the Lichchhavis and Vidudabha's conquest of the Sakyas) when Persia served as a link between Assyria and India.

to maintain effective control over these distant regions in the south from his remote base in the north* east of India. His successor tried to maintain his hold on the Deccan by a system of marriage alliances,...

The **Atavika rajyas** undoubtedly included the realm of Alavaka (Ghazipur) as well as the forest kingdoms connected with **Dabhala**, or the Jabbalpur territory.¹ The conquest of this region by Samudra Gupta is suggested also by his Eran inscription.

The **Kings of Dakshinapatha** who came into conflict with the great Gupta were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyaghra-
raja of Mahakantara, Mantaraja of Kaurala^Svamidatta of Kottura, a chieftain of Pishtapura whose precise name is uncertain,² Damana of Erandapalla, Vishnugopa of Kanchi, Nilaraja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengli, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera of Devarashtra, Dhanam-jaya of Kusthalapura and others.

Kosala in *Dakshinapatha*, i.e., South Kosala, comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally possibly even a part of Ganjam.³ Its capital was Sripura, the modern Sirpur, about forty miles east

1 Fleet, CII, p. 114 ; Ep. Ind., VIII, 284-287. In the latter part of the fifth and early part of the sixth century A.D., the Dabhala country was governed by the *Parivrajaka Maharajas* as feudatories of the Guptas. The Mbh. ii. 31. 13-15, like the Allahabad Prasasti, distinguishes the *Atavikas* from the *Kantarakas*. One of the *Atavika* states may have been *Kotatavi* mentioned in the commentary on the *Rama-charita* of Sandhyakara Nandi (p. 36). In one epigraphic record, Ep. Ind., VII, p. 126, we have a reference to a place called *Vatatavi*, while another, Luders' List. No. 1195, mentions *Sahalatavi*.

2 For the various interpretations of the passage "*Pishtapuraka Mahendragirt Kautturaka Svamidatta*," see Fleet, C.H. Vol. 3, p. 7 ; JRAS. 1897, pp. 420, 868-870 ; IHQ, 1925, 252; Barua. *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, 224. It is not improbable that Mahendragiri in this passage is a personal name. Cf. the name *Kumara-giri* given to a chief of Kondavidu whose territories included a portion at least of the Godavari district (Kielhorn, S. Ins., 5961. In IRAS, 1897, 870. we have reference to *Kamtagir*, an ally of Sindhia.

3 Inclusion of Ratnapur, Ep. Ind., X, 26 ; of Kongoda, Ep. Ind., VI, 141, unless Kosala is a misreading for Tosala.

by north from Raipur.¹ Mahakantara is apparently a wild tract of the Central Provinces which probably included Kantara which the *Mahabharata* places between Venvatata (the valley of the Wainganga) and Prak-Kosala, the eastern part of Kosala mentioned above.²

Kaurala cannot be Kolleru or Colair which must have been included within the territory of H^stivarman of Vengi mentioned separately. Dr. Barnett suggests its identification with one of the villages that now bear the name Korada³ in South India. This is a place named Kolada near Russelkonda in Ganjam.

Kottura has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles south-east of Mahendragiri in Ganjam.⁴ Pishtapura is Pithapuram in the Godavari district. Erandapalla is identified by Fleet with Erandol in Khandesh, and by Dubreuil with Erandapali, "a town probably near Chicacole" in the Gaiijam district.⁵ But G. Ramdas⁶ suggests the identification of Erandapalla

1 Fleet, C/7, p. 293, Cf. *Ep. Ind.* xxiii. 118f.

2 Mbh. It.. 31. 12-13. G. Ramdas (IHQ, I. 4, 684) identifies Mahakantara with the 'Jhad-khand' Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The sway of the raja of Mahakantara or "Greater Kantara", may have extended northwards as far as Nachna in the Ajaygarh (not Jaso) state (Smith, JRAS, 1914,320). The identification of many of the southern kingdoms suggested by Mr. R. Sathianathaier (in his *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam*) does not carry conviction. His conclusion that Samudragupta "first emerged on the east coast at Pithapuram and conquered the Western Deccan" is based upon evidence that is clearly inadequate.

3 *Cat. Rev.*, Feb., 1924, 253 n. Cf. Kurralam, Tj. 590 (A *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, by V. Rangacharya)." The identification with Yayatinagarl (*Ep. Ind.* XL 189), which Dhoyi connects with the sports of the Keralls, was suggested in former editions of this work. But the reading KeralTin the *Pavanaduta* is not beyond doubt. For Kolada see *Ep. Ind.* XIX. 42,

4 There is another Kottura 'at the foot of the Hills' in the Vizagapatam district (Vizag., District Gaz.= I. 137). See also Kotjuru (IA, 4, 329) and Kottur-nadu, MS. 333, Rangacharya's List.

5 Dubreuil, AHD, pp. 58-60. A place called Erandavalli is mentioned in an inscription of Govinda III (*Bharata Itihasa Sam. Mandate*, A.R. XVI).

6 IHQ, I, 4, p. 683. There is an Erandi *tirtha* in *Padma*, Svarga khanda. 45,57,61,

with Yeadipalli in Vizagapatam or Endapilj in Ellore Taluk. Kalichi is Conjeeveram near Madras, Avamukta cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the name of its king Nilaraja reminds us of Nilapalli, "an old seaport near Yanam" in the Godavari district.¹ Vengi has been identified with Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore between the Krishna and the Godavari. Its king Hastivarman was identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman (of the Ananda family).³ But the more probable view is that he belonged to the Salankayana dynasty.³ Palakka is probably identical with Palakkada, (or Palatkata) a Pallava royal residence or seat of a viceroyalty in Guntur or Nellore in South India. Allan and G. Ramdas locate it in the Nellore district.⁴ Devarashtra is the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam district.⁵ Kusthalapura is, according to Dr. Barnett, probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot.⁶

The capture and liberation of the southern kings, notably of the ruler of Kottura near Mt= Mahendragiri remind us of the following lines of Kalidasa's *Baghuvcmiam* ;-

*Grihita-pratimirfctasya sa dharma-vijayi nripah
Sriyam Mahendra-natliasya, jahara natu mediriim*

1 Gazetteer of the Godavari District, Vol.*I, p. 213. Curiously enough, the *Brahma Purana* (ch. 113. 22f) mentions an *Avimukta-kshetra* on the bank of the Gautamt, i. c. the Godavari. Of, Avimuktesvara, Anantapur, 164 of Rangacharya's List.

2 Attivarman was wrongly assigned to the Pallava race. C/. IHQ, I, 2, p. 253 ; Ind. Ant, IX, 102. But he is actually described as born in the lineage of the great saint Ananda (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 334; Kielhorn, S. Ins., 1015 ; IA, IX, 102 ; ASI, 1024-25, p. 118).

3 The name Hastivarman is actually found in a Salankayana *Vathsavali* (IHQ, 1927, 429 ; 1933, 212 ; Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman I I).

4 IHQ, I, 2, 686. C/. *Ep. Ind.* xxiv. 140.

5 Dubreuil, AHD, p. 160 ; ASR. 1908-09, p. 123 ; 1934-35, 43, 65.

6 *Cat. Rev.*, 1924, p. 253 n. C/. Kqthalaparjru, MS. 179 of Rangacharya's List;

"The-righteous conqueror (Raghu) took away, from the lord of the Maheridra Mountain, who was made captive and then released, his glory but not his territory",

It is not a little surprising that the Allahabad *PraSasii* contains no clear reference to the **Vak&takas** who: are known to have dominated part of the region between Bundelkhand and the Penganga in the fifth century A.&. The earliest reference to the Vakatakas occurs in certain inscriptions of Amaravati.¹ The dynasty rose to power under Vindhyaśakti I and his son Pravaraśena I. Pravaraśena appears to have been succeeded in the northern part of his dominions by his grandson Rudraśena I Prithivishena I, the son and successor of Rudraśena I may have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and perhaps also of his son Chandragupta II, inasmuch as his son Rudraśena II married the daughter of the last-mentioned Gupta emperor. Prithivishena I's political influence extended over a fairly wide territory. The Nach-na-ki-talaia and Ganj regions² were in all probability ruled by his vassal Vyaghra-deva. Professor Dnobreuil, however, says that the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, which mention Vyaghra, belong, not to Prithivishena I, but to his great-grandson Prithivishena II. This is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Prithivishena I's great-grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A. D. 528, the princes of the region which intervenes between Nachna and Ganj and the proper Vakataka territory,³ owned the sway of the Gupta empire.

1 Ep. Ind., XV, pp.261, 267.

2 Fleet, CH., p. 233 ; Ep. Ind., XVII, 12. Cf. Ind. Ant., June, 1926.

3 This was Berar with the adjoining regions (cf. Ep. Ind. xxvi. 147); That Nachna and Ganj were in the Gupta Age apparently included within Dakshinapatha is suggested by the *Brihat Sathhita* (xiv., 13) which places even Chitrakuta in the Dakshina or Southern Division. A recent Vakataka Inscription discovered in the Drug district contains an interesting reference, to padmapura which Professor Mirashi identifies with the ancestral home of Bhavabhuti

Now as Vyaghra of the Nachna and Ganj records acknowledges the supremacy of the Vakataka Prithivishena, this Prithivishena can only be Prithivishena I, who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta I I¹ and not Prithivishena II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vakatakas, were apparently the acknowledged suzerains of the Central Provinces as we learn from the records of the Parivrajaka *Maharajas*.²

The absence of any clear reference to Prithivishena I in Harishena's *Prasasti* is explained by the fact that Samudra Gupta's operations were actually confined to the eastern part of Trans-Vindhyan India. There is no reliable evidence that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan proper, i.e., the territory ruled by Prithivishena I himself. Professor Dubreuil has shown that the identification of Devarashtra with Maharashtra and of Eranclapalla with Erandol in Khandesh is probably wrong.³

Though Samudra Gupta did not invade the Western Deccan it is clear from his Eran Inscription that he did deprive the Vakatakas of their possessions in Central India. These territories were not, however, directly governed by the Vakataka monarch, but were under a vassal prince. In the time of Prithivishena this prince was Vyaghra. We should naturally expect a conflict between the Vakataka feudatory and the Gupta

and with the modern Padampur near Amgaon in the Bhandara District of the Central Provinces. *IHQ.*, 1935, 299 ; *Ep. Ind.* xxii, 207 ff. The Basim grant implies control of a branch of the family over the part of Berar south of the Ajanta range.

1 The Eran and Udayagiri Inscriptions. For evidence of Palaeography see *JRASB*, xli. 2. 1946. 73.

2 *Cf. Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 475. For Dubreuil's views, see *Ind. Ant.*, June, 1926.

3 *Cf. Modern Review*, 1921, p. 457.

conqueror, Curiously enough, the Allahabad *Prasasti* refers to Samudra Gupta's victory over Vyaghraraja of Majia-kantara.¹ It is probable that this Vyaghraraja is identical with the Vyaghra of the Nachna inscription who was the Central Indian feudatory of Prithivishena. As a result of Samudra Gupta's victory the Guptas succeeded the Vakatakas as the paramount power in Central India. Henceforth the Vakatakas appear in fact as a purely, southern power.

The victorious career of Samudra Gupta must have produced a deep impression on the **Pratyanta**² *nrvpatis* or frontier kings of North-East India and the Himalayan region, and the tribal states of the Panjab, Western India, Malwa and the Central Provinces, who are said to have gratified his imperious command (*practanda samna*) "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The most important among the eastern -kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were **Samatata** (part of Eastern Bengal bordering on the sea, having its capital probably at Karmmanta or Barl-Kamta . near Comilla),³ **Davaka** (not yet satisfactorily identified)⁴ and **Kamarupa** (roughly in Assam). We learn from the Damodarpur plates that the major portion of Northern Bengal, then known as Punrlravardhana-bhukti, formed an integral part

1 Has the title *Vyaghra parakrama*, found on a type of Samudra Gupta's coins that represents the king as trampling on a tiger, anything to do with the emperor's victory over *Vyaghraraja* ? It is not a little curious that the next sovereign, conqueror of Rudrasirhha III. the last Satrap, assumed the title of *Simha-vikrama*.

2 For the significance of the term, see *Divyavadana*, p. 22.

3 Bhattachali, *Iconography*, pp. 4f. JASB, 1914, 85 ff. Cf. the position of Maharaja Rudradatta under the emperor Vainya Gupta early in the sixth century A.D. (Gunaighar Ins).

4 Cf. Dekaka (Dacca), Hoy land, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, 14. Mr. K. L. Barua identifies Davaka with the Kopili Valley in **Assam** (*Early History of Kamarupa*, 42 n).

of the Gupta Empire from A.D. 443 to A.D* 543, and was governed by a line of *Uparilcas* as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The identification of Davaka with certain districts of North Bengal is, therefore, probably wrong. The Northern *Pratyantas* were Nepal and Katripura. The latter principality comprised probably Katarpur in the Jalandhar district, and the territory of the Katuria or Katyur *ruj* of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand.¹

The **tribal states** which paid homage were situated on the western and south-western fringe of Aryavarta proper. Among these the most important were the Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and Kharaparikas.

The Malavas occupied part of the Panjab in the time of Alexander. They were probably in Eastern Rajaputana² when they came into conflict with Ushavadata. Their exact location in the time of Samudra Gupta cannot be determined. In the time of Samudra Gupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandasor region. We find princes of Mandasor using the reckoning, commencing B. C. 58, handed down traditionally by the Malava-jat³ (*Mdlava-gay-amnata*).

The Arjunayanas and the Yaudheyas are placed in the northern division of India by the author of the *JJrilmt-Samhitu*. They may have been connected with the Pandoonoi or Pandava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Panjab.³ The connection of the Arjunayanas

1 EHI , 302 to; JRAS, 1898, 198. *Ep. Ind.* XIII. 114 ; cf. J. U. P. Hist. Soc, July-Dec. 1945 p.p. 217 ff, where Mr. Powell-Price suggests 'some sort of connection between the Kunindas and the Katyurs.'

2 Cf.- Smith, *Catalogue*, f61. Allan, *CCAI*, p. cv. Mglava coins have been found in vast numbers in the Jaipur State'(JRAS, 1897, 883).

3 Ind. Ant., XIII, 331, 349.

with the Pandava Arjuna is apparent.¹ Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhishtira in the *Mahabharata*.² The *Harivamsa*, a later authority, connects the Yaudhikas with Usinara.³ A clue to the locality of this tribe is given by the Bijayagadh inscription.⁴ The hill-fort of Bijayagadh lies about two miles to the south-west of Byana in the Bharatpur state of Rajputana. But the Yaudheya territory must have extended beyond the limits of this area and embraced the tract still known as Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the border of the Bahawalpur state.⁵

The Madrakas had their capital at Sakala or Sialkot in the Palijab. The Abhiras occupied the tract in the lower Indus valley and western Rajputana, near Vinasana⁶ in the district called Abiria by the *Pervplus*⁷ and the geography of Ptolemy. We have already seen that an Abhira possibly became *Mahakshatrapa* of Western India and probably supplanted the Satavahanas in a part of Maharashtra before the middle of the third century A.D. A section of the tribe apparently settled in Central India and gave its name to the Ahirwar country between Jhansi and Bhilsa.⁸ The territories of the Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and Kharaparikas lay probably in Malwa and the Central Provinces. The Prarjunakas are mentioned in the *Arthashastra* attributed

1 Their coins are found in the Mathura region (Smith, *Catalogue*, 160). The *Abhidhana-chintamani*, p. 434, identifies a river called Arjuni with the Babuda (Ramganga ?).

2 *Adi.*, 95, 76.

3 Pargiter, *Markandeya Purana*, p. 380.

4 Fleet, *CII*, p. 251. Yaudheya votive tablets have been found in the Ludhiana District (JRAS, 1897*887). Coins have been found in the area extending from Saharanpur to Multan (Allan, *CCAI*, cli).

5 Smith, JRAS, 1897, p. 30. C/. Cunningham, *AGI*, 1924, 281.

6 *Sudrabhiran prati dveshad yatra nashta Sarasvati*, *Mbh.* IX, 37. 1.

7 *C/. Ind. Ant.*, 111, 226 f.

8 JRAS, 1897, 891. Cf. *Aini-Akbari* II, 165 ; Malcolm, *CJ*, I. 20.

to Kautilya¹ and are located by Smith² in the Narsinliapur District of the Central Provinces. A clue to the locality of the Sanakanikas is given by one of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II discovered in Eastern Malwa. The Kakas find mention in the *Mahabharata*³—*Rishika Vidabhah Kakas Tahganah-Paratahganah*. In the *Bombay Gazetteer* Kaka is identified with Kakupur near Bithur. Smith suggests that the name may be locally associated with Kakanada (Sanchi). The Kharaparikas may have occupied the Damoh District of the Central Provinces.⁴

The rise of a new indigenous imperial power could not be a matter of indifference to the **foreign potentates** of the North-West Frontier, Malwa and Surasjitra (Kathiawar) who hastened to buy peace "by the acts of homage, such as offer of personal service, the bringing of gifts of maidens,⁵ begging for seals marked with the Garuda sign (*Gamtmadahlca*) to allow them to rule over their respective districts and provinces (*svavismja bhulcti*)"* The foreign powers that thus established diplomatic relations* with Samudra Gupta were the *Daivapidra*⁷-*Shahi-Shahaniishahi* and the *Saka Mimindas*⁸

1 P. 194.

2 JRAS, 1897, p. 892,

3 Mbh. VI, 9.64.

4 Bhandarkar, IHQ, 1925, 258 ; Ep. Ind., XII. 46. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, 586 mentions a Kharpara *padraka* apparently in Malwa. A Bennakarpara-*bhaga* is mentioned in the Siwani plate.

5 The presence of Scythian maidens in the Hindu imperial harem is not surprising in view of the known facts about Chandra Gupta Maurya's alliance with Seleukos and the marriage of a Satakarni with the daughter of a great satrap. Cf. also Penzer, I I. 47 ; I I I. 170. .

6 Cf. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, 145. "The victor restored the crown and country of the Chola in the form of a religious gift, which was confirmed by the issue of a royal rescript with the Pandyan seal on it."

7 As to the form *Daiva*, see Achaemenian inscriptions of Xerxes, and forms like Bhaimarath! (instead of BhimarathI).

8 Note the imitation by Samudra Gupta of coins of Kushan type with *Ardochsho* reverse (Allan, xxviii, xxxiv, lxvi), Such coins were, according to scholars, issued by Scythians of the North-West.

as well as the people of Siriihala and all other dwellers in islands.¹

The *Daivaputra-Shahi-Shahaniishahi* belonged apparently to the Kushan dynasty of the north-west, which derived its origin from the *Devaputra Kanishka*.² The Saka *Murwidas* must have included the northern chiefs of Scythian nationality who issued the *Ardochsho* coins as well as the Saka chieftains of Surashtra and Central India, the representatives of a power which once dominated even the Ganges valley. Sten Konow tells us that *Muntnda* is a Saka word meaning lord, Sanskrit *Svamin*. The epithet *Svatnin* was used by the *Kshatrapas* of Surashtra and Ujjain. A Sanchi inscription discovered by Marshall discloses the existence of another Saka principality or province which was ruled about A.D. 319 by the *Mahadanclanayaka* Sridharavarman, son of Nanda.³ A *Murunda Svaminl* (noble lady) is mentioned in a Elio Inscription of Central India. To Scythian chiefs of the Vindhyan region should perhaps be attributed the so-called "Pari Kushan" coins which are found in large numbers in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Vindhyas and some adjoining tracts. The

1 Some control over the islands in the neighbouring seas is possibly hinted at in the epithet *Dhanada-VaruncndrUntakasama*, the equal of Dhanada (Kuvera, lord of wealth, guardian of the north), Varuna (the Indian Sea-god, the guardian of the west), Indra, king of the celestials and guardian of the east, and Antaka (Yama, god of death, and guardian of the south). The comparison of Samudra Gupta with these deities is apposite and possibly refers not only to his conquests in all directions, but to his possession of immense riches, suzerainty over the =ea=, the spread of his fame to the celestial region and his extirpation of various kings. Inscriptions discovered in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago testify to the activities of Indian navigators (e.g. the *Mahanavika* from Raktamrittika mentioned in a Malayan epigraph) and military adventures in the Gupta Age.

2 Smith (JRAS, 1897, 32) identified him with Grumbates. Some scholars take the expression to refer to different kings and chieftains. Cf. Allan xxvii. There may also be a reference to the Sassanids as well.

3 Ep. Ind., xvi, p. 212 ; JRAS, 1923, 337 ff.

existence of a Murunda power in the Ganges valley a couple of centuries before Samudra Gupta is vouched for by Ptolemy.¹ The Jaina *Prabhavalca-chdrita* testifies to the control that a Murunda family once exercised over the imperial city of Pataliputra.²

Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarna. A Chinese writer, Wang Hiuen ts'e, relates that Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (*i e.* Sri Meghavarman or Meghavarna) sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh Gaya for the use of pilgrims from the Island.³

Allan thinks that it was at the conclusion of his campaigns that the Gupta conqueror celebrated the horse-sacrifice⁴ which, we are told in the inscriptions of his successors, had long been in abeyance. But it should be noted that the *Asvamedha* was celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pushyamitra to that of Samudra Gupta, *e.g.*, Parasari-putra Sarvatata, Satakarni, the husband of Nayanika, Vasishthlputra Ikshvaku Sri-Chamtamula, Devavarman & alaiikayana, Pravarasena I Vakataka, Siva-skandavarman Pallava and the Naga kings of the house of Bharasiva. It is probable, however, that the court poets

1 Ind. Ant., 1884, 377 ; Allan, xxix.

2 C. J. Shah, *Jainism in N. India*, p. 194 ; *cf.* *Indian Culture*, III, 49.

3 Geiger, the *Mahavamsa* (trans.), p. xxxix ; Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 316 ff, 401 ff. ; Ind. Ant., 1902, 194.

4 Cf. Divekar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, VII, pp. 164-65, "Allahabad *Prakasti* and *Asvamedha*." In the Poona plates Samudra Gupta receives the epithet *anckavamedhayajin*. He was believed to have celebrated more than one horse sacrifice. Some of the campaigns described in the Allahabad panegyric may have been actually conducted by Princes or officers who kept guard over the sacrificial horse that was allowed to roam at large. In the inscription of Harishena the credit for capturing some of the vanquished chieftains is given to the army. Among the great commanders were men like Tilabhattaka and Harishena himself, who was the son of Dhruvabhata.

of the Guptas knew little about these monarchs. After the horse-sacrifice Samudra Gupta apparently issued coins bearing the legend *Asva-medha-parakramah*, 'whose prowess was demonstrated by the performance of the horse-sacrifice.'⁵¹

If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad *Prasasti*, is to be believed, the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lord of Gods and Tumburu² and Narada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established his title of *Kaviraja* by various poetical compositions."³ "He alone is worthy of the thoughts of the learned... His the poetic style which is worthy of study, and his are the poetic works which multiply the spiritual treasures of poets." Unfortunately none of these compositions have survived.⁴ But the testimony of Harishena to his musical abilities finds corroboration

in the lyrist type⁶ of his coins. Himself a poet like Harsha, Mahendravarman and other kings of a later age, the Gupta monarch associated with men of letters who

1 Rapson and Allan refer to a seal bearing a horse and the legend *Parakratna*, and the stone figure of a horse, now in Lucknow, which are probably reminiscent of the *Asvamedha* of Samudra Gupta. (JRAS, 1901, 102; *Gupta Coins*, xxxi.)

2 For Tumburu see *Adbhuta-Ramayana*, VI, 7 ; E./...I. 236.

3 According to the *Kavya Mimamsa* (3rd. ed. GOS. pp. xv, xxxii, 19) a "*Kaviraja* is one stage further than a *Mahakavi*, and is defined as one who is unrestrained in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments." For the intellectual activities of the Gupta Age see Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India," pp. 61-74 and Bihler, 7,4, 1913. The son and successor of Samudra Gupta had the title *Rupakriti*, 'maker of plays.'

4 A poetical work called the *Krishna-charitam* is attributed to Vikratnanka Maharajadhiraja Paramabhadgavata Sri Samudra Gupta. (IC, X, 79 etc.), But the ascription has been doubted by competent critics (cf. Jagannath in *Annals*, BO/?, and others).

5 A lute-player (*Vina-gathin*) plays an important part in the *Aivatnedha*.

were none too prosperous and "put an end to the war between good poetry and plenty" (*satkavyaklvirodha*). As a result "he enjoyed in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endured in many poems."

Samudra Gupta favoured poetry as well as the *Sadra*, while Asoka seems to have specialised in scriptural studies alone. The former undertook military campaigns with the object of *sarva-prithivī-jaya*, conquest -of the whole earth, as known to his panegyrist, the latter eschewed military conquest after the Kalinga war and organised missions to effect *Dhamma-vijaya*, conquest of the hearts of men, in three continents. Yet inspite of these differences there was much that was common to these remarkable men. Both laid stress on *paralcrama*, ceaseless exertion in the cause in which they believed. Both expressed solicitude for the people committed to their care, and were kind even to vanquished enemies. And both laid emphasis on *Dharma*. Samudra Gupta, no less than Dharmasoka made firm the rampart of the true law (*Dharma-prachira-bandhah*).

The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kacha to Samudra Gupta may be accepted. But the emperor's identification with *Dharmaditya* (sun of the true faith) of a Faridpur grant is clearly wrong. The titles used by this monarch were *Apratiratha*, 'unrivalled car-warrior' *Aprativaryavrlrya*, 'of irresistible valour/ *Kritanta-parasu*, 'axe of death,' *sarva-raj-ochch-hetta*,¹ 'uprooter of all kings,' *Vyaghra-parahrama*, 'possessed of the strength of a tiger,' *Asva-medha-paralcrama*, 'whose might was demonstrated by the horse-sacrifice,' and *Parahramanka*, 'marked with prowess,'

1 Cf. the epithet "*sarva-kshatrantaka*" applied to his great fore-runner, Mahapadma Nandja,

but not *Dharmaditya*. Most of these epithets are connected with particular types of coins issued by the emperor. Thus *Parahrama* is found on the reverse of coins of the standard type, *ApratiratJia* on coins of the archer type, *Krxtanta-parahi* on coins of the battle-axe type,¹ *sarva-rajochchhetta* on coins of the Kacha type, *Vyaghra-parahrama* (*Raja*) on the tiger type of coins, and *Asvamedha-parahrama* on the *Asvamedha* type.² The appearance of a goddess seated on a lion (*simha-vahini*, i.e., Durga or Parvati, *Vindhya-vasini* or *Haimavafri*) may point to the extension of the Gupta dominions to the Vindhya and the Himavat.³ The tiger and river-goddess (*maharavahini*) type may indicate that the sway of Samudra Gupta spread from the Ganges valley to the realm of the 'Tiger king' in Mahakantara. The figures of Ganga and Yamuna occur frequently in door jambs of the Gupta Age. It has been surmised that they symbolise connection with the Gangetic Doab.

Samudra Gupta's 'virtuous and faithful wife/ possibly Datta Devi, appears to be mentioned in an Eran inscription referable to the period of his rule. We possess no genuine dated documents for the reign of the great emperor. The Nalanda⁴ and Gaya grants profess to be dated in the years 5 and 9 respectively, but no reliance can be placed on them and the reading of the numeral in the Gaya record is uncertain. Smith's date (A.D. 330-375) for Samudra Gupta is conjectural. As the earliest Jojown date of the next sovereign is. A. D.

1 The battle-axe appears also on coins of the Udumbaras, CH/, 539 ; and Jayadaman, Rapson (*Andhra* etc), 76.

2 Cf. 'Horse facing post' which appears also on a square coin attributed to C hash tana (Rapson *ibid*, 75) whose dynasty was overthrown by the Guptas.

3 Nana on lion of Huvishka's coins (Whitehead, 207) may have suggested this type.

4 ASI, AR, 1927-28, p. 138.

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380-381¹ it is not improbable that his father and predecessor died some time after A.D. 375.² One of the last acts of Samudra Gupta was apparently the selection of his successor. The choice fell on Chandra Gupta, his son by Datta Devi.

- 1 An inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated in the year 6t, corresponding to A.D. 380-81 has been discovered recently in the Mathura district (*Ep. Ind.* XXI, 1ff).

2 Sircar (*IHQ*, 1942, 272) reads the dated portion of the inscription of the year 61 as *Sri Chandra Guptasya vijaye-rajya samvatsare panchame*—the fifth regnal year of Chandra Gupta (II). Therefore, his first year may be taken to be A.D. 376-77.

CHAPTER XI. THE GUPTA EMPIRE—(continued) : THE AGE OF THE VIKRAMADITYAS.

*Kamam nyipah santn sahasrasi? nye
rajanvatimahiiranena bhlmim
nalcshatra-tara-graha sahhulapI
jyotishmati Ghandramasaiva ratrih.*

—Raghuvamm.

SECTION I. CHANDRA GUPTA II VIKRAMADITYA.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta I I, Vikratnaditya, also called Narendra Chandra, Simha Chandra, Narendra Simha and Simha Vikrama,¹ born of queen Dattadevi. Chandra Gupta was chosen out of many sons by his father as the best fitted to succeed him.² Another name

1 Cf. the name Vikrama Simha of Ujjayini, Penzer III. 11. The story narrated in *Vishamasila Lambaka*, has for its hero Vikramaditya, son of Mahendraditya, who is apparently to be identified with Skanda Gupta. But some of the *motifs* such as *strivesha* [*Hatha sar.* XVIII. 3. 42], visit to the enemy's own place with a Vetala (5. 40 f) were probably taken from the cycle of legends associated with Chandra Gupta II, father of Mahendra.

2 That Samudra Gupta had many sons and grandsons appears clear from the Eran epigraph. The theory of Dr. Altekar (JBORS. XIV, pp. 223-53 ; XV, pt. i-ii pp. 134 f.), and others that a king named Rama (3arma ? Sena ?) Gupta intervened between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II is unsupported by any contemporary *epigraphic* evidence. The tradition that a Gupta king killed his brother and took his wife and crown, dates only from a ninth century epigraph. The *literary* evidence on the point is discrepant and hardly conclusive. The version given by Bana in the seventh century differs in important respects from the story known to the author of the *Kavya-Mimamsa* Cir, 900JA.D. (Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Nov., 1933, 201 ff. ; JBORS, XVIII, 1, 1932, 17 ff.). The simple story, narrated in the *Harsha-Charita* that **Chandra** Gupta, disguised as a female, destroyed a Saka (not Khasa) king, who coveted the wife of another, in the very city of the enemy, was doubtless embellished by later poets and dramatists, and (as is clear from certain data, to which Mr. V. V. Mirashi draws attention in *IHQ*, March, 1934, 48 ff.) details, such as fratricide, and association with Ghouls, not found in the earlier account, continued to be

O. P. 90—70.

of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vakataka inscriptions, several types of coins and the Sailchi. inscription of A. D. 412-3, was Deva Gupta, Deva-sri or Deva-raja.¹

For the reign of Chandra Gupta II, we possess a number of dated inscriptions so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession should be placed before A.D. 381, and his death in or about A.D. 413-14.

The most important external events of the reign were the emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vakataka king Rudrasena II, son of Prithivishena I, and the Avar with the Saka Satraps which added Western Malwa and Surashtra (Kathiavvar) to the Gupta dominions.

Matrimonial alliances occupy a prominent place in the foreign policy of the Guptas. The Lichchhavi connection had strengthened their position in Bihar. After the conquest of the upper provinces they sought alliances with other ruling families whose help was needed to consolidate the Gupta power in the newly acquired territory and prepare the ground for fresh conquests. Thus Samudra Gupta received presents of girls (*Jcanyopayana*) from Saka-Kushan chiefs and other foreign potentates. Chandra Gupta II married

added in the days of Amoghavarsha I (A. D. 815-78) and Govinda IV (A.D c. 927-933). The *Devi Chandraguptam* and similar works are as much unsuited to form bases of the chronicles of Chandra Gupta II as the *Mudrakshasam* and the *Asokavadana* are in regard to the doings of the great Mauryas. The subject has been fully discussed by the present writer in an article entitled '*Vikramaditya in History and Legend*' contributed to the Vikrama volume contemplated by the Gwalior authorities. The story of Chandra Gupta's adventure in its developed form has absorbed a good deal of folklore, such as tales about Ghouls *Pisacha*. The *motif* of the wife leaving a mean-spirited husband is found in Penzer *KathaSS.*, III. 290.

1 Cf Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.* 1913, p. 160.

Kuberanaga, a princess of Naga lineage,¹ and had by her a daughter named Prabhavati, whom he gave in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vakataka king of Berar and the adjoining provinces. According to Dr. Smith² "the Vakataka *Maharaja* occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Saka satraps of Gujrat and Surashtra. Chandra Gupta adopted a prudent precaution in giving his daughter to the Vakataka prince and so securing his subordinate alliance."

The campaign against the Western Satraps is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Virasena-Saba in the following passage "he (Saba) came here (to Eastern Malwa), accompanied by the king (Chandra Gupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." Saba was an inhabitant of Pataliputra. He held the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of a *Sachiva* or minister of Chandra Gupta II, and was placed by his sovereign in charge of the Department of Peace and War. He naturally accompanied his master when the great western expedition was undertaken. Eastern Malwa, which had already felt the might of Samudra Gupta, became the base of operations against the Sakas, Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Satichi suggest that the emperor Chandra Gupta II assembled at or near Vidisa in East Malwa many of his ministers, generals and feudatories, some of whom are

1 *Naga-kulotpanna*, cf. JASB, 1924, p. 58. It is possible, as urged by many recent writers, that Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya also entered into marriage alliances with the Kadambas of Vijayantl or Banavasi in the Kuntala, or the Kanarese, country. The sending of an embassy to Kuntala by Vikramaditya, is vouched for by Bhoja and Kshemendra. (*Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, p. 6.) Kakusthavarma of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings in or about the fifth century (Talagunda Inscription, Ep. Ind., VIII, 33 ff. ; IHQ, 1933, 197 ff.).

2 JRAS., 1914, p. 324,

mentioned in records dating from AvD. 402 to 413. The campaign against the Sakas was eminently successful. The fall of the Saka Satrap is alluded to by Bana. The annexation of his territory is proved by coins.¹

Chief Cities of the Empire.—The first important Gupta metropolis seems to have been at Pataliputra—"the city named Pushpa" where Samudra Gupta is said to have "rested on his laurels" after one of his victorious campaigns, and from which a Gupta Minister for Peace and War went to East Malwa in the company of his sovereign. From A.D. 402 Chandra Gupta seems to have had a residence in Malwa, at first possibly at Vidisa and later on, after his western conquests, at Ujjain. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts, who claimed descent from Chandra Gupta (Vikramaditya), referred to their great ancestor as *Ujjayini-piiravar-adhisvara*, 'lord of Ujjain, the best of cities/' as well as *Patalipuravar-adhisvara* 'lord of Patali (putra), the best of cities.' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Chandra Gupta II with the traditional Vikramaditya *Saluiri*, "the sun of valour, the destroyer of the Sakas," of Ujjain.² The titles *Sri*

X Silver coins of the Garuda type bearing the legend *Paratna-Bhagavata*, probably struck in Surashtra (Allan, p. xciv). Some of the coins bear the date 90 (=A., D. 409, EHI, 4th ed., p. 345). It has been suggested recently that, like his father, Chandra Gupta, too, performed a horse sacrifice (IHQ, 1927, p. 725) and that a stone horse lying in a village named Nagawa near Benares, and bearing an inscription containing the letters Chamdragn, commemorates the event. But there is no clear reference to such a sacrifice in the inscriptions or coins hitherto published.

2 In literature Vikramaditya is represented as ruling at Pataliputra (*Katha-sarit-sagara*, VII, 4. 3 :—*Vikramaditya ityasidraja Pataliputrake*) as well as Ujjain and other cities. Sahasanka of Ujjain is said to have ordered the exclusive use of Sanskrit in his harem (*Kavya Mimamsa*, 3rd. ed, p. 50). He thus reversed the policy of Adhyaraja (p. 197) or Satavahana of Kuntala. Cf. the verse in *Sarasvatī Kanthabharana* II. 15.

*Ke'bhunnadhyarajasya rajye prakrita- bhashirah
kale Sri Sahasahkasya ke na Samskritavadinah.*

Among the *Kavya-karas* tested in Ujjain mention is made of a Chandra Gupta along with Kalidasa, Amara, Bharavi and others (*Kavya M.* p 55).

Vikramah, *Sithha-Vilcramah*, *Ajita-Vikramah*, *Vihramahha* and *Vikramaditya* actually occur on Chandra Gupta's coins.¹

We have no detailed contemporary notice of Ujjayini (also called Visala, Padmavati, Bhogavati, Hiranyavati)³ in the days of Chandra Gupta. But Fa-hien who visited Mid India during the period A.D. 405 to 411, has left an interesting account of Pataliputra. The pilgrim refers to the royal palace of Asoka and the halls in the midst of the city, "which exist now as of old," and were according to him "all made by spirits which Asoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work,—in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish." "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images... The Heads of the *Vaisya* families

Paramartha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, refers to Ayodhya as the capital of a Vikramaditya while Hiuen Tsang represents Sravastī as the seat of the famous king (EHI, 3rd Ed., pp. 332-33). Subandhu refers to the fame of Vikramaditya, but not to his capital city, "like a lake Vikramaditya hath left the earth, save indeed in fame" (Keith, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 312). Cf. Hala, v. 64.

1 Name, title or epithet.

Type of coin.

3riVikrama	...	...	...	- Archer type (gold).
briVikrama	...	...	...	Couch type gold
Vikramaditya	...	...	...	Chhatra (Parasol) type (gold).
Rupakriti	...	...	...	Couch type (gold).
Simha-Vikrama,	Narendra	Chandra,	Lion	-Slayer (gold)
Narendra Simha,	Simha	Chandra	Lion	-Slayer (gold)

S a S l ^ a t a } Horseman type (gold).

Paramabhadgavata
Vikramaditya
Vikramanka

1

... Silver coins of the Guruda type.

Vikramaditya, MahSraja, Chandra ... Copper coins (Garuda, Chhatra and Vase type).

2 *Meghaduta* (I, 31) and *Katha-sarit-sagara*, Tawney's translation. Vol. I I, p. 275. For an account of Ujjayini in the seventh century A.D., see Beal, H, *Tsang*, I I, p. 270 ; and Ridding, *Kadambari*, pp. 210 ff.

establish houses for dispensing charity and medicines." The principal port of the empire on the east coast was Tamralipti or Tamluk in West Bengal from which ships set sail for Ceylon, Java (then a centre of Brahmanism), and China.

Much light is thrown on the character of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya's **administration** by the narrative of Fa-hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered. Speaking of the Middle Kingdom, the dominions of Chandra Gupta in the upper Ganges Valley, the Chinese pilgrim says : "the people are numerous and happy ; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules ; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go : if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off. The king's bodyguards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the *Chandalas*. In buying and selling commodities they use *cowries*"¹ The last statement evidently refers to such small transactions as Fa-hien had occasion to make.² The pilgrim² does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency, we know from the references to "*dinara*" and "*suvarnas*" in inscriptions.³

1 Legge.

2 Allan.

3 Chandra Gupta II also issued silver and copper coins. The silver coins were mainly intended for the western provinces conquered from the Saka satraps

That Chandra Gupta II was a good monarch may be inferred also from the inscriptions. Himself a devout *Vaishyava* (*Parama-bhagavata*), he appointed men of other sects to high offices. His general Amrakarddava, the hero of a hundred fights, *anekasamar-avapta-vijaya-yasas-patakah*, appears to have been a Buddhist or at least a a pro-Buddhist, while his Minister of Peace and War, Saba-Virasena, and perhaps also his *Mantrin* or High Counsellor, Sikharasvamin, were *Saivas*.

Regarding the machinery of Government we have no detailed information. But the following facts may be gleaned from the inscriptions. As in Maurya times, the head of the state was the *Raja* who was at times nominated by his predecessor. The king is now regarded as a divinity—*Achintya Pnrusha*, 'the Incomprehensible Being/ *Dliamda-VarunendrLmtalca-sama*, the equal of Kuvera, Varuna, Indra and Yama, *loka-dhama deva*, 'a god dwelling on earth,' *Paramadaivata*, 'the supreme deity.' He was assisted by a body of High Ministers whose office was very often hereditary as is suggested by the phrase "*anvaya-prapta Sachivya*" 'acquirer of the post of minister by hereditary descent,'⁵ of the Udayagiri Inscription of Saba.¹ The most important among the High Ministers were the *Mcminn*, 'High Counsellor,' the *Samdhi-vigrahika*, Minister for Peace and War,' and the *Akshapatal-adliikrita*, 'the Lord

but they are also mentioned in the time of his son in inscriptions of Northern Bengal. The Baigram inscription of the year 128 (448 A.D.) for instance refers to *rupakas* along with *dinaras* (c/. Allan, p. cxxvii). The copper coins issued by Chandra Gupta II are commonly found around Ayodhya (Allan, p. cxxxi).

1 The *Maha-danda-nayaka* Harishena was the son of the *Maha-danda-nayaka* Dhruva-bhuti. The *Mantrin* Prithivishena was the son of the *Mantrin* Sikharasvamin. Cf. also the hereditary governors (*goptri*), of Mandasor, Surashtra, etc. Things were somewhat different in the Mauhya Period. Pushya Gupta, *Rashtriya* of Surashtra in the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya, was quite unconnected by blood with Tushaspha, governor or feudatory in the time of Asoka.

Keeper of State Documents.' Like the Kantilyan *Mantrin*, the Gupta *Samdhi-vigrahika* accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field. As in the case of most of the *Pradhanas* of Sivaji there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be *Sarhdhi-vigrahika*, *Kumaramatya* (cadet-minister), and *Maha-dayda-iiayaka*, 'great commandant of the army/ and a *Mantrin* could become a *Maha-bal-adhikrita* 'chief commander of forces.'

It is not clear whether the Guptas had a central council of ministers (*Mantri-parishad*).¹ But the existence of local *parishads* (e.g., the *Paruhad* of Udanakilpa) is proved by a Basarh seal discovered by Bloch.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces styled *Dems*, *tihaktis*, etc., sub-divided into districts called *Pradeias* or *Vishayas*. Among *Dems* the Gupta inscriptions mention- Sukuli-de.va. Surashtra (Kathiawad), Dabhala (the Jubbulpore region, Dahala or Chedi of later times) and "*Kalhidl Narmadayor Madhya*," the territory lying between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, and embracing, no doubt, Eastern Malwa, are also perhaps to be placed under this category.

Among *Bhuktis* (lit. allotments) we have reference in inscription of the Gupta and early Post-Gupta Age to Pundra-vardhana *bhukti* (North Bengal), Vardhamana *bhufcti* (West Bengal) *Tirabhukti* (North Bihar), Nagara *bhulcti* (South Bihar), Sravasti *bhukti* (Oudh), and Ahichchhatra *bhukti* (Rohilkhand), all situated in the Ganges valley. Among *Pradesas* or *Vishayas* mention is made of *Lata-visliaya* (in continental Gujarat), Tripuri-*vishaya* (in the Jubbulpore region), Airikina in Eastern

1 The Bilsad Ins. (CII, 44) refers to a [*Pa*]rshad. But there is nothing to show that it was a central political assembly. The *Sabhyas* mentioned in connection with the nomination scene in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription may, however, have been members of a Central *Curia Regis* or Council.

Malwa (called *Pradesa* in Samudra Gupta's Eran inscription, and *Vishaya* in that of Toramana), *Antarvedi* (the Gangetic Doab), *Valavi* (?), *Gaya*, *Kotivarsha* (the Dinajpur region in North Bengal), *Mahakhushapara* (?), *Khadatapara* (?) and *Kundadhani*.

The *Deias* were governed by officers called *Goptris*, or Wardens of the Marches, as is suggested by the 'passage *Sarveshu Deseslm vidhaya Goptrin* 'having appointed *Goptris* in all the *Desas*.' The *Bhuktis* were usually governed by *Uparikas* or *Uparika Maharajas* who were sometimes apparently princes of the Imperial family, e.g., *Ilajapntra-deva-bhattaraka*, Governor of *Pundravardhana bhukti* mentioned in a *Damodarpur* plate, *Govinda Gupta*, Governor of *Tirabhukti* mentioned in the *Basarh* seals² and possibly *Ghatotkacha Gupta* of *Tumain* in Central India. The office of *Vishaya-patl* or District Officer was held by Imperial Officials like the *Kimur-amatyas* and *Ayuktakas*, as well as by feudatory *Maharajas* like *Matri-visbnu* of Eran. Some of the *Vishayapatis*, e.g., *Sarvanaga* of *Antarvedi*,³ were possibly directly under the Emperor, while others, e.g., those of *Kotivarsha*, *Airikina* and *Tripuri*, were usually under provincial Governors. The Governors and District Officers were no doubt helped by officials and dignitaries like the *Dandika*, *Chaur-oddharanilca* and *Dandapasika** (apparently judicial and police officials), *Nagara Sreshthl* (President or Alderman of a city-guild), *Sarthavaha* (lit. caravan-leader or merchant), *Pratharna-Kulika* (foreman of artisans), *Prathama-Kayastha* (the

1 Cf. *Kujidadhana*, a town mentioned in the *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, I, 18n.

2 *Govinda Gupta* is known also from the newly discovered *Mandasor Ins.* of the *Malava*—*Vikrama* year 524 (noticed by Garde, *ASI, Annual Report*, 1922-23, p. 187; *Cal. Rev* ; 1926, July, 155 ; *Ep. Ind.*, xix-App. No 7) which mentions his *Senadhipa* or captain *Vayurakshita*, and *Vayu's* son *Dattabbata*, Commander-in-chief of the forces of king *Prabhakara* (467-68 A.D.).

3 And *Kulavridhhi* of *Panchanagari* (in North Bengal). *Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 81.

4 Cf. *Dandoasi*, village watchman, *JASB*, 1916. 30.

chief scribe), *Pusta-pala* (record-keeper) and others. Every *Visliatja* consisted of a number of "gramas" or villages which were administered by headmen and other functionaries styled *Gramikas*, *Mahattaras* and *Bhojalcas*.¹

Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal kingdoms and republics, mentioned in the Allahabad *prasasti* and other documents.

The Basarh seals throw some interesting sidelight on the provincial and municipal government as well as the economic organisation of the province of Tirabhukti (Tirhut) in North Bihar. The province was apparently governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the *Mahadevi* Sri Dhruva-svamini, who had his capital at Vaisali. The seals mention several officials like the *Upanfca* (governor), the *Kumar-amatya* (cadet-minister),² the *Maha-pratihara* (the great chamberlain),

1 In the *Mrichchhakatika* (Act IX), which may be a composition of the period between Bana (who knew a king Sudraka, but no poet of the same name) and Vamana (8th century) the judge (*adhikaranika*) in a court of law is accompanied by a *Sreshthin* and a *Kayastha*. Reference is also made to the *Adhikarana-Bhojakas* and a *Mahattaraka* in connection with the arrangement of benches in the *Vyavahara-mandapa* (the hall of justice) and the detection of people "wanted" by the city Police (*nagara-raksh-adhikrita*.) The *Mudra-rakshasa* which is probably to be assigned to a period anterior to Rajasekhara, the Dasarupaka and Bhoja, perhaps also to Vamana but not to Avantivarman (of the Maukhari or Utpala dynasty) or Dantivarman (Rastrakuta or Pallava) whose name or names occur in the *Bharata Vakyas*, makes mention of *Kayastha*/*Dandapasika*, etc. Village functionaries were ordinarily placed under officials of the *Vishaya* or district. But in exceptional cases they had direct dealings with the *Uparika* or governor of a *Bhukti* (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, 136).

2 It has been taken to mean (1) minister of a Prince as distinguished from that of the King (*rajatnatya*), (2) minister in charge of Princes, C. V. Vaidya, *Med. Hind. Ind.*, I, 138, (3) a junior minister whose father is alive, or (4) one who has been a minister since the days of his youth. But cf. *Ep. Ind.*, X, 49; XV, 302 f. It will be seen that the *Kumaramatyas* were, as stated by a recent writer, divided into two classes, viz, (i) *Yitvarajapadya*, those serving the Crown Prince, and (ii) *Parama-bhattarakapadya*, those serving the Emperor himself. This perhaps makes the interpretation 'counsellor of, or in charge of the Prince' untenable. See however Penzer, I, 32; I I I. 136. The most probable view is that the term *Kumara* in the expression *Kumaramatya* corresponds to

Talavara (general or local chief),¹ the *Maha=danda-nayafy* (the great commandant), the *Vinayazthiti*² *Sthapaka* the censor [?], and the *Bhatasvapati* (lord of the army and cavalry), and the following offices, e.g., *Yuvaraja-padiya Kumar-amatya-adhikarana* (office of the Minister of His Highness the Crown Prince, according to Vogel), *Ranabhandagar-rulhilcaraii*[^] (office of the chief treasurer of the war department), *Baladhilcaraiw* (war office), *Daiulapas-adhikaraiia* (office of the chief of Police), *Tira-bhukty-Uparihadhikarna* (office of the Governor of Tirhat), *Tirabhuktan Vhiayasthiti-sthapah-adhikarana* (office of the censor [?] of Tirhut), *Vaimly-adhishthan-adhikarana* (office of the government of the city of Vaisali), *Sri-parama-bhattaralca-padlya Rnmar-amatya-dhikarana* (office of the cadet-minister waiting on His Majesty).⁵

The reference to the *Parishad* (Council or Committee) of Udanakupa shows that the *Parishad* still formed an important element of the machinery of local government. , The mention of the 'moot-hall of aldermen of guilds, caravan-leaders and foremen of artisans' (*Sreshthl-sarthavaha-kulilca-nigama*) is of interest to students of economics.

Pitta, Chikka, Immadi, Ilaya, of the south, and is the opposite of *Peda* (*Praudha*), *Piriya*. In the Gupta Age the Kumaramatyas often served district officers. The office was also combined with that of a general, counsellor and foreign secretary.

1 Cf. *talctra* of the Chlrwa Inscription of Samara Simha.

2 Dr. Basak takes *Vinaya-sthiti* in the sense of law and order (*the History of North-Eastern India*, p. 312).

3 In the *Natya-sastra Sthapaka* is the designation of the introducer of a play (Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 340). Here a different functionary may be meant.

4 The mention of *Rana-bhandagara* suggests that the finance department had its military as distinguished from the civil side.

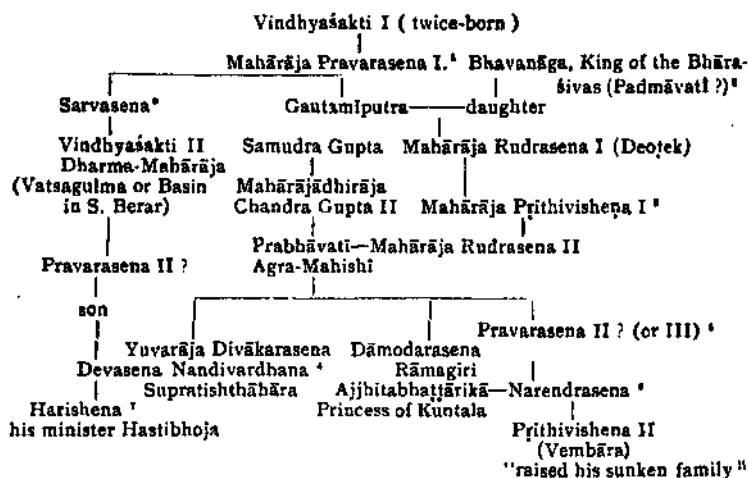
5 A distinction is drawn between imperial officials and those connected with viceregal administration and amongst the latter officers of the province of *Tlra-bhukti* are clearly distinguished from the public servants in charge of the subordinate administration of the *adhishthana* of *Vaisali*

Chandra Gupta II had at least two queens, Dhruvadevi and Kubera-naga. The first queen was the mother of Govinda Gupta and Kumara Gupta I.¹ The second queen had a daughter named Prabhavati who became queen of the Vakatakas. The latter was the mother of the Princes Divakarasena, Damodarasena and Pravarasena II. Certain mediaeval chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta. The origin of these chiefs is probably to be traced to some unrecorded adventures of Vikramaditya in the Deccan.² /

1 A son of Chandra Gupta styled *bhupati* (king) Chandraprakasa is mentioned in a verse quoted by Vamana in his *Kavyalahkara-Sutravritti* (JASB, Vol I, No. 10.CN.S.), 1905, 253 ff.). But the identity of this Chandra Gupta is uncertain. His identification with Vikramaditya (i.e., Chandra Gupta II) rests on the vexed problem of the date of Vasubandhu (or Subandhu ?) alleged to be mentioned by Vamana, and the question as to whether the personage mentioned may be identified with the Buddhist scholar whose biographer was Paramartha (A.D. 500-69). Paramartha was a Brahmana of the Bharadvaja family of Ujjayini who stayed for a time in Magadha and then went to China (A. D. 546-69.) According to his account Vasubandhu was born at Purushapura or Peshawar, of the Brahmana family of Kausika. He went to Ayodhya at the invitation of Baladitya, son of Vikramaditya (JRAS, 1905, 33 ff.). For some recent views about the date of Vasubandhu, see *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, 79 ff.

2 Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamitnamsa* and Bhoja. in his *Srihara Praka&ika*, mention that Kalidasa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king by Vikramaditya. "Ksemendra, in the *JLuctiya-Vicara Carca*, refers to Kalidasa's *Kuntasvara Dautya*" (*Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, 1924, p. 6). That the Guptas actually established contact with Kuntala appears clear from the Talagund Inscription which states that a Kadamba ruler of the Kanarese country gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. An important indication of Gupta influence in the South Western Deccan is possibly afforded by the coins of Kumara Gupta I found in the Satara District (Allan, p. cxxx.) The role assigned to Kalidasa by Rajasekhara, Bhoja and Kshemendra is not unworthy of credence as tradition points to a date for him in the early Gupta Age. For traditions about his synchronism with Maharajadhiraja Vikramaditya (*Sakarati*) and Dignaga and with king Pravarasena who is held to be the author of the poem *Setubandha* written in *Maharashtra Prakrita* and is, therefore, presumably identical with one of the kings bearing the same name in the Vakataka family, (recorded in Abhinanda's *Ramacharita*, ch. 32, Hala, *Gathasaptasati*, Bhumika, p. 8 and other works) see *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, 99 ff.; Mallinatha's comment on *Meghaduta*, I. 14 ; Ind. Ant., 1912, 267. JRAS, 1918. 1181. It has recently beep

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pointed out by Mr. Mirashi that the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II (year 27) refer to a Kālidāsa as the writer of the charter *Ep. Ind.* xxiii (1935), pp. 81 ff. But the identity of the scribe with the great poet remains doubtful.

"It must not be understood that Sarvasena was necessarily the elder of the two brothers. The matter may be settled when further evidence is available.

1 He performed four *Aśvamedhas*, and is styled a *Mahārāja* and *Samrāj*. His traditional capital Kāñchanakāpura recalls Hirāṇyapura (Hirapur? SSE of Sāgar) of the Dudia plates (*Ep. Ind.* III. 258 ff). The splitting up of the name into Purikā and Chanakā seems hardly justifiable.

2 J. Num.-Soc., v pt ii, p. 2. *Coins and Identity of Bhavanāga* (Altekar).

3 A *dharma-vijayī* whose kosa-dāṇḍa-sādhana is said to have been accumulating for a hundred years.

4 Identified by some with Nagardhan near Ramtek (Hiralal Ins. No. 4; Tenth Or. Conf., p. 458) and by others with Nandapur, near Ghughusgarh, north-east of Ramtek (Wellsted, *Notes on the Vākātakas*, JASB, 1933, 160f).

5 Ruler of Pravrapura, Chārmāhika and of following *rājyas viz.* Bhojakaṭa (N. Berar), Ārammī, (east of Berar) and of the Wardhā region. Pravrapura has been identified by some with Pavnār in Wardha District (JASB, 1933, 159).

6 His commands were honoured by rulers of Kosalā, Mekalā (at the source of the Nerbudda) and Mālava.

7 Credited with the conquest of Kuntala, Avānti, Kalinga, Kosala, Andhra Triakūṭa, Lāṇja.

SECTION II. KUMARA GUPTA I MAHENDRADITYA.

Chandra Gupta IP's successor was Kumara Gupta I¹ surnamed Mahendraditya² whose certain dates range from A.D. 415 to A.D. 455.³ His extensive coinage, and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's empire including the central and western provinces.⁴ One of his **viceroy**s, Chirata-datta, governed Pundravardhana *Bhiilcti* or roughly North

1 The J Mandasor inscription of the Malava year 524 suggests that Kumara may have had a rival in his brother prince Govinda Gupta. In the record Indra (? Kumara, who is styled Sri Mahendra and Mahendrakarma on coins) is represented as being suspicious of Govinda's power. *Ep. Itid.*, XIX, App. No. 7 and n. 5.

2 Also called Sri Mahendra (on coins of the Archer type), *Aivamedha Mahendra* (on coins of the *Aivamedha* type), *Mahendrakarma*, *Ajita Mahendra* (on coins of the horseman type and sometimes on the lion-slayer type), *Simha Mahendra* (on coins of the lion-slayer type), *Sri Mahendra Sithha* (also on coins of the lion-slayer type), *Mahendra Kumara* on coins of the peacock type), *Mahendra-Kalpa* (Tumain Ins.), *Simha Vikrama* (on coins of the lion-slayer type ; Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. 80), *Vyaghra bala-parakrama* (on coins of the tiger-slayer type) and *sri Pratapa*. On the swordsman type of gold coins and on copper coins of the Garuda and possibly *simha-vahini* types the emperor is simply called Kumara Gupta. The title Mahendraditya with the epithet *Parama bhagavata*, 'devoted worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu-Krishna),' is found on silver coins, apparently struck in Surashtra.

3 The date 96 (= A.D. 415) is found in the Bilsar Inscription and the date 136 (= A.D. 455) on silver coins (EHI, 4th ed., pp. 345-46). The Erari inscription of Samudra Gupta refers to his 'virtuous and faithful wife' and *many sons and son's sons* of the royal pair. From this it seems *probable* that Kumara Gupta and his brothers were already born during the reign of their grandfather, and that Kumara had seen not less than some thirty five summers before his accession. As he reigned for at least forty years, he could not have died before the age of 75 (approximately).

4 The possession of the central districts in the Ganges valley is, according to Allan, confirmed by the silver coins of the peacock type (cf. the Ayodhya coins of Xryamitra, CHI, I. 538), and the inclusion of the western province by those of the Garuda type. Silver plated coins with a copper core were intended for circulation in the Valabhi area, and coins of small thick fabric resembling the Traikutaka coinage were apparently struck in South Gujarat (Allan, pp. xciii ff.)

Bengal,¹ another viceroy, prince Ghatotkacha Gupta, held office in the province of Eran (in Eastern Malwa) which included Tumbavana;² a third viceroy or feudatory, Bandhuvarman, ruled at Dasapura in western Malwa.³ The Karamadande inscription of A. D. 436 mentions Prithivishena who was a *Mantrin* and *Kumaramatya*, and afterwards *Maha-baladhihrita* or general under Kumara Gupta, probably stationed in Oudh. The panegyrist of a Malwa viceroy claims that the suzerainty of Kumara Gupta extended over "the whole earth which is decked with the rolling seas as with a rocking girdle, which holds in its breast-like mountain altitudes the

1 Cf. the Damodarpur plates of the years 124 and 128. (Ep. xvii. 193). The Baigram inscription of the year 128 (A.D. 447-48) refers to a *Kumaramatya* named Kulavridhhi who governed a *vishaya* with its headquarters at Panchanagarī, apparently in N. Bengal. Ep. Ind., XXI, 78 ff. The Sultanpur or Kilaikudi Inscription (Bangasrī 1350 B. S., Baisakha, pp. 415-51 and Bhadra ; IHQ XIX. 12) of the year 120 = A. D. 439 in the Bogra district, makes mention of another officer, the *Ayuktaka*, Achyutadasa of Purnakausika in Srīngaveravithi. The Natore Inscription of A. D. 432 (JPASB, 1911) is another record of Kumara's reign found in N. Bengal.

2 Tumain in the Guna district of the Gwalīar state, about 50 miles to the north-west of Eran. M. B. Garde, *Ind. Ant.*, xlix 1920, p. 114, Ep. Ind. xxvi (1941), pp. 115 ff; Tumain Inscription of the year 116, i.e., A. D. 435. The identity of the prince mentioned in the record, with Sri Ghatotkacha Gupta of seals and Ghato Kramaditya of coins is uncertain (Allan, xvi, xl, liv). Hema Chandra (in the *Parisishta parvan*, xii, 2-3) places Tumbavana in the *Avantidesa*, 'the ornament of the western half of Bharata' in Jambudvīpa.

Ihaiva Jambudvīpe 'pag Bharatardha vibhushanam

Avantiriti deso'sti svargadesiya riddhibhīh

tatraTumbavanamiti vidyate sannivesanam

3 Mandasor Inscription of A. D. 437-38. Bhīde suggests (JBORS, VII, March, 1921, pp. 33 f.) that Visva-varman of Gupta Ins. No. 17 is an independent king, who flourished a century before his namesake of ins. No. 18, who is a feudatory (*Goptri*) of the Guptas. S. Majumdar points out that even Visva-varman of Ins. No. 17 must be later than Naravarman of V. S. 461 (= < A. D. 404-05), In the Bihar Kotra (Rajgadh state, Malwa) Ins (Ep. Ind. xxvi. 130 ff) of Maharaja Naravarman of the year 474 (i.e., A. D., 417—18) the king is styled 'aulikara', thus establishing his connection with Vishnuvardhana of the Malava Era 589 (A. D. 532-33).

founts of the vivifying liquid, and smiles with the flowers of its forest glens."

Like his father, Kumara was a tolerant king. * During his rule the worship of *Svami Mahasena* (Karttikeya), of Buddha, of Siva in the *lihga* form and of the sun, as well as that of Vishnu, flourished peacefully side by side.*

The two notable events of Kumara's reign are the celebration of the horse sacrifice, evidenced by the rare *Asva-medha* type of his gold coinage, and the temporary eclipse of the Gupta power by the **Pushyamitras**. The reading Pushyamitra in the Bhitari inscription is, however, not accepted by some scholars because the second syllable of this name is damaged.² Mr. H. R. Divekar in his article "*Pusyamitras in the Gupta Period*"³ makes the plausible emendation *Yadhy—amitrans = ca* for Dr. Fleet's reading *Pibsyamitmms — ca* in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription.⁴ It is admitted on all hands that during the concluding years of Kumara's reign the Gupta empire "had been made to totter." Whether the reference in the inscription is simply to *amitrans* (enemies), or to Pushyamitras, cannot

1 Cf. the Bilsad, Mankuwar, Karamadande and Mandasor inscriptions. Siva appears to have been the favourite deity of many high ministers, Vishnu of the most powerful ruling race and the sun of traders and artisans in the early Gupta period. The expression *Jitam Bhagabata* appears to have been popularised by the king. His example seems to have been followed by Madhava Ganga of Penukonda plates (Ep. Ind. XIV. 334), Vishnuvarman I Kadamba of Hebbata grant (Mys. A. S., A. R. 1925. 98), Nandivarman Pallava of Udayendiram (Ep. Ind., III. 145) and other kings of the south. The popularity of the cult of Karttikeya is well illustrated not only by the sanctuaries erected in his honour, but also by the names Kumara and Skanda assumed by members of the imperial family, and the issue of the peacock type of coins by the emperor Kumara Gupta I. The Gupta empire reached the zenith of its splendour before its final decline in the time of the originator of the 'peacock' coins, as a later empire did in the days of the builder of the peacock-throne.

2 Cf. Fleet, C II, p. 55 n.

3 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1919-20, 99 f.

4 CII, iii, p. 55.

be satisfactorily determined. We should, however, remember in this connection that a people called Pushyamitra is actually referred to in the *Vishnu Purana* and a Pushyamitika-lfttZa in the Jain *Kalpastitra*.¹ The *Purana* text associates the Pushyamitras, Patumitras, Durmitras and others with the region of Mekala near the source of the Nerbudda.² References to the warlike activities of Mekala and the neighbouring realm of Kosala that had once been overrun by Kumara's grandfather, are found in inscriptions of the Vakataka relations of Kumara Gupta. Bana relates the tragic story of a ruler of Magadha who was carried off by the ministers of the lord of Mekala. A passage in the Mankuwar stone image inscription of the year 129 (A.D. 449) where the emperor Kumara Gupta I is styled simply *Maharaja Sri* instead of *Maharajadhirdja Sri* has been interpreted by some scholars to mean that he was possibly deprived by his enemies of his status as paramount sovereign. But the theory is rendered improbable by the Damodarpur plate of about the same date where Kumara is given full imperial titles.. It may be noted in this connection that in several inscriptions, and on certain coins, his immediate predecessors, too, are simply called *Raja* or *Maharaja*.

The assumption of the title *Vyaghra-bala-parakrama* "displaying the strength and prowess of a tiger", on coins of the *tiger-slayer* type, by Kumara may possibly indicate that he attempted to repeat the southern venture of his

1 SBE. XXII, 292. Cf. the legend *Pusamitasa* found on Bhita seals in characters of the Kushan period or a somewhat earlier date (JRAS, 1911, 138).

2 Vish., IV, 24. 17; Wilson, IX, 213. "Pushyamitraand Patumitra and others to the number of 13 will rule over Mekala." The commentary, however distinguishes the 13 Pushyamitra-Patumitras from the 7 Mekalas. But from the context it is apparent that the position of the Pushyaraitras was between the Mahishyas (people of Mahishrnati ?) and the Mekalas in the Nerbudda valley, if not in a part of the country of the Mekalas themselves Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1889, 228 ; cf. also Bhita seals.

grandfather and penetrate into the tiger-infested forest territory beyond the Nerbudda. Expansion towards the south is also indicated by a find of 1,395 coins in the Satara District.¹ But the imperial troops must have met with disaster. The fallen fortunes of the Gupta family were restored by prince Skanda Gupta who may have been appointed his father's warden in the Ghazipur region, the Atavi or Forest Country of ancient times.²

The only queen of Kumara I named in the genealogical portion of extant inscriptions is Anantadevi. He had at least two sons, viz., Puru Gupta, son of Anantadevi, and Skanda Gupta the name of whose mother is, in the opinion of some scholars, not given in the inscriptions. Sewell, however, suggests that it was Devaki.³ This is not an unlikely assumption as otherwise the comparison of the widowed Gupta empress with Krishna's mother in verse 6 of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription will be less explicable. Hiuen Tsang calls Buddha Gupta (*Fo-to-kio4o*) or Budha Gupta,⁴ a son (or descendent ?) of Sakraditya.⁵ The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had a synonymous title was Kumara Gupta I who is called Mahendraditya on coins. *Mahendra* is the same as *8ahra*.

1 Allan, p. cxxx. Cf. also the Kadamba inscription referring to social relations between the Kadambas of the fifth century and the Guptas.

2 Cf. the Bhitari Inscription.

3 *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 349.

4 The name *Foto-kio-to* has been restored as Buddha Gupta. But we have no independent evidence regarding the existence of a king named Buddha Gupta about this period. The synchronism of his successor's successor Baladitjja with Mihirakula indicates that the king meant was Budha Gupta, cf. also *Ind. Ant.*, 1886, 231 n.

5 That Sakraditya was a reality is proved by a Nalanda seal (H. Sastri, *MASI*, No. 66, p 38). To him is ascribed an establishment at Nalanda, the far-famed place, which grew into a great university in the seventh century A. D. The pilgrim was not indulging in mere fancy as suggested by a recent writer in a treatise on Nalanda.

The use of terms conveying the same meaning as titles **and** epithets was not unknown in the Gupta period, *Vikramaditya* was also called *Vikramahla*. Skanda Gupta is called both *Vikramaditya* and *Kramaditya*, both the words meaning "puissant like the sun" or "striding like the sun/" If Sakraditya of Hiuen Tsang be identical with Mahendraditya or Kumara I, Buddha Gupta¹ was closely related to Kumara. Another member of Kumara's family was possibly Ghatotkacha Gupta.²

1 Recent discoveries show that Budha Gupta was really a *grandson* (not a son) of Kumara Gupta I. The Chinese pilgrim may have failed to distinguish between a son and a grandson. Cf. The Kopparam plates where Pulakesin II is represented as a grandson of Kirtivarman I. But he was really the son of the latter. It is also possible that Sakraditya was an epithet of Purugupta, the father of Budha.

2 The Tumain Inscription referred to by Mr. Garde ; cf. also the Basarh seal mentioning Sri Ghatotkacha Gupta. The exact relationship with Kumara is, however, not stated in (he inscription,

According to the evidence of the *Arya-Manjit, Sri-mtila-Icalpa*, confirmed by epigraphic testimony, the immediate successor of Mahendra, i.e., Kumara Gupta I, was Skanda Gupta. In an interesting paper read at a meeting of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that after Kumara's death, which apparently took place while the struggle with the Pushyamitras was still undecided, there was a fratricidal war in which Skanda Gupta came off victorious after defeating his brothers including Puru Gupta, the rightful claimant, and rescued his mother just as Krishna rescued Devaki.¹ Dr. Majumdar observed that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta in the genealogy given in the Bihar and Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscriptions indicated that she was not the chief queen and Skanda 'had no natural claim to the throne'. The rightful heir of Kumara was Puru Gupta, the son of the *Mahadevi* Anantadevi.

We should, however, remember that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of ordinary queens in inscriptions. The mother of Princess Prabhavati, Kuberanaga, was not the chief queen of Chandra Gupta II.² No doubt the title *Mahadevi* is once given to her in the Poona plates of her daughter in the year 13, but it is not repeated in the Riddhapur plates of the year 19 where she is called simply Kuberanaga *devi* without the prefix *Mahadevi*, whereas Kumara-devi, Datta-devi and even her own daughter, Prabhavati-gupta are styled *Mahadevis*. The contrast is full of significance and we know as a matter of fact that the real *Mahadevi* (chief queen) of Chandra

1 C/. the Bhitart Inscription, JASB, 1921 (N. S. XVII), 253 ff.

2 JASB, 1924, 58. In IC. 1944, H. i. Dr. Majumdar modified his views regarding the omission of the name of the queen mother in the Bhitari ins. and finds the names of Mahadevi Anantadevi and her son Purugupta in the inscription,-

Gupta II was Dhruva-devi or Dhruva-Svamini. Though Kuberanaga was not the principal consort (*agramahishi*) of her husband, she is mentioned in the inscriptions of her daughter. On the other hand the names of queens, the mothers of kings, are sometimes omitted. In the *genealogical portion* of the Banskhera and Madhnbhan plates the name of Yasomati as Harsha's mother is not mentioned, but in the Sonpat and the Nalanda seals² she is mentioned *both* as the mother of Rajya-vardhana *and as the mother of Harsha*. Therefore it is not safe to draw conclusions from a comparison of genealogies given on **seals** and those given in **ordinary prasastis**. From a comparative study of the seals and plaques referred to above on the one hand and ordinary panegyric epigraphs on the other, two facts emerge, *viz.*, (a) genealogies given by the records of the former class are *fuller* than those given in the others, and (b) names of mothers of reigning kings that are invariably given (**even though this meant repetition**) in documents of the first group are sometimes omitted by the writers of *prasastis*, even though they be the names of the chief queens. There is no real analogy between the genealogy on the Bhitari seal and that in the **Pillar** Inscriptions. *A seal should be compared to another seal and an ordinary prasasti with another document of the same class.*³

1 The name of the father of a reigning king is also sometimes omitted [*cf.* Kielhörn's N. Ins., Nos. 464, 4C8].

2 A. R. of the ASI, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44 ; *Ep Ind.* XXI. 74 ff. *MAI.* No. (56, 68 f.

3 We have already seen that in the opinion of Sewall the name of Skanda's mother is actually mentioned in one epigraph. According to that scholar her name was Devaki. The comparison with Krishna's mother (who, with all her misfortunes, did not experience the pangs of widowhood) in the Bhitari Inscription would be less explicable, if not altogether pointless, if Devaki was not the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta as well as that of Krishna. Why were Krishna and Devaki thought of in connection with the victory over hostile powers, instead of, say, Skanda (Karttikeya) and PSrvatt, Indra or Vishnu and Aditi,

As to the question of rightful claim to the succession, we should remember that the cases of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II suggest that the ablest among the princes was chosen irrespective of any claim arising out of birth.

There is nothing to show that the struggle at the end of Kumara's reign, referred to in the Bhitari Pillar inscription, was a fratricidal conflict. The relevant text of the inscription runs thus :—

*Pitari divam upete viplutam varma-lalcshtmim
bhuja-bala-vijit-arir-yyah pratishthapya bhuyah
jitam-iti paritnshan mataram sasm-nettram
hata-ripur-iva Krishna Devahlm-ahhyupetah*

"Who, when (his) father had attained heaven (i. e., died), vanquished (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and steadied once more the drifting fortunes of his family ; and then exclaiming 'the victory has been won* betook himself, like Krishna, when his enemies had been slain, to his weeping mother, Devaki"¹

The hostile powers (*ari*), who made the *Vamsa* lahshmi*, goddess of family fortune, of Skanda Gupta "*vipluta*" 'convulsed,' after the death of his father, Avere apparently enemies of the Gupta family, i.e., outsiders not belonging to the Gupta line. A3 a matter of fact the antagonists expressly mentioned in the Bhitari Pillar

by the panegyrist of Skanda Gupta who is compared to *3akra (Sakropama, Kahaum Inscription)* and *Vishnu (\$riparikshiptavaksha, Junagadh epigraph)* ? A possible explanation is that the name of his mother coupled with her miserable plight suggested to the court-poet comparison with Krishna and Devaki. Cf. Ep. Ind. I, 364 ; xiii. 126, 131 (Hampe and Conjeeveram ins. of Krishnadeva Raya) where we have a similar play on the name Devaki:—

*tadvamhe Devaktjanirddidipe Titnma bhupatih
Yaiasvl Tuluvendreshu Yadoh Krishna ivanvaye
sarasadudabhuttasman Narasavanipalakah
Devakinamdanat Katno Devaki namdanadiva.*

I For the reference to Pevaki!, see *Vishnu Purana*, V, 79,

Inscription were outsiders, *e.g.*, the Pushyamitras¹ and the Hilnas. There is not the slightest reference to a fratricidal war. There is no doubt a passage in the Junagadh inscription of Skanda which says that "the goddess of fortune and splendour (Lakshmi) of her own accord selected (Skanda) as her husband (*svayam varayam-chahara*)...moving discarded all the other sons of kings (*manujendra-piitra*)."² But "*Svayameva sriya (jrihita* "accepted by Sri or Lakshmi of her own accord" is an epithet which is applied by Prabhakara-varadhana, shortly before his death, to Harsha whose devotion to his elder brother is well-known. That Skanda Gupta like Harsha "was considered to be the favourite of the Goddess of Luck is well-known. Attention may be invited to the Lakshmi type of his coins² and the epithet *Sri-parikshipta-valcshah* ("whose breast is embraced by Sri, *ie.*, Lakshmi"), occurring in the Junagadh Inscription. The panegyrist of the emperor refers to a *svayambara* in the conventional style.³ A *svayambara* naturally presupposes an assemblage of princes, not necessarily of one particular family, in which all the suitors are discarded excepting one. But there is no inseparable connection between a *svayambara* and a fight, and, even when it is followed by a fight, the combatants are hardly ever princes who are sons of the

1 Even if the reference be merely to "*amitras*" (see *ante*, p. 568), these *amitras* could not have included an elder brother, as the passage "*kshitipa* charana-plthc sthapita vama-padah*," "placed (his) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that hostile power himself) clearly shows. The expression *samuditabala kosha* ("whose power and wealth had risen") would be singularly inappropriate in the case of the rightful heir to the imperial throne of the Guptas with its enormous resources existing for several generations, and can only point to a *parvenu* power that had suddenly leaped to fame.

2 Allan, p. xcix,

3 Cf. *Ep. Ini*, 1. 25.

Gurjjareivara-rajya-Srir

Yasyajajne Svayambara

The *Svayambara* of Lakshmi forms the subject of the drama which Urvasi acts before Indra with her system nymphs (JASB, 59, 32).

same king. The epigraphic passage referring to Lakshnri's *svayambara*, therefore, does not necessarily imply that there was a *struggle* between the *sons of Kumara* in which Skanda came off victorious. It only means that among the princes he was specially fortunate and was considered to be the best fitted to rule because of the valiant fight he had put up against the enemies of the empire. In the Allahabad *prasasti* we have a similar passage :—"who (Samudra Gupta) being looked at with envy by the faces, melancholy through the rejection of themselves, of others of equal birth...was bidden by his father,—who exclaiming 'verily he is worthy' embraced him—to govern of a surety the whole world." It may be argued that there is no proof that Skanda was selected by Kumara. On the contrary he is said to have been selected by Lakshmi of her own accord. But such was also the case with Harsha. Skanda like Harsha was called upon to save the empire of his forbears at a time when the fortunes of the imperial family were at a low ebb, and both these eminent men owed their success to their own prowess. The important thing to remember is that the avowed enemies of Skanda Gupta mentioned in his inscriptions were outsiders like the Pushyamitras, Hildas,¹ and Mlechchhas.² The *manujendra-putras* of the Junagadh inscription are mentioned only as disappointed suitors, not as defeated enemies, comparable to the brothers of Samudra Gupta who were discarded by Chandra Gupta I. We are, therefore, inclined to think that as the tottering Gupta empire was saved from its enemies (*e. g.*, the Pushyamitras) by Skanda Gupta it was he who was considered to be the best fitted to rule. There is no evidence that his brothers disputed his claim

1 Bhitari Ins.

2 Junagadh Ins.

and actually fought for the crown. There is nothing to show that Skanda shed his brothers* blood and that the epithets "*amalatma*" 'pure-souled,' **and** *parahitakar*, 'the benefactor of others,' applied to him in the Bhitari inscription and coin legends,¹ were unjustified.

The view that Skanda Gupta was the immediate successor of Kumara Gupta I seems to be confirmed by a verse in the *Arya-Manjibisri-mfila-kalpa*² which runs thus :—

Samudrakhya nripaschaiva
Vikramaschaiva klrtitah
Mahendranripavaro mukhyah
Saharadyam atah param
Devardjakhja namasau yugadhame

It is impossible not to recognise in the kings (*nripa*) Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra and "Sakaradya" mentioned in the verse, the great Gupta emperors Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya, Kumara Gupta I Mahendraditya, and Skanda Gupta.³

Skanda Gupta assumed the titles of *Kramaditya* and *Vikramaditya*.* The passage from the *Manjusri-mula-kalpa* quoted above refers to his appellation *Devaraja*, The titles *Vikramaditya* and *Devaraja* were apparently assumed in imitation, of his grandfather. The latter

1 Allan, *Gupta Coins*, cxxi.

2 Vol. I, ed. Ganapati Sastri, p. 628. Cf. the Rewa Ins. of 141 = A.D. 460/61. Attention was drawn to this record by Mr. B. C. Chhabra at the Oriental Conference, Twelfth (Benares) Session, Summaries of Papers, part I I. p. 39. and later by Dr. Majumdar and Sircar.

3 IHQ, 1932 p. 352.

4 Allan, *Catalogue* pp. 117. 122 ; cf. Fleet, CH, p. 53 :—

"*Vinaya-bala-sunitair-vv'ikrmmena kramena*
pratidinam-abhiyogad ipsitam yena labdhva."

The epithet *Kramaditya* is found on certain gold coins of the heavy Archer type as well as on silver issues of the Garuda, Bull and Altar types. The more, famous title of *Vikramaditya* is met with on silver coins of the Altar type.

epithet reminds one further of the name Mahendra given to his father. It is also to be noted that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudra Gripta is extolled as the equal of Indra and other gods and in the Kahaum record Skanda Gupta is called *Salcropama*.

From the evidence of coins and inscriptions we know that Skanda ruled from A. D. 455 to c. 467. The first achievement of the monarch was the resuscitation of the Gupta Empire and the recovery of lost provinces. From an inscriptional passage we learn that while preparing to restore the fallen fortunes of his family he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend a whole night sleeping on the bare earth. Line twelve of the Bhitari Inscription tells us that when Kumara Gupta I had attained heaven, Skanda conquered his enemies by the strength of his arms. From the context it seems that these enemies were the Pushyamitras "whose power and wealth had (suddenly) gone up."

The struggle with the Pushyamitras was followed by conflicts with the Hunas¹ and probably also with the Vakatakas in which the emperor was presumably victorious in the end. The invasion of the Hunas took place not later than A.D. 458 if we identify them with the *Mlechchhas* or barbarian uitlanders of the Junagadh inscription. The memory of the victory over the *Mlechchhas* is preserved in the story of king Vikramaditya, son of Mahendraditya of Ujjain, in Somadeva's *Katha-sarit-sagara*. Central India and Surashtra seem to have been the vulnerable parts of the Gupta empire. The Balaghat plates³ refer to Narendrasena

1. The Hunas are mentioned not only in inscriptions, but in the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas*, the *Raghuvamsha* and later in the *Harsha-charita* and the *Nitivakyamrita* of Somadeva. The *Lalita Vistara* (translated by Dharmaraksha, d. A. D. 313) mentions the *Hunalipi* (Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 266). See also W. M. Mc Govern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, 399ff, 455ff, 485f.

2 Allan, *Gupta Coins*, Introduction, p. xlix,

3 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 271,

Vakataka, son of Skanda Gupta's cousin Pravarasena II (III?) as "*Kosald-Melcala-Malav-adhipatyabhyarchita sasana*" 'whose, commands were treated with respect by the lords of Kosala (Upper Mahanadi Valley), Mekala (Upper Valley of the Nerbudda), and Malava (probably Eastern Malwa),' The Junagadh inscription tells us that Skanda "deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surashtras." Allan deduces from this and from the words "*sarveshu deseshu vidhaya goptrin*," 'appointing protectors in all the provinces' that the emperor was at particular pains to appoint a series of Wardens of the Marches to protect his dominions from future invasion. One of these Wardens was Parnadatta.¹ governor of Surashtra. In spite of all his efforts Skanda Gupta could not, however, save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he, no doubt, retained his hold over Surashtra, the Cambay coast and the adjoining portions of continental Gujarat and Malwa.² But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription or coin has yet been discovered which shows that Surashtra and Western Malwa formed parts of the Gupta empire after the death of Skanda Gupta. On the contrary Harishena Vakataka, grandson of Narendrasena, claims victories over Lata

1 Persian Farna-data seems, according to Jarl Charpentier, to be the form underlying the name Parnadatta (JRAS, 1931, 140 ; Aiyangar Com. Vol., 15).

2 The inclusion of Surashtra within his empire is proved by the Junagadh inscription and that of the Cambay coast by silver coins of the 'Bull type.' The type was imitated by Krishnaraja (Allan, ci), who is to be identified with the king of that name belonging to the Katakchuri family. Krishna's son and successor, Samkaragana appropriates the epithets of the great Samudra Gupta. His son Buddhharaja effected the conquest of Eastern Malwa early in the seventh century A. D. (c. 608 A. D. ; Vadner plates, Ep. Ind., xii, 31 ff. ; see also Marshall, *A Guide to Satichi*, p. 21n). The dynasty was overthrown by the early Chalukyas and it is interesting to note that three of the characteristic epithets of Samudra Gupta are applied to the Chalukya Vijaya-raja in the Kaira grant; Fleet, C II, 14.

(South Gujarat) and Avanti (district around Ujjain) besides Trikilta in the Konkan, Kuntala (the Kanarese country), Andhra (the Telugu country), Kalinga (South Orissa and adjoining tracts), and Kosala (Upper Mahanadi Valley), while the Maitrakas of Valabhi (Wala in the peninsular portion of Gujarat) gradually assume independence.

The later years of Skanda seem to have been tranquil.¹ The emperor was helped in the work of administration by a number of able governors like Parnadatta, viceroy of the west, Sarvanaga, District Officer (*Vishayapati*) of Antardvdl or the Gangetic Doab, and Bhimavarman, the ruler of the Kosam region.² Cbakrapalita, son of Parnadatta, restored in A.D. 457-58 the embankment of the lake Sudarsana at Girnar which had burst two years previously.

The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers. Himself a *Bhagavata* or worshipper of Krishna-Vishnu, he and his officers did not discourage followers of other sects, *e.g.*, Jainas and devotees of the Sun. The people were also tolerant. The Kahaum inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person "full of affection for Brahmanas."³ The Indore plate records a deed by a Brahmaria endowing a lamp in a temple of the Sun.

1 C/ the Kahaum Ins. of 141 - A. D. 4604.

2 The inclusion within Skanda's empire of provinces lying still further to the east is proved by the Bhitari and Bihar Pillar Inscriptions and possibly by gold coins of the Archer type struck on a standard of 1446 grains of metal. Allan, p. xcvi, 118.

3 C/. The Pahadpur epigraph of the year 159 (A. D. 479) which records a donation made by a Brahmaria couple for the worship of the Divine Arhats, *i.e.*, the jinas.

English Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500



CHAPTER XII. THE GUPTA EMPIRE (*continued*): THE LATER GUPTAS.

*VimMukand ramatilthtiya soham
Saurajya vaddhotsavaya hibhrdyti
SamagraiaHan tvayi Suryavamsye
Sati (mipanna kamnfimamxtham*

—*Jlaghuwuhiatn.*

SECTION I. SntvivAi. OK THE GUPTTA POWER AFTER SKANDA GUPTA.

It is now admitted on all hands that the reign of Skanda Gupta ended about A.D. t67.¹ When he passed away the empire declined,² especially in the west, but did not wholly perish. We have epigraphic as well as literary evidence of the continuance of the Gupta empire in parts of Central and Eastern India in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Damodarpur plates, the Sarnath Inscriptions³ and the Eran epigraph of Itudha Gupta prove that from A.D. 477 to 496 the Gupta empire extended from Bengal to Eastern Malvva. The Betul plates of the *PanvrUjaka Maharaja* Sarnkshobha, dated in the year 199 G. E., i.e., 518 A.D., Muring the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta King., testify to the fact that the Gupta sway at this

1 Smith, *the Oxford History of India*, additions and corrections, p. 171. end.

a For the causes of decline, tee *Calcutta .Review*, April, 1930. p. 36 ff; also Pott.

3 A.S.I. Report, 191415; *HXndusthan Revieto* Jan.. 1918; JBORS, IV, 344 f.

4 *Srlmati prttvardhamaHU'Vijaya-rajye samvatiara-iate navauavaty uttart Ouptattripa-rajya-bhuktau*, "In the glorious, augmenting and victorious reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kiog."

period was acknowledged in Dabhala, which included the Tripuri *Vishaya* (Jabbalpur region).¹ Another inscription of Samkshobha found in the valley near the village of Khoh in Baghelkhand, dated in A.D. 628, proves that the Gupta empire included some of the central districts even in A.D. 528.^a Fifteen years later the grant of a village in the Kotivarsha *Vishaya* (Dinajpur District) of Pundravardhana-ft/ittAtft (roughly North Bengal) 'during the reign of *Paramadaivata* (the Supreme Divinity) *Parama-bhattaraha* (the Supreme Lord) *Maharajddhiraja* (King of Kings) *Sri.....Gupta*,"³ shows that the Gupta dominions at this period included the eastern as well as the central provinces. Towards the close of the sixth century a Gupta king, a contemporary of Prabhakara-vardhana of the Pushyabhuti⁴ family of Srikantha (Thanesar), was ruling in "Malava."⁵ Two sons of this king, Kumara Gupta and

1 Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 284-87. Dabhala = later Dahala.

2 Fleet. C II, I I I, pp. 113-16 ; Hoernle in JASB, 1889 p. 95.

3 Ep. Ind., XV, p. 113 ff. Corrected in Ep. Ind., XVII (Jan., 1924), p. 193.

4 This seems to be the correct spelling and not Pushpabhuti (Ep. Ind., I, 68).

5 "Malava" was graced by the presence of the Guptas as early as the fifth century. This is proved by the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II and the Tumain inscription of Ghatotkacha Gupta. In the latter part of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh century, it seems to have been under the direct rule of a line of Guptas whose precise connection with the Great Guptas is not clear. Magadha was probably administered by local rulers like *Kumaratnatya Maharaja Nandana* (A. D. 551-2?) of the Amauna plate, Gaya Dist., Ep. Ind., X, 49, and the Varmans (cf. Nagarjuni Hill Cave Ins., C II, 226 ; also Purnavarman mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and Deva-varman, I A, X, 110). For a detailed discussion see Ray Chaudhuri, *JBORS*, XV, parts *Hi* and *iv* (1929, pp. 651 f.). The precise location and extent of the "Malava" of the "later Guptas" cannot be determined. In Ep. Ind., V, 229, the *Dandanayaka Anantapala*, a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI, is said to have subdued the *Sapta* Malava countries up to the Himalaya Mountains. This suggests that there were as many as seven countries called Malava (of, also Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 46). These were probably : (1) The country of the 'Malavas' in the Western Ghats (*Kanarese Districts*, p. 569), (2) Mo-la-po (Malavaka-afcara of Valabhi grants) on the Mahi governed by the Maitrakas, (3) Avanti in the wider sense of the term ruled by the Katchachuris or Kalachuris of the Abhona plates (sixth century) and by a Brahmar family in the time of

Madhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon the princes Rajya-var dhana and Harsha of Thanesar. From the Aphsad inscription of Adityasena we learn that the fame of the father of Madhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha,¹ marked with honour of victory in war over Susthitavarman, doubtless a king of Kamarupa, was constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra. This indicates that even in or about A.D. 600 (the time of Prabhakara-var dhana) the sway of kings bearing the name Gupta extended from "Malava" to the Brahmaputra.²

In the sixth century Gupta suzerainty was no doubt successively challenged by the Huns and their conquerors belonging to the Mandasor and Maukhari families. In

Hiuen Tsang the Chinese pilgrim, (4) *Purva Malava* (round Bhilpa), (5) District round Prayaga. Kausambi and Fatehpur in U. P. (Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 350n.; IHQ. 1931, 150f. ; cf. JRAS, 1903. 561). (6) part of eastern Rajputana, (7) Cis-Sutlej districts of the Panjab together with some Himalayan territory. The later Guptas probably held (4) and (5) and, at times, Magadha as well. The *Bhagvata Purana* (xii. 1. 36) whose date is not probably far removed from that of the later Guptas, associates Malava with Arbuda (Abu) and distinguishes it from Avanti. The rulers of Malava and Avanti are also distinguished from each other by Rajasekhara in his *Viddhasala bhanjika*, Act IV (p. 121 of JIvananda Vidyasagara's edition). Early in the seventh century the Guptas seem to have lost Eastern Malwa to the Katchchuris. In the Vadner plates issued from Vidisa (Besnagar) in or about A. D. 60S, a Katchchuri king, Samkaragana receives epithets that are palpably borrowed from the Allahabad *Praasti* of Samudra Gupta. The overthrow of the Katchchuris was effected by the early Chalukyas of Badami and South Gujarat. Fleet points out (CII, 14) that three of the epithets of Samudra Gupta are applied to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayaraja in the Kaira grant of the year 394 (IA, VII, 248.) Adityasena of the later Gupta family, who ruled in the second half of the seventh century A. D., seems to be referred to in Nepalese inscriptions as 'King of Magadha.' Magadha, now replaced Eastern Malwa as the chief centre of Gupta power.

1 Cf. Hoernle in JRAS, 1903, 561.

2 An allusion to the later Guptas seems to occur in the *Kadambari*, Verse 10, of Ban a which says that the lotus feet of Kubera, the poet's great-grandfather, were worshipped by many a Gupta :—

*Babhuva Vatsyayana vathsa sambhavo
dvijo jagadgtaguno' granlh sat am
aneka Guptarchita pada pahkajah
Kubtra namamsa iva Svayambhuvah.*

the first half of the seventh century the Guptas lost Vidisa to the Katakchuris and their power in the Ganges Valley was overshadowed by that of Harsha. But, after the death of the great Kanauj monarch, the Gupta empire was sought to be revived by Adityasena, son of Madhava Gupta, who "ruled the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans,* performed the *Asvamedha* and other great sacrifices and assumed the titles of *Parama-bhattaraka* and *Maharajadhiraja*.

SECTION II. PUBU GUPTA AND NARASIMHA GUPTA
BALADITYA.

We shall now proceed to give an account of Skanda Gupta's successors. The immediate successor of the great emperor seems to have been his brother **Puru Gupta**. The existence of this king was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitari seal of Kumara Gupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle.¹ The seal describes Puru Gupta as the son of Kumara I by the queen Anantadevi, and does not mention Skanda Gupta. The mention of Puru Gupta immediately after Kumara with the prefix *tat-pad-anudhyata* "meditating on, or attached to, the feet of" (Kumara), does not necessarily prove that Puru Gupta was the immediate successor of his father, and a contemporary and rival of his brother or half-brother Skanda Gupta.² In the Manahali grant Madanapala is described as *Sri-Ramapala-Deva-pad-anuihyala*, although he was preceded by his elder brother Kumarapala. In Kielhorn's Northern Inscription No. 39, Vijayapala is described as the successor of Kshitipala, although he was preceded by his brother Devapala.³

1 JASB, 1889 pp. 84-105.

2 The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitari seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily imply that the relations between him and Puru's family were unfriendly as suggested by Mr. R. D. Banerji (*cf. Annals of the Bhand. Ins.*, 1918-19, pp. 74-75). The name of Palakesin II is omitted in an inscription of his brother and *Yuvaraja* Vishnuvardhana (Satara grant, *Ind. Ant.*, 1890 pp. 2271). The name of Bhoja II of the Imperial Pratihara dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh Inscription of his nephew Mahendrapala II, but it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother VinSyakapala, the father of Mahendrapala. Besides, there was no custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival uncle or brother. Mangalesa and Govinda II are mentioned in the inscriptions of their rivals and their descendants. On the other hand even an ancestor of a reigning king was sometimes omitted, e. g., Pbarapatta is omitted in his son's inscription (Kielhorn, N, Ins., No. 464).

3 Kielhorn. Ifls. No, 31.

Smith and Allan have shown that Skanda ruled over the whole empire including the eastern and the central as well as many of the western provinces. He may have lost some of his districts in the Far West. But the coin-types of the successors of Kumara Gupta, with the exception of Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta, show that none of them could have held sway in the lost territories of Western India. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence clearly indicate that there was no room for a rival *Maharajadhiraja* in Northern India including Bihar and Bengal during the reign of Skanda Gupta. He was a man of mature years at the time of his death *cir.* A.D. 467.¹ His brother and successor Puru Gupta, too, must have been an old man at that time. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he had a very short reign and died some time before A.D. 473 when his grandson Kumara Gupta II was ruling. The name of Puru Gupta's queen has been read by various scholars as Sri Vatsadevi, Vainyadevi or Sri Chandradevi.² She was the mother of Narasimha Gupta Baladitya.

The coins of Puru Gupta are of the heavy Archer type apparently belonging to the eastern provinces of the empire of his predecessors.³ Some of the coins hitherto attributed to him have the reverse legend Sri Vikramah⁴ and possible traces of the fuller title of Vikramaditya. Allan identifies him with king Vikramaditya of Ayodhya,

1 When sons succeed a father or mother after a prolonged reign they are usually well advanced in years. In the case of Skanda Gupta we know that already in A.D. 455 he was old enough to lead the struggle against all the enemies of his house and empire in succession.

2 Ep. Ind., XXI. 77; ASI, AR, 1934-35, 63.

3 Allan, pp. Ixxx, xcvi.

4 Mr. S. K. Sarasvatl attributes these coins to Budha Gupta (*Indian Culture*, I, 692). This view, however, is not accepted by Prof. Jagan Nath (*Summaries of paper submitted to the 13th All India Oriental Conference*, Nagpur, 1946, Sec. IX p. 11). According to Mr. Jagan Nath the reading is definitely Puru and not Budha. As to the title Vikramaditya, see Allan, p. cxxii.

father of Baladitya, who was a **patron of Buddh**^m through the influence of Vasubandhu. The **importance** of this identification lies in the fact that it proves **that the** immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a **capital** at Ayodhya probably till the rise of the Maukharis. If the spurious Gaya plate is to be believed Ayodhya was the seat of a Gupta *jaya-slcandhava*, or 'catnp of victory/ as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. The principal capital of Baladitya and his successors appears to have been Kasi.¹

The identification proposed by Allan also suggests that Puru Gupta could not have flourished much later than 472 A.D., for a Chinese history of the Indian patriarchs belonging to that year mentions "Ba-su-ban-da." ²

The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to show that a king styled Prakasaditya came shortly after Skanda Gupta. Prakasaditya may be regarded as possibly a *biruda* or secondary epithet of Puru Gupta or of one of his immediate successors. Even if we think with Allan that Puru had the title Vikramaditya there is no inherent improbability in his having an additional *Aditya* title. That the same king might have two "*Aditya*^* names is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta (Vikramaditya and Kramaditya) and Siladitya Dharmaditya of ValabhL But the identification of Prakasaditya still remains *sub judice*. His coins are of the combined horseman and lion-slayer type. The "horseman type" was associated with the southern provinces of the empire of the **Guptas**⁴ and the lion-slayer type with the north.⁴

,1 CU.285.

2 JRAS, 1905, 40. This is now confirmed by the seal which **represents** Puru as the father of Budha (476-95.)

3 Allan, p. lxxxvi.

4 *Ibid*, xci,

Puru Gupta seems to have been succeeded by his son **Narasimha Gupta Baladitya**. This king has been identified with king Baladitya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned the tyrant Mihirakula. It has been overlooked that Hiuen Tsang's Baladitya was the immediate successor of Tathagata Gupta,¹ who was himself the immediate successor of Bud(d)ha Gupta,² whereas Narasimha Gupta Baladitya was the son and successor of Puru Gupta who in his turn was the son of Kumara Gupta I and the successor of Skanda Gupta. The son and successor of Hiuen Tsang's Baladitya was Vajra³ while the son and successor of Narasimha was Knmara Gupta II. It is obvious that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Puru Gupta but an altogether different individual.⁴ The existence of several kings of the eastern part of the *Madhyadesa* having the *biruda* Baladitya is proved by the Sarnath Inscription of Prakataditya.⁵ Narasimha Gupta must have died in or about the year

1 *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 111. *Si-yu-ki*. II, p. 168.

2 *Fo-to-kio-to*. Beal, Fleet and Watters render the term by Buddha Gupta, a name unknown to imperial Gupta epigraphy. The synchronism of his second successor Baladitya with Mihirakula proves that Buddha Gupta is meant. We have other instances of corruption of names, e.g. Skanda is transformed into Skandha in several Puranic lists of the so-called Andhra dynasty.

3 *Yuan Chwang* II, p. 165.

4 Drs. Bhattasali and Basak, who uphold the identification of Hiuen Tsang's Baladitya with the son of Puru Gupta do not apparently attach due weight to the evidence of the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 111, which, as we shall see later on, is corroborated by the combined testimony of the Sarnath inscription of Prakataditya and the *Arya-Manju-iri-mula-kalpa*. The evidence of these documents suggests that Hiuen Tsang's Baladitya was identical with Bhanu Gupta and was the father of Prakataditya and Vajra.

5 CII, p. 285. A Baladitya is mentioned in the Nalanda Stone Inscription of Yasovarman (*Ep. Ind.*, 1929, Jan., 38) and also a seal (*Sri Nalandayam Sri Baladitya Gandhakudi*, MASI, 66, 3=).

A.D. 473. He was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta II Krataaditya by queen Mitradevi.¹

The coins of Narasimha and his successor belong to two varieties of the Archer type. One class of these coins was, according to Allan, apparently intended for circulation in the lower Ganges valley, and the other may have been issued in the upper provinces. The inclusion of Eastern India within the dominions of Baladiffya (*Balakhya*) and Kumara (II) is vouched for by the *Arya-Manjusri-mula-halpa*.²

1 It is suggested in *Ep. Ind.*, xxi, 77 (clay seals of Nalanda) and *ASI, AR* 1934-35, 63, that the name of Kumara Gupta's mother has to be read as Mitradevi and not Srimatl devi or Lakshmidivi.

2 Ganapati Sastri's ed. p. 630. Cf. Jayaswal, *Imperial History*.33.

*Balakhya namasau nripatir bhavita Purva-deiakah
tasyaparena nripatih Gaudanam prabhavishnavah
Kutnarakhyo natnatah proktah so'pir atyanta dharmavan.*

SECTION III. KUMARA GUPTA II AND VISHNUGUPTA.

Kumara Gupta II of the Bhitari seal, son of Narasiniha Gupta, has been identified with Kramaditya of certain coins of the Archer type that are closely connected with the issues of Narasiniha Baladitya. He is also identified with king Kumara Gupta mentioned in the Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 154 G. E., i.e., A.D. 473-74.¹ Drs. Bhattasali, Basak and some other scholars think that the Kumara Guptas of the Bhitari seal and the Sarnath epigraph were distinct individuals. The former places Kumara, son of Narasimha, long after A.D. 500.² But his theory is based upon the doubtful identification of Narasimha with the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Dr. Basak Kumara of the Sarnath Inscription was the immediate successor of Skanda. In his opinion there were two rival Gupta lines ruling simultaneously, one consisting of Skanda, Kumara of Sarnath and Budha, the other comprising, Puru, KTarasimha and his son Kumara of the Bhitari seal. But there is not the slightest evidence of a partition of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. On the contrary inscriptions and coins prove that both Skanda and Budha ruled over the whole empire from Bengal to the West. We have already seen that according to the traditional account of the *Arya-Manjusrl-mula-lcalpa* the kingdom of Balakhya, t.e., Baladitya and his successor Kumara embraced the *Purva-desa* (Eastern India) including Gauda (Western and part of Northern Bengal).³ How

1 See ASI, AR, 1914-15, 124, *Hindus than Review*, Jan., 1918, *Ann. Bhand. Inst.*, 1918-19. 67 ff. and **JBORS**, iv, 344, **412**, for the views of Venis, Pathak, Panday, Pannafall and others.

2 *Dacca Review*, May and June, 1920, pp. 54-57.

3 *Arya-Manjmrl-mula-kalpa*, G. festri's ed., pp. 630 f.

can we reconcile the rule of these kings with the contemporary sovereignty of a rival line represented by Skanda and Budha?¹ There is no cogent reason for doubting the identity of Kumara of the Bhitari seal with his namesake of the Sarnath inscription.

Kumara IPs reign must have terminated in or about the year A.D. 476-77, the first known date of Budha Gupta.³ The reigns of Puru, Narasimha and Kumara II appear to be abnormally short, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-77). This is by no means a unique case. In Venig three Eastern Chalukya monarchs, viz., Vijayaditya IV, his son Ammaraja I, and Ammaraja's

1 The seal of Budha Gupta (MASB, No. 66. p. 64) proves conclusively that Budha, far from belonging to a rival line, was actually a son of Puru Gupta. It also negatives the late date for Puru Gupta suggested by Dr. Bhattasali.

2 One of the successors of Kumara (II), son of Baladitya, is according to the *Arya-Manjusrmula-kalpa*, a prince styled *Ukarakhya*. That appellation may according to Jayaswal apply to Prakasaditya, for Allan finds the letters *ru* or *u* on his coins. But the identification of a prince whose designation was *u*, *U(karakhya)*, with Budha Gupta (Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 38), does not seem to be plausible. The passage in the *Arya-Manjusri-mula-kalpa* suggests a name like Upagupta or Upendra. Though there is no direct epigraphic evidence for the name Upagupta, the existence of such a prince does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that an Upagupta is mentioned in Maukhari records as the mother of Isanavarman [Aslrgadh (Fleet, C II, p. 220) and Nalanda (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 74) seals], Cf. Bhanu Gupta and Bhanu Gupta, Harsha Gupta and Harsha Gupta, Mahasena Gupta and Mahasena Gupta. On the analogy of these cases it is possible that there was a prince named Upagupta, apparently the brother of Upa Gupta. If this surmise be correct Upagupta may have to be placed in the same period as the mother of Isanavarman, *.=., in the first half of the sixth century A.D., sometime after Budha Gupta. *Uu* is the initial of *Upendra* (Vishnu or Krishna) and not of *Upagupta*, it may refer to Vishnu Gupta or to Krishna Gupta, just as *Somakhya* has reference to the Gauda king Sasanka. The existence of a son of Kumara Gupta II named *Maharajadhiraja Sri Vithnu Gupta* has recently been disclosed by a fragmentary seal at Nalanda (*Ep. Ind.* XXVI. 235; / *H. Q.* XIX. 19). It is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say whether he was the immediate successor of his father, or had to wait till the death of his great uncle Budha Gupta. Those who place him and his father *after* Budha Gupta, have to dissociate Kumara of the Bhitari and Nalanda seals from the homonymous prince of Sarnath. This is not improbable but must await future discoveries for confirmation.

son, another Vijayaditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months.¹ In Kasmira six kings, Suravarman I, Partha, Sambhuvardhana, Chakravarman, Uniiiattavanti and Suravarman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-39); and three generations of kings, viz., Yasaskara, his uncle Varnata, and his son Samgramadeva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-49). A fragmentary seal discovered at Nalanda refer to his son **Vishqu Gupta** who is probably to be identified with Chandraditya of the coins.

SECTION IV. BUDHA GUPTA.

For Budha Gupta, now known to have been a son of Puru Gupta¹ we have a number of dated inscriptions and coins which prove that he ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 477-c 495).

Two copper-plate inscriptions discovered in the village of Damodarpur in the district of Dinajpur, testify to the fact that Budha Gupta's empire included Puridravardhana *bhukti* (roughly North Bengal) which was governed by his viceroys (*Uparika Maharaja*) Brahmadatta and Jayadatta.² The Sarnath inscription of A.D. 476-77 proves his possession of the Kasi country. In A.D. 484-85 the erection of a *dhvaja-stambha* or flag staff in honour of Janardana, i.e., Vishnu, by the Maharaja Matrivishnu, ruler of Eran, and his brother Dhanyavishnu, while the *Bhupati* (King) Budha Gupta was reigning, and *Maharaja* Surasmichandra was governing the land between the Kalindi (Jumna) and the Narmada, (Nerbudda) indicates that Budha Gupta's dominions included part of Central India as well as Kasi and North Bengal.

The coins of this emperor are dated in the year A.D. c. 495. They continue the peacock-type of the Gupta silver coinage that was meant, according to Allan, for circulation in the central part of the empire.³ Their

1 Seal of Budha Gupta (MASB, No. 66, p. 64.)

2 To the reign of this Gupta king belongs also probably the Pahadpur (ancient Somapura) (Rajshahi District) plate of A.D. 478-79 (*Mod. Rev.* 1931, 150 ; *Prabasi*, 1338, 671; *Ep. Ind.* XX, 59 ff.) and also a copper-plate of A.D. 488-9 (*Ep. Ind.* xxiii. 52), originally found at Nandapura (JMonghyr District). For a possible reference to Budha Gupta in Puranic literature, see *Pro. of the Seventh Or. Conf.*, 576.

3 Cf. also *Mahabharata*, ii. 32. 4.

legend is the claim to be lord 'of the earth and to have won heaven,—found on the coins of Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta.

SECTION V. SUCCESSORS OF BUDHA GUPTA.

According to the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* Budha Gupta was succeeded by **Tathagata** Gupta, after whom **Baldditya** succeeded to the empire.¹ At this period the supremacy of the Guptas in Central India was challenged by the Hun king Toramana. We have seen that in -A.D. 484-85 a *Maharaja* named Matrivishnu ruled in the Airikina *Vishaya* (Eran in Eastern Malwa, now in the Saugor District of the Central Provinces) as a vassal of the emperor Budha Gupta. But after his death his younger brother Dhanyavishnu transferred his allegiance to Toramana. The success of the Huns in Central India was, however, short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general named Goparaja fighting by the side of a Gupta king at Eran and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Dabhala to the south-east of Eran acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In A. D. 518 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripuri *vishaya* (Jubbulpore District). In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the *Parivrajaka-Maharaja* of Dabhala. The *Parivrajahas* Hastin and Samkshobha seem to have been the bulwarks of the Gupta empire in the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The *Harslia-cliarita* of Bana recognises the possession of Malava, possibly Eastern Malwa, by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhakara-var dhana (*cir.* A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from parts of Central India was final,³ The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably

1 Beal, *Siyu-hi*, I I, p. 168 ; the *Life*, p. 111.

2 For the survival of the Haas in the Malwa region, See *Ep. Ind.* xxiii. 102.

effected in the time of Baladitya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramana, and set him at liberty at the request of the Queen Mother. The Hun king had to be content with a "small kingdom in the north."¹ It is not improbable that Baladitya was a *biruda* of the "glorious **Bhanu Gupta**, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Partha" along with whom Goparaja went to Eran and having fought a "very famous battle" died shortly before A.D. 510-11.²

Mihirakula was finally subjugated by the *Janendra*³ **Yasodharman** of Mandasor some time before A.D. 533,

1 *Si-yu-ki*, p. 171.

2 In a Nalanda Stone Inscription (*Ep, Ind.*, XX, 43-45) Baladitya is described as a king of irresistible valour and vanquisher of all foes. The last of the Baladityas mentioned in a Sarnath Inscription (Fleet, CII, 285 f.) had a son named Prakataditya by his wife Dhavala. In the *Arya-Manjusri-mula-kalpa* (ed. G. Sastri, p. 637 ff.) *Pukarakhya* (Prakataditya) is represented as the son of *Bhakarakhya* (Bhanu Gupta). Buddhist tradition thus corroborates the identification, first proposed in these pages, of Baladitya with Bhanu Gupta. Cf. now Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 47, 53. An inscription found at Gunaighara near CorrtiHa and certain seals at Nalanda disclose the existence of a king named (Vai) nya Gu(pta) who ruled in or about A.D. 507 and must have been also a contemporary of Mihirakula or of his father (*Prabasi*, 1338, 675 ; *IHQ*, 1930, 53, 561). The seals give him the style *Maharajadhiraja* (*ASI*, AR, 1930-34, Pt. I, 230, 249; *MAI*, 66, 67 ; *IHQ*, XIX, 275) and suggest relationship with the imperial Guptas. Dr. D. C. Ganguly identifies him with the *Dvadakaditya* of coins (*IHQ*, 1933, 784, 989). But owing to damaged condition of the Nalanda seal his parentage cannot be ascertained.

3 The ascription of the title of Vikramaditya to Yasodharman of Mandasor, and the representation of this chief as a ruler of Ujjain, the father of Slladitya of Mo-la-po and the father-in-law of Prabhakara-var dhana are absolutely unwarranted. 'According to Father Heras (*JBORS*, 1927, March, 8-9) the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Baladitya took place after the Hun king's conflict with Yasodharman. It should, however, be remembered that at the time of the war with Baladitya Mihirakula was a paramount sovereign to whom the king of Magadha had been tributary, and with whom he dared not fight, being only anxious to *conceal his poor person* (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 168). This is hardly possible after the *Janendra* of Mandasor had compelled the Hun "to pay respect to his two feet". The victory of Baladitya over Mihirakula was certainly not decisive. The "loss of the royal estate" was only temporary, and the tyrant soon placed himself on the throne of Kasralra and conquered

Line 6 of the Mandasor Stone Pillar inscription¹ leaves the impression that in the time of Yasodharman Mihirakula was the king of a Himalayan country ("small kingdom in the north"), *ie.*, Kasmira and that neighbourhood, who was compelled "to pay respect to the two feet" of the victorious *Janendra* probably when the latter carried his arms to "the mountain of snow the tablelands of which are embraced by the Ganga."

Yasodharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Lauhifcya or Brahmaputra in the east. It is not improbable that he defeated and killed **Vajra**, the son of Baladitya,² and extinguished the viceregal family of the Dattas of Pundra-varadhana. Hiuen Tsang mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. The Dattas, who governed Pundra-varadhana from the time of Kumara Gupta I, disappear about this time. But Yasodharman's success must have been short-lived,

Gandhara (Beal, II, 171). To the court-poet of Yasodharman Mihirakula was pre-eminently a king of the Himalayan region. This is clear from the* following passage which was misunderstood by Fleet whose interpretation has been followed by Father Heras (p. 8 n) :—

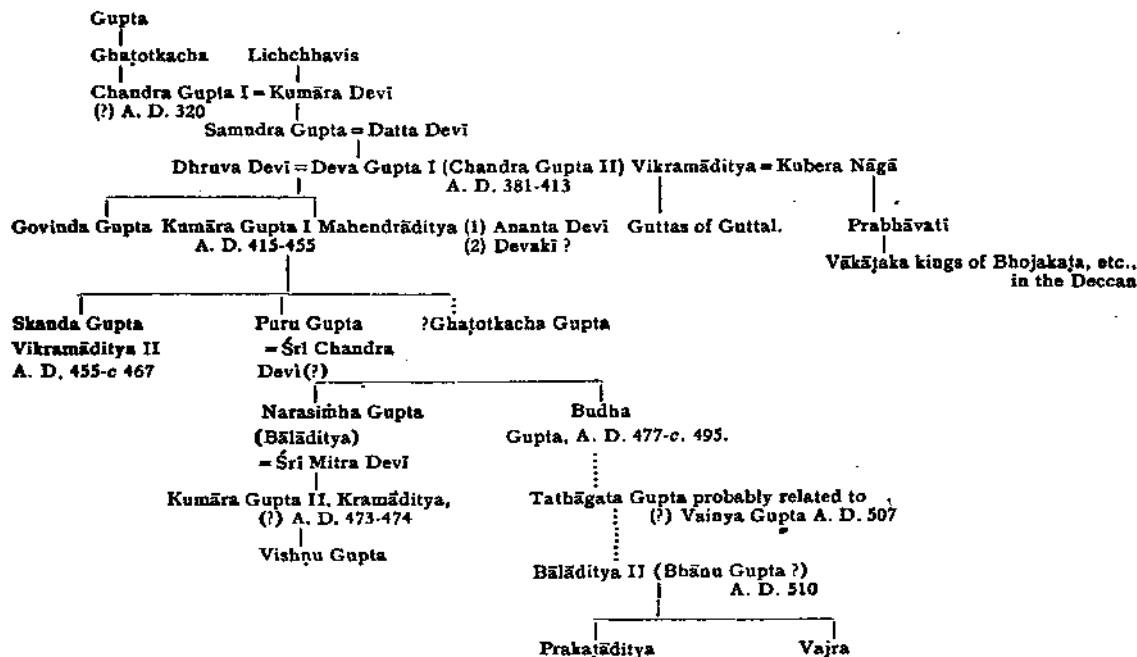
"He (Yasodharman) to whose feet respect was paid...by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthanu (and) *embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself as being styled an inaccessible fortress*" (Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, 1885, p. 219). Kielhorn's interpretation was accepted by Fleet. [The statement that Mihirakula's head 'had never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthanu'¹ shows that he refused to do homage to Baladitya, and probably accounts for the order, given for his execution by that king.]

1 C II, pp. 146-147 ; Jayaswal, *The Historical Position of Kalki*, p. 9.

2 If the identification of Baladitya with Bhariu Gupta first proposed in these pages is correct, his son Vajra may be identified with *VakarBkhyia*, the younger brother (*anuja*) of the Prakataditya of the Sarnath Inscription (Fleet, C II, 284 ff.)— the *Pakarakhya* of the *Arya-Manju&rhtnula-kalpa* who is represented as the son of *Bhakarakhya*, *i. e.*, Bhanu Gupta (ed. G. festrl, pp. 637-44). Prakataditya is represented in the inscription named above as the son of Baladitya by Dhavala. Cf. now Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 47. 53, 56, 63.

because in A.D. 543-44, ten years after the Mandasor inscription which mentions the *Janendra* Yasodharman as victorious, the son (?) and viceroy of a Gupta *parama-bhattaraha maharajadhiraja prithivipati*, 'supreme sovereign, king of kings, lord of the earth,' and not any official of the Central Indian *Janendra*, was governing the Pundra-vardhana-6/m/^i, a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya.

THE EARLY IMPERIAL GUPTAS.



SECTION VI. THE LINE OF KRISHNA GUPTA.

The name of the Gupta emperor in the Damodarpur plate of A.D. 543-44 is unfortunately lost. The Aphsad inscription, however, discloses the names of a number of "Gupta" kings,¹ the fourth of whom, Kumara Gupta (III), was a contemporary of Isanavarman Maukhari who is known from Haraha inscription to have been ruling in A.D. 554^a Kumara Gupta III, and his three predecessors, viz., Krishna, Harsha and Jivita, should probably be placed in the period between A.D. 510, the date of Bhanu Gupta, and 554, the date of Isanavarman. It is possible, but by no means certain, that one of these kings is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the

1 Although the rulers, the names of most of whom ended in—*gupta*, mentioned in the Aphsad and connected contemporary epigraphs, who ruled over the provinces in the heart of the early Gupta empire, are called, "Guptas" for the sake of convenience, their relationship with the early *Gupta-kula* or *Gupta-vamia* is not known. It is, however, to be noted that some of them (e.g., Kumara Gupta and Deva Gupta), bore names that are found in the earlier family* and Krishna Gupta, the founder of the line, has been identified by some with Govinda Gupta, son of Chandra Gupta II. But the last suggestion is hardly acceptable, because Govinda must have flourished more than half a century before Krishna Gupta. And it is surprising that the panegyrists of Krishna Gupta's descendants should have omitted all references to the early Guptas if their patrons could really lay claim to such an illustrious ancestry. In the Aphsad inscription the dynasty is described simply as *Sad-vamsa* 'of good lineage.' The designation *Gupta*, albeit not "*Early Imperial Gupta*," is possibly justified by the evidence of Bana. The Guptas and the Gupta *Kulaputra* mentioned in Baria's *Kadambxri* and *Harsha-charita* may refer to the family of Krishna, if not to some hitherto unknown descendants of the early imperial line. One of the princes of the early Gupta line, Ghatotkacha Gupta of the Tumain inscription is known to have ruled over Eastern Malwa and it is not impossible that Krishna Gupta was, in some way, connected with him. We must, however, await future discoveries to clear up the point.

2 H. SSstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 110 ff.

Damodarpur plate of A.D. 543-44.¹ The absence of high-sounding titles like *Maharajddhiraja* or *Pamma-hhattaralca* in the *Solcas* or verses of the Apsad inscription does not necessarily prove that the icings mentioned there were petty chiefs. No such titles are attached to the name of Kumara I in the Mandator inscription, or to the name of Budha in the Eran inscription. On the other hand the queen of Madhava Gupta-, one of the least powerful kings mentioned in the Apsad inscription, is called *Parama-hhattarika* and *Mahadevl* in the Deo Baranark epigraph.

Regarding **Krishna Gupta** we know very little. The Apsad inscription describes him as a hero whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemy (*driptarati*), (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes. The *driptarati* against whom he had to fight may have been Yasodbarman. The next king **Deva Sri Harsha Gupta** had to engage in terrible contests with those who were "averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him, her) own lord/' There were wounds from many weapons on his chest. The name of the enemies, who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions, are not given. Harsha's son **Jivita Gupta 1** probably succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family in the territory lying between the Himalayas and the sea, apparently in Eastern India. "The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores

1 Mr. Y. R. Gupte (*Ind. Hist. Journal*) reads the name of Kumara in the inscription of A. D. 543-44, but he identifies him with the son of Narasimha Gupta. The ruler whose name is missing may represent one or other of the "Gupta" lines already known to scholars or some new line. Cf. the cases of Vainya Gupta and the princes mentioned on pp. 214-15 of *Ep. Ind.* xx, Appendix.

that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms ; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himalaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow." The "haughty foes" on seaside shores were probably the Gaudas who had already launched into a career of conquest about this time and who are described as living on the sea shore (*samudr-asraya*) in the Haraha inscription of A. D. 554.¹ The other enemies may have included ambitious *Kimarwinatyas* like Nandana of the Amauna plate.

The next king, **Kumara Gupta III**, had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Gaudas were issuing from their "proper realm" which was Western Bengal as it bordered on the sea and included Karnasuvarna² and Radhapuri.³ The lord of the Andhras who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, and the Sfilikas *Avho* had an army of countless galloping horses, were powers to be reckoned with. The Andhra king was probably Madhava-varman (I, Janasraya) of the Polamuru plates belonging to the Vishnukundin family who "crossed the river Godavari with the desire to conquer the eastern region"⁴ and performed eleven horse-sacrifices. The Sillikas were probably the Chalukyas.⁶ In the Mahakfita pillar

1 Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 *et seq.*

2 M. Chakravarti, JASB, 1908, p. 274.

3 *Prabodha-chandrodaya*, Act II.

4 Dubreuil, AHD, p. 92 and D. C. Sircar, IHQ, 1933, 276 ff.

5 In the *Bnhat-Samhita*, IX. 15 ; XIV. 8, the Sulikas and Saulikas are associated with Aparanta (N. Konkan), Vanavasi (Kanara) and Vidarbha (Berar). In *Brih. Sam.*, IX. 21 ; X. 7, XVI. 35, however, they are associated with Gandhara and Vokkana (Wakhan). A branch of the people may have dwelt in the north-west. In JRAS, 1912, 128, we have a reference to Kulastambha of the Sulki family. Tiranatha (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, 364) places the kingdom of "Sulik" beyond "Togara" (Ter in the Deccan ?).

inscription the name appears as Chalikyn. In the Gujarat records we find the forms Solaki and Solanki. Siilika may have been another dialectic variant. The Mahakilta pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D., Kirtivarman I of the "Chalikya" dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vanga, Ariga, Magadha, etc. His father is known to have performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, "the super-eminent touch-stone to test the might of warriors conquering the world and an indication of the conquest of all the warriors." Prince Kirtivarman may have been entrusted with the guardianship of the sacrificial steed that had to roam about for a year in the territories of the rulers to whom a challenge was thrown by the performer of the sacrifice.

A new power was rising in the Upper Ganges Valley which was destined to engage in a death grapple with the Guptas for the mastery of Northern India. This was the Mukhara or **Maukhari**¹ power. The Maukharis claimed descent from the hundred sons whom king Asvapati got from Vaivasvata, i.e., Yama² (not Mann). The family consisted of several distinct groups. The stone inscriptions of one group have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bara Banki districts of the United Provinces, while lithic records of another group have been discovered in the Gaya district of Bihar. A third family has left inscription at Badva in the Kotah state in Rajputana. The Maukharis of Gaya, namely, Yajnavarman, Sardulavarman and Anantavarman were a

1 The family was called both Mukhara and Maukhari. "*Soma-Surya-vamiva Pushpabhuti* (sic) *Mukhara Vatitsau*", "*sakalabhuvana ttamaskrito Maukhari vamsah*" (*Harsha-charita*, Parab'sed., pp. 141, 146). Cf. also CII, p. 229.

2 Mbh., III. 296. 38 ff. The reference is undoubtedly to the hundred sons that Asvapati obtained as a boon from Yama on the intercession of his daughter Savitri. It is surprising that some writers still identify the Vaivasvata of the Maukhari record with Manu.

feudatory family. Sardula is expressly called *samanta chudamani*, 'crest-jewel of vassal chiefs' in the Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of his son.¹ The Badva Maukharis held the office of general or military governor under some Prince of Western India in the third century A. D. The Maukharis of the United Provinces² probably also held a subordinate rank at first. The earliest princes of this family, *vh.*, Harivarman, Adityavarman, and Isvaravarman, were simply *Maharajas*. Adityavarman's wife was Harsha Gupta, probably a sister of king Harsha Gupta. The wife of his son and successor Isvaravarman was also probably a Gupta princess named Upa-Gupta. In the Haraha inscription **Isanavarman**, son of Isvaravarman and Upa-Gupta,³ claims victories over the **Andhras**,⁴ the **Sulikas** and the **Gaudas** and is the first to assume the Imperial title of *Maharajadhiraja*. It was this which probably brought him into conflict with king Kumara

1 CII, p. 223. The connection of the Maukharis with Gaya is very old. This is proved by the clay seal with the inscription *Mokhaltsa*, or *MokhaUnam* (Fleet, CII, 14), to which attention has already been drawn above. A reference to the *Mokaris* seems also to occur in the Chandravalli Stone Inscription of the Kadamba king Mayurasarman (*Arch. Survey of Mysore*, A. R. 1929, pp. 50 ff). Dr. Tripathi finds a possible reference in the *Mahabhashya* (JBORS, 1934, March). For the Badva ins., see *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 42 ff. (Altekar).

2 In literature the Maukhari of U. P. is associated with the city of Kanauj which may have been the capital at one time. Cf. C. V. Vaidya, *Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, pp. 9, 33 ; Aravamuthan, *the Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, p. 101. Hiuen Tsang, however, declares Kanauj to have been included within the realm of the House of Pushyabhuti even before Harsha. A Gupta noble was in possession of Kusasthala (Kanauj) for some time after the death of Rajyavardhana and before the rise of Harsha. (Harsha-Charita. Parab's ed pp. 226, 249).

3 Fleet, CII. 220.

4 The victory over the Andhras is also alluded to in the Jaunpur stone inscription (CII, p. 230) which, according to Fleet, also seems to refer to a conflict with Dhara, the capital of Western Malava (?). Dr. Basak thinks that *Dhara* in this passage refers to the edge of the sword (*Hist. N. E. Ind.*, 109).

Gupta III.¹ Thus began a duel between the Maukliaris and the Guptas which ended only when the latter with the help of the Gaudas wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana.²

We have seen that Isanavarman's mother and grandmother were probably Gupta princesses. The mother of Prabhakaravardhana, the other empire-builder of the second half of the sixth century, appears also to have been a Gupta princess. It seems that the Gupta marriages in this period were as efficacious in stimulating imperial ambitions³ as the Lichchhavi marriages of more ancient times.

Kumara Gupta III claims to have "churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Isanavarman, a very moon among kings."⁴ This is not an empty boast, for the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over the Guptas. Kumara Gupta III's funeral rites took place at Prayaga which probably formed a part of his dominions.

The son and successor of this king was **Damodara Gupta**. He continued the struggle with the Maukharis⁵ and fell fighting against them. "Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the

1 Any one acquainted with the history of Europe knows that enumeration as ~ I, II, III etc. need not imply that the kings in question belonged to the same dynasty.

2 The successors of Grahavarman may have survived as petty nobles. With them a "Liber Gupta" king contracted a matrimonial alliance in the seventh century A. D.

3 Cf. Hoernle, J R AS, 1903, p. 557.

4 Apsad Ins.

5 The Maukhari opponent of Damodara Gupta was either Suryavarman or Saravarman (both being sons of Isanavarman), if not Isanavarman himself. A Suryavarman is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahasiva Gupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of their *adhipatya* (supremacy) over Magadha." If this Suryavarman be identical with,

Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the **HQttjas** (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired¹ in the fight)."

Damodara Gupta was succeeded by his son **Mahasena Gupta**. He is probably the king of Malava, possibly Eastern Malwa, mentioned in the *Harsha-charita*, whose sons Kumara Gupta and Madhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rajya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana by their father, king Prabhakara-vardhana of the Pushyabhilti family of Srikantha (Thanesar). The intimate relation between the family of Mahasena Gupta and that of Prabhakara-vardhana is proved by the Maclhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahasena Gupta Devi as "the mother of Prabhakara, and the Apsad inscription of Adityasena which alludes to the association of Madhava Gupta, son of Mahasena Gupta, with Harsha.

The Pushyabhilti alliance of Mahasena Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukharis.² The policy was eminently successful, and

or a descendant of, SURyavarman, the son of Isanavarman, then it is certain that for a time the supremacy of Magadha passed from the hands of the Guptas to that of the Maukharis. The Deo-Baranark Inscription (Shahabad District) of Jivita Gupta II also suggests (CII, pp. 216-218) that the Maukharis Sarvavarman and Avantivarman held a considerable part of Magadha some time after Baladitya-deva. After the loss of Magadha the later Guptas were apparently confined to "Malava," till Mahasena Gupta once more pushed his conquests as far as the Lauhitya.

1 Reference to *Mahabharata*, XII. 98. 46-47; *Raghuvamya*, VII. 53; *Kavyadarsa*, II, 119; *Rajatarangint*, 1. 68. shows that the objections raised against the interpretation of Fleet are invalid. The significance of the touch of *Surabadhli*s as distinct from a human being, is entirely missed by a writer in Bhand. Com. Vol. 181, and a reviewer of Dr. Tripathi's *History of Ancient India*.

2 And perhaps of other aggressive States mentioned in the beginning of the fourth *Uchchhvasa* of the *Harsha-charita*. The Latas of that passage may have reference to the Katanchhuris who finally ousted the Guptas from Vidisg in or about A. D. 603. The Katanchhuri (Kalachuri) dominions included the Lata

during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in **Kamarupa** by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthitavarman¹ of this family came into conflict with Mahasena Gupta and was defeated. "The mighty fame of Mahasena Gupta," says the Apjhsad inscription, "marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman.... is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya."

Between Mahasena Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhakara-vardhana, and his younger or youngest son Madhava Gupta, the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king named **Deva Gupta II**² who is mentioned by name in the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings "who resembled wicked horses", who were all punished and restrained in their evil career by Rajya-vardhana. As the Gupta princes are uniformly connected with Malava in the *Harsha-charita* there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked lord of Malava who cut off Grahavarman Maukhari, and who Avas himself defeated "with ridiculous ease" by Rajya-vardhana.³ It is difficult

country in the latter part of the sixth and the first decade of the seventh century A.D. (Dubreuil. A.H.D., 82).

1 See the Nidhanapur plates. A writer in the JRAS (1928) revives the theory that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari and not a king of Kamarupa. But no Maukhari king of that name is known. The association of Susthitavarman with the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra clearly shows that the king of that name mentioned in the Nidhanapur plates is meant.

2 The Emperor Chandra Gupta II was Deva Gupta I.

3 It is difficult to believe, as does a recent writer, that the Malava antagonist of Grahavarman and Rajya-vardhana was Buddharaja of the Kalachuri (Katachuri) family. Had that been the case then it is rather surprising that a shadowy figure like Devagupta, and not Buddha-rajya, would be specially selected in the epigraphic records of the time of Harsha, for prominent notice among "the kings who resembled wicked horses," who received punishment at the hand of Rajya-vardhana. It is the 'Guptas' who are associated with Malava in the *Harsha-*

to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahasena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumara Gupta and Madhava Gupta.¹ His name is omitted in the Apsad list of kings, just as the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted in the Bhitari list.

Shortly before his death, king Prabhakara-vardhana had given his daughter Rajyasri in marriage to Grahavarman, the eldest son of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. The alliance of the Pushyabhittis with the sworn enemies of his family must have alienated Deva Gupta, who formed a counter-alliance with the Gaudas whose hostility towards the Maukharis dated from the reign of Isanavarman. As soon as Prabhakara died the Gupta king and the Gauda king, Sasauka,² seem to have made a joint attack on the Maukhari kingdom. "Graha-varman was by the wicked *raja* of Malava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rajyasri also, the princess, was confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet

charita which deals mainly with events till the rescue of Rajyasri. The rulers mentioned in connection with the tragic fate of the last of the Maukharis, the vicissitudes through which Rajyasri passed, and the struggles in which Rajyavardhana engaged, include Guptas and Gaudas but no Katakchuri king.

1 Hoernle. JRAS, 1903, p. 562. The suggestion, however, cannot be regarded as a well-established fact. Devagupta may have represented a collateral line of the Malava family who continued to pursue a policy hostile to the Pushyabhittis and the Maukharis, while Kumara, Madhava, the Gupta *Kulaputra* who connived at the escape of Rajyasri from Kusasthala (Kanauj), and Adityasena, son of Madhava, who gave his daughter in marriage to a Maukhari, may have belonged to a friendly branch.

2 There is no reason to believe that Sasauka belonged to the Gupta family (cf. Allan, *Gupta Coins*, lxiv). Even if it be proved that he had a secondary name, Narendra Gupta, that by itself cannot establish a connection with the Gupta line in view of (a) the absence of any reference to his supposed 'Gupta ancestry in his own seal matrix ins. or in the record of his feudatories, (b) the use of the *Namlidhvaja* to the exclusion of the *Garudadhvaja*, (c) his Gauda connection. The epithet '*Samudrasraya*' applied to the Gaudas of the sixth century A. D., can hardly be regarded as an apposite characterisation of the Guptas of Magadha, Prayaga or Malwa.

and cast into prison at Kanyakubja." "The villain, deeming the army leaderless purposes to invade and seize this country (Thanesar) as well."¹ Rajya-vardhana, though he routed the Malava army "with ridiculous ease," was "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the overlord of Gauda, and then weaponless, confiding and alone despatched in his own quarters."

To meet the formidable league between the Guptas and the Gaudas, Harsha, the successor of Rajya-vardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhaskara-varman, king of Kamarupa, whose father Susthita-varman Mriganka had fought against Mahasena Gupta. This alliance was disastrous for the Gaudas as we know from the Nidhanapur plates of Bhaskara. At the time of the issuing of the plates Bhaskara-varman was in possession of the city of Karnasuvarna that had once been the capital of the Gauda king, Sasanka, whose death took place some time between A.D. 619 and 637. The king overthrown by Bhaskara-varman may have been Jayanaga (*nagaraja-samahvayo Gaudaraja*, the king of Gauda named Naga, successor of *Somakhya* or Sasanka), whose name is disclosed by the Vappaghoshavata inscription.² The Gauda people, however, did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kamarupa, and their hostility towards those two powers was inherited by the Pala and Sena successors of Sasanka.

In or about A.D. 608 the Guptas seem to have lost Vidisa to the Katachchuris. Magadha was held a little before A.D. 637 by Piirnavarman. **Midhava Gupta**, the younger or youngest son of Mahasena Gupta, remained a subordinate ally of Harsha of Thanesar and Kanauj, and

1 *Harsha-charita*, *Uchchhvasa* 6, p. 183.

2 Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 60 ff; *Arya-Manjusri-mula-kalpa* ed. G Ssstri, p. 636. The *nzmajaya* is also given in the Buddhist work.

Q. P. 90—77.

apparently resided at his court. In the period 618-27, Harsha 'punished the kings of four parts of India* and in 641 assumed the title of King of Magadha.¹ After his death the Gupta sovereignty in Magadha was revived by **Sdityasena**, a prince of remarkable vigour and ability, who found his opportunity in the commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna (?). For this "Later Gupta" king we have a number of inscriptions which prove that he ruled over a wide territory extending to the shores of the oceans. The Aphsad, Shahpur and Mandara inscriptions recognise his undisputed possession of south and part of east Bihar. A Deoghar inscription, noticed by Fleet,² describes him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the seas, and the performer of the *Asvamedha* and the other great sacrifices. He renewed contact with the Gaudas as well as the Maukharis and received a Gaula named Sukshamsiva in his service. A Maukhari chief, Bhogavarman, accepted the hands of his daughter³ and presumably became his subordinate ally. The Deo-Baranark inscription refers to the *Jayaslcandhavam* of his great-grandson Jivita Gupta II at Gomatikottaka. This clearly suggests that the so-called Later Guptas, and not the Maukharis, dominated about this time the Gomati valley in the *Madhya-desa*. The Mandara inscription applies to Adityasena the imperial titles of *Parama-bhattaraka* and *Mahdrajadhira*. We learn from the Shahpur stone image inscription that he was ruling in the year A. D. 672-73. It is not improbable that he or his son Deva Gupta (III) is the *Sakalottara-patha-iatha*, lord of the whole of North India,

1 *hid. Ant.* IX. 19.

2 *CLI*, p. 213 a. Aditya is-said to have performed three *Ahvattedha* sacrifices.

3 *Kielhom*, *INI*, 541.

who was defeated by the Chalukya kings Vinayaditya (A.D. 680-96) and Vijayaditya.¹

We learn from the Deo-Baranark inscription that Adityasena was succeeded by his son **Deva Gupta** (III), who in his turn was succeeded by his son **Vishrju Gupta.**; The last king was **Jivita Gupta II**, son of Vishnu. All these kings continued to assume imperial titles. That these were not empty forms appears from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi which testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. The only North Indian sovereigns, *Uttardpatha-natha*, who laid claim to the Imperial dignity during this period, and actually dominated Magadha and the *Madhya-desa* as is proved by the Apsad and Deo-Baranark inscriptions, were Adityasena and his successors.³

The Gupta empire was probably finally destroyed by the Gaudas who could never forgive Madhava Gupta's desertion of their cause and who may have grown powerful in the service of Adityasena. In the time of Yasovarman of Kanauj, *i.e.*, in the first half of the eighth century A. D., a Gauda king occupied the throne of Magadha.

1 *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. I, Part I I, pp. 189, 368. 371 ; and Kendur plates.

2 This king seems also to be mentioned in an inscription discovered at Mangraon in the Buxar subdivision.

3 For a curious reference to the Chalukyas and king Jih-kwan ('Sun army *i. e.* Adityasena), see I A, X, p. 110.

4 *Cf.* the *Gaudavaho* by Vakpatiraja. Banerji confounds the Gaudas with the later Guptas. In the Haraha Inscription the Gaudas are associated with the sea coast, *Samudrasraya*, while the later Guptas, as is well-known, had their centres in the hinterland including Magadha and Malwa. The people on the seashore were, according to the evidence of the Apsad Inscription, hostile to Jivita Gupta I. The *Praiastikara* of the Apsad record is expressly mentioned as a Gauda, a designation that is never applied to his patrons. The family of Krishna Gupta is simply characterised as *Sadvainsa* and there is not the slightest hint that the kings of the line and their panegyrist belonged to the same nationality. The fact that Gauda is the designation of the lord of Magadha

Petty Gupta Princes, apparently connected with the imperial line, ruled in the Kanarese districts during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A. D. and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Evidence of an earlier connection of the Guptas with the Kanarese country is furnished by the Talagund inscription which says that Kakustha-varman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. In the fifth or sixth century A. D. the Vakataka king Narendrasena, a descendant of Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya through his daughter Prabhavati Gupta, is said to have married a princess of Kuntala, i.e., of the Kanarese region.¹ Curiously enough, the Gutta or Gupta chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya,² lord of Ujjayini.³

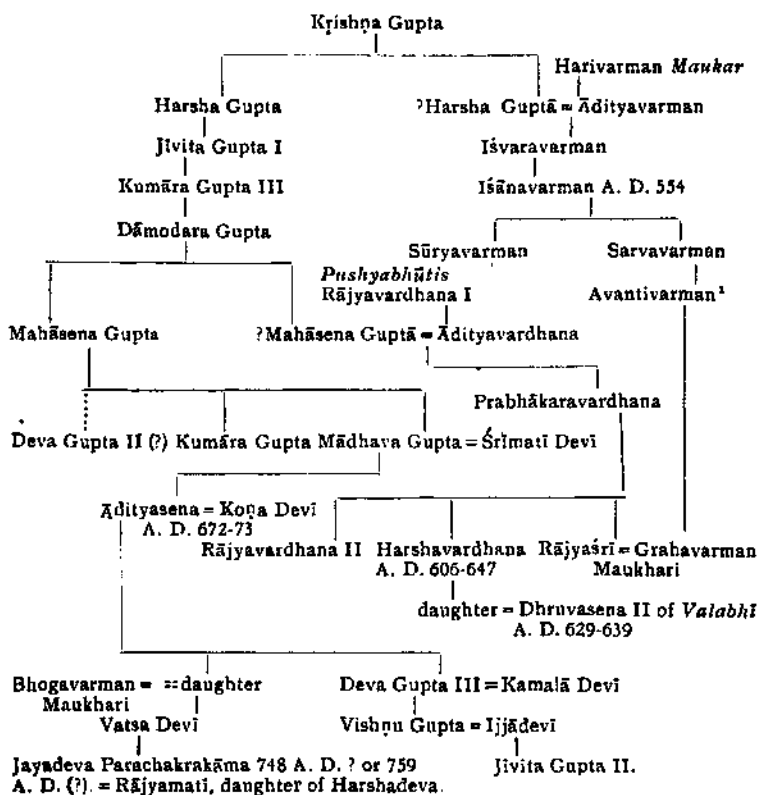
in the days of Yasovarman early in the eighth century cannot be taken to prove that Gauda and later Gupta are interchangeable terms, In this period lordship of Magadha is not inseparably connected only with later Gupta lineage. Cf. the passage *Magadhatipatyamahatam jata kule varmattam*, which proves the existence of non-Gupta lines among rulers of Magadha in this age.

1 Jouveau-Dubreuil, AHD, p. 76.

2 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 578-80. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India," p. 60. I owe this reference to Dr. Bhandarkar.

3 The account of the Later Guptas was first published in the JASB, 1920, No. 7,

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1 A. Ghosh, *Two Maukhari seals from Nalanda*, Ep. xxiv, 285. We have reference to another son of Avantivarman named Suva or Such.....who seems to have succeeded his father. Grahavarman too, has royal epithets in the *Harsha-charita* (pp. 149, 183). The order of succession is not, however, clear from available evidence.

APPENDIX A.

THE RESULTS OF ASOKA'S PROPAGANDA IN "WESTERN ASIA."¹

The vast region beyond the western frontiers of India came within the geographical horizon of Buddhist writers as early as the *Baveru Jataka*, and possibly the *Sussondi Jataka*, and its princes figure not inconspicuously in Buddhist inscriptions of the third century B. C. The records of Asoka show that the eyes of the imperial missionary of Magadlia were turned more to the West than to the JCast; and even the traditional account of early Buddhist proselytising efforts given in the chronicles of Ceylon,³ does not omit to mention the country of the Yonas where MahSrakkhita "delivered in the midst of the people the '*Kalak&rama suttanta*,'¹ in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation) and ten thousand received the *pabbajja*V It will perhaps be argued that the Yona country mentioned in the chronicles is to be identified with some district in the Kabul valley, and is not to be taken to refer to the realm of "Antiochos,"³ the Yona king, and the kings, the neighbours of that Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander," mentioned in the second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Asoka. Rhys Davids, in fact, is inclined to regard the declaration in these edicts about the success of Asoka's

1 Mainly an extract from an article published in the *Buddhistic Studies* (ed. B. C. Law).

2 *Mahavamia*, Ch. XII.

3 Dr. Jarl Charpentier has contributed a paper to *A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapsdn* in which he revives the suggestion of Prinsep (Hultzsch. *Asoka*, xxxi) that "Arhtiyaka" referred to by Asoka is Antiochos Soter (c. 281-61), and not his son Antiochos Theos (261-46). But his theory requires that Chandragupta ascended the throne in 327-25 B.C., that he was identical with Xandrames and that the story of his visit to Alexander (recorded by Justin and Plutarch) is a myth. The theory is opposed not only to the evidence of Justin and Plutarch, but to the known facts about the ancestry of Chandragupta. Unlike Xandrames, Chandragupta is nowhere represented as of barber origin. His paternal ancestors are described as rulers by Brahmanical and Buddhist writers alike,

missionary propaganda in the realms of Yona princes as mere "royal rhodomontade". "It is quite likely," says he, "that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of make-weight, as it were ; and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all."¹ Sir Flinders Petrie is, however, of opinion that in the Ptolemaic Period Buddhism and Buddhist festivals had already reached the shores of Egypt. He infers this from Indian figures found at Memphis. An epigraph from the Thebaid mentions as the dedicator "Sophon the Indian".²

Alberuni,³ writing in the eleventh century A.D. says, "In former times Khurasan, Persis, Irak, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Adharbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole Empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (i.e., Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irak. In consequence the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh....Then came Islam." The above account may not be correct in all its particulars. The statement that Buddhism flourished in the countries of Western Asia before Zoroaster is clearly wrong. But the prevalence of the religion of Sakyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni and its suppression by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the *Bhuridatta Jataka*.⁴ It has even been suggested that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists.⁵

Four centuries before Alberuni, Hiuen Tsang bore witness to the fact that Lang kie(ka)-lo, a country subject to Persia, contained above 100 monasteries and more than 6,000 Brethren

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 298.

2 Mahaffy, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 155 f.

3 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I. p. 21.

4 No. 543.

5 Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 450.

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who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles". Persia (Po-la-sse) itself contained two or three Sangharamas, with several hundred priests, who principally studied the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Sarvastivadin school. The *patra* of Sakya Buddha was in this country, in the King's palace.¹

The Chinese pilgrim did not probably personally visit Persia. But no doubt need be entertained regarding the existence of Buddhist communities and *Sangharamas* or monasteries in Iran. Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in "the terminal marshes of the Helmund" in Seistan.² Mani, the founder of the Manichaean religion, who was born in A.D. 215-16, at Ctesiphon in Babylonia, and began to preach his gospel probably in A.D. 242, shows unmistakable traces of Buddhist influence.³ In his book *Shdb Urqan (Shapuro Jchan)* he speaks of the Buddha as a messenger of God. Legge and Eliot refer to a Manichaean treatise which has the form of a Buddhist Sutra. It speaks of Mani as the *Tathdgata* and mentions *Buddhas* and the *Bodhisattva*. In Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App., II, No. 4, we have reference to a Parthian prince who became a Buddhist *sramaya* or monk before A.D. 148. In his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* Dr. Vincent Smith refers to a picture of a four-armed Buddhist saint or *Bodhisattva* in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his left hand, which has been found at a place called Dandan-Uiliq in Turkistan. Such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Iran, and enjoyed considerable popularity as late as the eighth century A.D. which is the date assigned by Dr. Smith to the fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster discovered at Dandan-Uiliq.

It is difficult to say to what extent Buddhist literature made its influence felt in Western Asia. Sir Charles Eliot points

1 Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. pp. 277-78 ; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, 257.

2 Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 3.

3 *Ibid*, p. 446 ; *The Dacca University Journal*, Feb. 1926, pp. 108, 111 ; JRAS, 1913, 69, 76, 81.

4 P. 310.

out the close resemblance between certain Manichsean works and the Buddhist *Suttas* and the *Patimokkha*, and says that according to Cyril of Jerusalem, the Manichaean scriptures were written by one Scythianus and revised by his disciple Terebinthus who changed his name to Boddas.¹ He finds in this "jumble" allusions to Buddha Sakyamuni and the Bo-tree. It may further be pointed out that some *Jdtka* tales show a surprising similarity to some of the stories in the *Arabian Nights*. The *Samugga Jataka*², for instance, tells the story of the demon who put his beautiful wife in a box and guarded her in this manner in order that she might not go astray. But this did not prevent her from taking pleasure with others. The tale in all its essentials recurs in the *Arabian Nights*.³

The *Jataka* verse,

*"He his true bliss in solitude will find,
Afar from woman and her treachery"*

is comparable to the statement of the poet in the *Arabian Nights* :

*"Never trust in women ; nor rely upon their vows ;
For their pleasure and displeasure depend upon their passions.
They offer a false affection ;
For perfidy lurks within their clothing."*¹

Whatever may be the case at the present day, in times gone by Western Asia was clearly not altogether outside the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual conquests of Buddhism.

- 1 Cf. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* p. 185. "Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus but that he was a new Buddha (Buddks) and that he was born of a virgin. Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, wntfwas a Safacefl bom in Palestine arid who traded with India."

2 No. 436

- 3, Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights*, I. 12ff ; Olcott, *Stories from the Arabian Nights*, p. 3 ; Lane's *Arabian Nights*, pp. 8-9. A similar story is found in *Lambaka X, tarahga* 8 of the *Katha-sarit-sagara* ; Penzer. *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. V. pp. 151-52. "So attachment to women, the result of infatuation produces misery to all men. But indifference to them produces in the discerning emancipation from the bonds of existence."

APPENDIX B.

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION OF KANISHKA AND RUDRADAMAN I. ¹

In recent years² Mr. Haricharan Ghosh and Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankar contributed two very interesting notes on the date of Kanishka. The latter upholds the theory of Dr. Sten Konow, fortified by the calculations of Dr. Van Wijk, that the great Kushan Emperor began his rule in A.D. 128-29, and criticises the view put forward in this work that Kanishka's rule in the "Lower Indus Valley" (this and not "Sind," is the expression actually used) could not have synchronised with that of Rudradaman I, who, "did not owe his position as *Mahakshatrapa* to anybody else." The conclusions of Professor Konow and Dr. Van Wijk are admittedly hypothetical, and little more need be said about them after the illuminating observations of Professor Rapson in *JRAS*, 1930, January, pp. 186-202. In the present note we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the criticism of Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankar and Mr. Haricharan Ghosh of the views expressed in the preceding pages.

The Professor has not a word to say about the contention that Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vasishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31³-60, and Vasudeva's dates 67-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era current in North-West India which commenced in the second century A. D. He only takes considerable pain to prove that Rudradaman's sway over Sindhu-Sauvira (which he identifies with modern Sind) between 190 and 160 A.D. does not imply control over Sui Vihar and Multan, and consequently Kanishka's sovereignty over Sui Vihar in the year 11 of an era starting from 128-29 A.D., i. e., in or about 140 A.D., is not irreconcilable

1 *IHQ* March, 1930, pp. 149 ff.

2 *IHQ*, V, No. 1, March, 1929, pp. 49-80, and *JBORS*, XV, parts 1 & II, March-June, 1929, pp. 47-63.

3 The earliest recorded date of Huvishka is now known to be the year 28.

with the rule of the Great Satrap in Sindhu-Sauvira at about the same time. He is not oblivious of the difficulty of harmonising: this limitation of Rudradaman's power with the known fact of the Great Satrap's campaign against the Yaudheyas in the course of which he claims to have uprooted that powerful tribe "in their country proper which was to the north of Sue Vihar" and, according to the theory advocated by the Professor, "formed part of Kanishka's dominions" at that time. He meets the difficulty by saying that "the pressure of the Kausana armies from the north had driven the Yaudheyas to the desert of Marwar". Such surmises to explain away inconvenient details, are, to say the least, not convincing, especially in view of the fact that Maru finds separate mention in the inscription of Rudradaman as a territory under the rule of the mighty Satrap.

But is the contention of the Professor that Sindhu-Sauvira did not include the country up to Multan correct? Alberuni, who based his assertions on the geographical data of the *Puranas* and the *Brihatsathhita*, made the clear statement that Sauvira was equivalent to Multan and Jahravar.¹ Against this Professor Vidyalankar quotes the evidence of Yuan Chwang who says that in his days 'Mou-lo-san-pu-lu,' i.e., Mula-sthana-pura or Multan was a dependency of the "Che-ka" or Takka country in the C. PaSjab. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese pilgrim is referring to political dependence, and not geographical inclusion. India was a dependency of Great Britain. But geographically it was not a part of the British Isles. On the other hand, Alberuni does not give the slightest hint that what he actually means by the equation "Sauvira, i.e., Multan and Jahravar" is political subjection of Multan to Sind. His account here is purely geographical, and he is merely giving the names of the countries, as taken from the *Saihhitft* of Varahamihira with his own comments. Far from making Multan a political dependency of Sind he carefully distinguishes "Sauvira, i.e., Multan and Jahravar" from "Sindhu" which is mentioned separately.

The view that ancient Sauvira was confined to Southern Sind and that Sindhu and Sauvira together correspond to

modern Sind, and nothing but Sind, is unsupported by any early evidence. Yuan Chwang went east from Sin-tu above 900 li and, crossing to the east bank of the Indus came to the Mou-lo-san-pu-lu country.¹ This proves that Sin-tu lay to the west of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu (Multan), and was situated on the west side of the Indus. The commentator of the *Kama' Sūtras* of Vatsyayana makes the clear statement²

The major part of

modern Sind was clearly outside the geographical (as opposed to political) limits of ancient "Sin-tu" or Sindhu and was, in the days of Yuan Chwang, included in the countries of A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, Pi-to-shih-lo, and A-fan-tu. Part of the modern territory of Sind may have been included in Sauvira whose southern limits undoubtedly reached the sea, because the *Milinda-Panho* mentions it in a list of countries where "ships do congregate". We are informed by the author of the *Periplus* that "ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum" (at the mouth of the Indus). But the evidence of Alberuni leaves no room for doubt that the northern limits of Sauvira reached Multan. A scholar like Alberuni thoroughly conversant with Puranic lore, is not likely to make an unwarranted statement. In fact, the inclusion of Multan within Sauvira receives striking confirmation from some of the *Purayas*. The *Skandapuraya*, for instance,³ referring to the famous temple of the Sun at Mula-sthana or Multan, says that it stood on the banks of the river Devika (*Devikatata*):—

In the *Agnipuraya*⁴ the Devika is brought into special relations with the realm of Sauvira :—

|

According to Yuan Chwang, Sin-tu and Multan were neighbouring countries lying on opposite sides of the Indus.

1 Watters, II. 254.

2 Benares edition, p. 295.

3 *Prabhāsa-kṣhetra-Mahātmya*, Ch. 278.

4 Ch. 200.

This is quite in accordance with the close association of Sindhu and Sauvlra in early literature.

Rudradaman's mastery over Sindhu and Sauvlra (in the sense in which these terms were understood by the *Puraqas*, the commentator on the *Kdmasutras* of Vatsyayana, Yuan Chwang and Alberuni) is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kanishka over Sui Vihar.

Apart from the identification of Sauvlra with Multan and Jahravar, is it unreasonable to hold that a power which exercised sway over ancient Sindhu and Maru, and fought with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawar, had the Sui Vihar region under its control?

Mr. H. C. Ghosh asserts⁴ that it cannot be proved that Rudradaman held Sindhu and Sauvlra some time from 136 A.D. at least. He also thinks that the argument that Kanishka started an era "involves a *petitio principii*." Now, we know that by 160 A.D. Rudradaman was "the lord of the whole of eastern and western Akaravanti, Anupanivrid, Anartta, Surashtra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu, Sauvlra, Kukura, Aparanta, Nishada, and other territories gained by his own valour." The conquest of so many countries must have taken a long time, and the Andhau inscriptions show that one of the countries, at any rate, namely, Kachchha, had come under the sway of the Great Satrap as early as 130 A.D. On p. 277 of the *Political History of Ancient India* (second edition) it has been pointed out that "the name of the capital of Scythia (*i.e.*, the Lower Indus Valley) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Sakasthana mentioned by Isidore. Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the name of the western

1 Mbh., III, Ch. 266.

2 Mbh., III, Ch. 266.

3 Mbh., III, Ch. 270.

4 *IHQ*, 1929, p. 79.

Kshatrapas of Cashtana's line, viz., 'Daman' (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Karddamaka family, from which the daughter of the *Mahakshatrapa* Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Karddama river in Persia."

The facts noted above indicate that the Saka sept to which Chashtana and Rudradaman belonged came from oakashthana in Iran through the Lower Indus Valley to Cutch and other places in "Western India. In view of this and the contiguity of Cutch to the Lower Indus Valley, it is permissible to think that the date of the conquest of Sindhu and Sauvira could not have been far removed from, and may have even preceded, that of Cutch (Kachchha). As the Great Satrap retained his hold on these provinces till 150 A.D. it stands to reason that he was their ruler from c. 136 A. D.

As to the second contention of Mr. Ghosh, it may be pointed out that Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vasishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vasudeva's dates 67-98, do suggest a continuous reckoning. To deny that Kanishka started an era is tantamount to saying that the dates of his successors, Vasishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva are regnal years. But no serious student will contend that Vasudeva's dates 67-98 are to be taken as regnal years.

APPENDIX C.

A NOTE ON THE LATER GUPTAS.¹

It was recently urged by Professor R. D. Banerji that Mahasena Gupta of the Apsad inscription, father of Madhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, could not have been a king of East Malava, and secondly, that Susthitavarman whose defeat at the hands of Mahasena Gupta, in the Lohita or Lauhitya region, is mentioned in the Apsad inscription, was not a Maukhari, but a king of Kamarupa.

The second proposition will be readily accepted by all careful students of the Apsad epigraph and the Nidhanapur plate inscription, though some western scholars are still, I know not why, of a contrary opinion.² As to the first point, viz., whether Mahasena Gupta was a direct ruler of East Malava or of Magadha, a student will have to take note of the following facts :—

- (i) In the Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivita Gupta II, which records the continuance of the grant of a village³ in South Bihar, we have reference to Baladitya-deva, and after him, to the Maukharis Sarva-varman and Avanti-varman. Not a word is said about their later Gupta contemporaries in connection with the previous grants of the village. The inscription is no doubt damaged, but the sovereignty of Sarva-varman and Avanti-varman undoubtedly precludes the possibility of the direct rule of their contemporaries of the later Gupta line.

1 Mainly an extract from an article published in *JBORS*, Sept-Dec, 1929, p. 561 ff.

2 *JRAS*, 1928, July, pp. 689f. ' '

3 Dr. R. C. Majumdar's suggestion that the village in question may have been situated in U. P. has been commented upon by Dr. Sircar who points out that Fleet's reading of the name of the village (on which Dr. Majumdar bases his conclusions) is tentative and unacceptable.

- (it) Inscriptions discovered in the Barabar and Nagarjuni hill caves disclose the existence of another line of Maukhari "Varmans" who were feudatory (*samanta*) chiefs of the Gaya district in the time of the later Guptas.
- (Hi) Yuan Chwang who visited Magadha in the time of Harsha mentions Purna-varman as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. He does not say a word about Madhava Gupta or his father in connection with Magadha.
- (iv) Bana indeed, refers to Madhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, but he expressly mentions his father as the king of Malava, and not of Magadha. The existence of two associates of Harsha, each bearing the name of Madhava Gupta, one of whom was the son of a king of Magadha, is not known to the biographer of the great emperor.

From the evidence adduced above two facts emerge, viz., that the father of the only Madhava Gupta whom the biographer of Harsha knew to be the associate of his royal patron, was a king of Malava, and that before Harsha's conquest of the province in A. D. 641,^a direct control over Magadha was exercised, not by the Guptas, but by the "Varmans". The memory of "Varman" *adhipatya* (supremacy) over Magadha had not died away even in the time of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahasiva Gupta.

The only relevant argument that Professor Banerji urged against the view that Mahasena Gupta, the father of Madhava Gupta, the Associate of Harsha, was "probably" a king of Malava, is that "it was impossible for a king of Malava to reach the banks of the Lauhitya without strenuous opposition from the kings" who governed the intervening region. But how does Professor Banerji solve the problem? By making Mahasena Gupta king of Magadha, and assuming that "Assam

1 Watters, I I I, 115.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 19.

3 *Political History of Ancient India, Second Edition*, p. 373.

very probably lay on his frontier and Radha and Vanga or Mithila and Varendra were included in his kingdom." Anything in the nature of a proof he failed to give, but we were asked to accept his surmise because "in this case only is it possible for Mahasena Gupta to have fought with Sushthivarman of Assam."

Regarding the possibility of a king of Malava carrying his arms to the banks of the Lauhitya, attention may be invited to the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman. In the case of Mahasena Gupta a careful student of the Apsad inscription cannot fail to note that the way before him had been prepared by his immediate predecessors. Kumara Gupta, his grandfather, had pushed to Prayaga, while Damodara Gupta, father of Mahasena Gupta, claims to have "broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the MaukharP—the same power which we have already seen, held control of Magadha a little before Harsha's conquest of the Province. The Gauda expansion had already been stopped for a time by the victories of Isanavarman Maukhari. What was there to prevent the son of Damodara Gupta (who must have assumed command after the *death* of his father on the battle-field)¹ from pushing on to the Lauhitya ?

1 *Of. Fleet, Corpus III, pp. 203. II 206. Cf. also Vlrakayya motif.*

APPENDIX D.

THE DECLINE OF THE EARLY GUPTA EMPIRE.¹

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. the empire built up by the genius of Samuelra Gupta and Vikramaditya was fast hastening towards dissolution. Skanda Gupta (A.D. 466- c. 467) was the last king of the Early Gupta line who is known to have controlled the westernmost provinces. After A.D. 467 there is no evidence that the Imperial Guptas had anything to do with Surashtra or the major part of Western Malwa.² Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-77 to c. 496) was probably the last prince of the family to be implicitly obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmada. The rulers who came after him retained a precarious hold for some time on Eastern Malwa and North Bengal. But they had to fight with enemies on all sides, and, if a tradition recorded

1 First published in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1930.

2 The identity of the supreme lord (*Parama-svamin*) mentioned in connection with the consecration of the early Valabhl king Dronasirhha, is unknown. The surmise that he was a Gupta, though plausible, lacks convincing proof. Some scholars lay stress on the fact that the era used is the Gupta era (IC, v, 409). But the use of an era instituted by a dynasty does not *always* indicate *political* subordination to that line. It may simply have a geographical significance, a continuation of a custom prevailing in a particular locality. Even undoubted Gupta vassals used the *Ualava-Vikrama Samvat* in Mandasor. Conversely the Gupta era is found used in regions, e.g., Shorkot and Ganjam, beyond the proper limits of the Gupta empire. Tejpur, too, should possibly come under the category, as we are not sure as to whether it formed a part of the state of Kamarupa in the fourth century A.D. Equally conjectural is the identification of the ruler in question with a Hun or a sovereign of Mandasor. Theories and speculations in the absence of clear data are at best unprofitable. Some connection of the later kings of the Gupta line with the Mandasor region in W. Malwa in the first quarter of the sixth century A. D. may possibly be hinted at by the expression *Guptanathaih* 'by the Gupta lords' used in the Mandasor *prasasti* or panegyric of Yasodharman. The term *natha* may have reference to the fact that the Guptas were once overlords of Mandasor. But the analogy of *Hunadhipa* occurring in the same record may suggest that *natha* simply means 'lord*' or 'king' without reference to any special relations subsisting between Mandasor and the Guptas in or about 533 A.D.

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by Jinasena,¹ is to be believed, their power collapsed in A.D. 551 (320 + 231):

*GuptanHth cha sata-dvayam
, eJca-trifitsachcha varshayi
kala-vidbhir udahritam.*²

The supremacy over Aryavarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (c. V.A.D. 554)³ and Pushyabhuti (family of Harsha, A.D. 606-47) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj and that neighbourhood. Attempts were no doubt made by a line of so-called later Guptas to restore the fallen fortunes of their family, but these were not crowned with success till after the death of Harsha.

The causes of the decline of the early Gupta Empire are not far to seek, though a detailed presentation of facts is impossible in view of the paucity of contemporary records. The broad outline of the story is, however, perfectly clear. The same causes were at work which proved so disastrous to the Turki Sultanate of Delhi in the fourteenth century, and to the so-called Mughul Empire in the eighteenth, viz., outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without, the growth of a class of hereditary governors and other officials who commanded enormous influence in local centres, and assumed the titles of *Maharaja* and *Maharajadhiraja*, and dissensions in the imperial family itself.

Already in the time of Kumara Gupta I, the stability of the empire was seriously threatened by a turbulent people whose name is commonly read as Pushya-mitra. The danger was averted by the crown prince Skanda Gupta. But a more formidable enemy appeared from the steppes of Central Asia. Inscriptions discovered at Bhitari, Kura, GwaJior and Eran, as well as the records of several Chinese pilgrims, prove that shortly after the

1 *Harivamsa*, Ch. 60.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1886, 142 ; *Bhand. Com.*, Vol., 195.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 110-20 ; *JRAS*, 1906, 843 f. About this time (A. D. 554 or A. D. 564) as pointed out by Drs. Bhattasali and Sircar, king Bhutivarman of Assam is found arrogating to himself imperial titles by the performance of an *Asvamedha* sacrifice, Cf. *Bharstfavarsha*, *Sshadha*, 1348, p 83 etc.

death of Kumara Gupta I, the fierce **Huns** swooped down upon the north-western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves masters of the Panjab and Eastern Malwa.

The newcomers were long known to the people of India as a race of Uitlanders closely associated with the Chinese. The *Mahavastu*¹ mentions them along with the Chinas, while the *Sabhaparva* of the *Mahdbharata*² includes them in a list of foreign tribes amongst whom the Chinas occupy the first place :—

*Chlnan Sakaihs tatha ch Odran (?)*³ *Varvaran Nanavdsinah*
Varshyeyan (?) Hara-Hunamscha Krishntin Haimavalarhstatha,

A verse in the *Bhishmaparva*⁴ brings the Huns into relations with the Piirasikas or Persians :—

Yavanas Chlna-Kamboja daruna Mlechchhajatatayah
Sakridgvahah Kulatthascha Huyah Pdrasikaih saha.

This verse is reminiscent of the period when the Huns came into contact with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.⁶ Kalidasa, too, places the Huns close to Persia—in the saffron-producing country watered by the river Vankshu, the modern Oxus.⁶ Early in the reign of the Emperor Skanda Gupta they poured into the Gupta Empire, but were at first beaten back. The repulse of the Huns is mentioned in the Bhitari Inscription and is also probably alluded to by the grammarian Chandragomin as a contemporary event.⁷ With the passing away of Skanda Gupta, however, all impediments to the steady advance of the invaders seem to have been removed and, if Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Krishna III, Rashtrakuj;a, is to be

1 I. 135.

2 II, 51. 23-24.

3 The mention of the Odras in this connection is odd. It is tempting to read in the epic verse Chadotamcha (instead of *tathachodran*), Chadota is the name of a territory in Central Asia near Khotan.

4 9.65-66.

5 Smith, *EHI*. 4th edition, p. 339. See also W. M. McGovern, *the Early Empires of Central Asia*.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, 265f.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, 105.

believed, they penetrated into- the Indian interior as far as Ohitrakuta.¹ They certainly conquered the Eran district (*Airikiya pradesa*) in the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The principal centres of their power in India, in the time of their kings Toramana and Mihirakula, were Pavvaiya on the Chinab² and Sakala, modern Sialkot, between the Chinab and the Degh, in the Upper Panjab.

Next to the Hun inroads must be mentioned the ambition of generals and feudatories. In the time of the Emperor Skanda Gupta, Surashtra was governed by a *Goptri* or Margrave named Parnadatta, who was appointed by the emperor himself to the Viceroyalty of the Far West. Shortly afterwards, Bhatarka, a chief of the Maitraka clan, established himself in this province as general or military governor, with his capital probably at Valabhi. He, as well as his immediate successor, Dharasena I, was satisfied with the title of *Senapati* or general, but the next chief Dronasimha, the second son of Bhafarka (A.D. 602-03) had to be installed as *Maharaja* by his suzerain. A branch of the dynasty established itself in Mo-la-po (Malavaka)³ or the westernmost part of Malwa in the latter half of the sixth century, and made extensive conquests in the direction of the Sahya and Vindhya Hills.⁴ Another, and a junior, branch continued to rule at

1 *Bhand., Com. Vol.*, 216. Chitrakuta may be Chitor in Rajaputana, or more probably the equally famous Chitrakiita on the MandakinI in Central India, where Rama lived for a short time during his banishment. A Hunamandala is mentioned in an inscription as being situated in the Mahva region (*Ep. Ind.* XXIII, 102).

2 JBORS, 1928, March, p. 33; C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, 210, quoting *Kuvalayamala* (? 8th century A. D.).

3 Smith, *EHI*, 4th edition, p. 343.

4 Dharasena I I, king of Valabhi, left two sons, viz., Siladitya II Dharmaditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen Tsang seems to suggest that in his time (i.e., shortly after Siladitya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Siladitya-Dharmaditya, the other part, including Valabhi, obeying Kharagraha and his sons, one of whom was Dhruvasena I I, Baladitya or Dhruva-bhata, who married the daughter of Harsha of Kanauj. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Siladitya VII (Fleet, *CII*, 171 f. esp. 182n) which associates Derabhata, the son of Siladitya I Dharmaditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains, while the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhi. The Navalakhi and Nogawa plates, however, suggest that occasionally the same

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Valabhi. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II of Valabhi married the daughter of Harsha. His son Dharasena IV (A.D. 645-49) assumed the imperial titles of *Paramabhattacharaka Pavamesvara Chak avartin*.

But the Maitrakas of Mo-la-po and Valabhi were not the only feudatories who gradually assumed an independent position. The rulers of Mandasor pursued the same course, and their example was followed by the Maukharis of the Madhyadesa and the kings of Navyrivakasika-Vardhamana and Karnasuvarna in Bengal.

Mandasor, the ancient Daeapura, was one of the most important Viceregal seats of the Early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of margraves belonging to the Aulikara family¹ who governed part of Western Malwa on behalf of the Emperor Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya and his son Kumara-Gupta I Mahendraditya. With the sixth century A.D., however, a new scene opened. Yasodharman, ruler of Mandasor about A.D. 533, emboldened no doubt by his success over the Huns, defied the power of the Gupta lords (*Guptanatha*), and set up pillars of victory commemorating his conquests, which, in the words of his court panegyrist, embraced the whole of Hindusthan from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra or the Eastern Ghats. After his death the Guptas figure again as lords of Malava (Eastern Malwa) in literature and possibly in inscriptions of the time of Harsha. But Western Malwa could not be recovered by the family. Part of it was, as we have already seen, included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Another part, viz., Avanti or the district round Ujjain, the proud capital of Vikramaditya and Mahendraditya in the fifth century A.D.,² is found in the next centuries in the

ruler governed both Malavaka and Valabhi. In the latter half of the seventh century A. D. the line of Kharagraha I became extinct, and the Maitraka dominions were once more united. For an alleged connection of the Valabhi dynasty with the Kanarese country, see Morses, *Kadamba-kula*, 64 f. The recently discovered Virdi copperplate grant of Kharagraha I of the year 297 (= A.D. 616-17) shows that for a time that ruler held Ujjain (*Pro. of the 7th Or. Conf.* 659 ff.). It is from the camp at Ujjain that the grant was issued.

1 *Ep. Ind.* XXVI. 130 ff; Fleet, *CII*, 155.

2 Somadeva, *Katha-sant-sagara* Bk. XVIII ; Allan, *Gupta Coins*, xlix n ; *Bomb. Gaz* , I, ii. 578,

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possession of Sariikaragana of the Katachchhuri or Kalachuri dynasty¹ and Kharagraha I of the Maitraka line which gave way to a Brahmana family in the days of Hiuen Tsang,² which in its turn, was replaced by the Rashtrakutas, the Gurjara Pratiharas and other families.³

Another family which came to the forefront in the sixth century A.D., was the line of the Mukharas or Maukharis. The stone inscriptions of the princes of this dynasty prove their control over the Bara Banki, Jaunpur and Gay a districts of the United Provinces and Bihar. All these territories formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In the next century they must have passed into the hands of the Maukharis. The feudatory titles of the earlier princes of the Mukhara line leave no room for doubt that they occupied a subordinate position in the first few decades of the sixth century A.D. In or about the year A.D. 554, however, Isana-varman Maukhari ventured to measure swords with the Guptas, and probably also with Huns, and assumed the Imperial title of *Maharajadhiraja*. For a period of about a quarter of a century (A. D. 554-dr. A. D. 580) the Maukharis were beyond question the strongest political power in the Upper Ganges Valley. They anticipated to some extent the glorious achievements of Harsha, the brother-in-law, and, apparently, the

1 G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 82.

2 Watters, *Yuan Chzvang*, ii. 250. This family may have been connected with the viceregal line of Naigamas mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription of the Malava year 589, of the time of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana. Abhayadatta of this family was the viceory (*Rajasthanya*, *Sachiva*) of a district bounded by the Vindhya, the Pariyatra (Western Vindhya including the Aravalli range) and the Sindhu (the sea or a Central Indian stream bearing the same name). His nephew is called a *nripati* (king). Daksha, the young brother of the ruler, excavated a well in the year 589 (= A. D. 533-34),

3 *hid. Ant.*, 1886, 142 ; *Ep. htd.*, XVIII, 1926, 239 (vers 9 of Sanjam grant); *cf. Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 177 (reference to a governor of Ujjain under the Pratihara King Mahendrappa II). In the Sanjam inscription it is claimed that at Ujjain an early Rashtrakuta king made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (*Pratihara*). It is not improbable that, like the Paramaras, the Gurjara lords brought to Ujjain were for a long time feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and the name *Pratihara* had reference to their status under the Rastrakutas, before the theory of descent from Lakshmana was adumbrated. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the home territory (*Svavishaya*) of Nagabhata's line was in Marwar as is clear from the Jaina Kuvalayamala and the Buchkala inscription.

successor (on the throne of Kanauj ?) of their last notable king Grahavarman.

Like the Maukharis, the **rulers of Bengal**, too, seem to have thrown off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the sixth century A.D. In the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal undoubtedly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire. The reference to Samatata in Eastern Bengal as a *pratyanta* or border state in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the emperor Samudra Gupta proves that the Imperial dominions must have embraced the whole of Western and Central Bengal, while the inclusion of Northern Bengal (Punclravardhana *bhukti*) within the empire from the days of Kumara Gupta I (A. D. 443-44) to A. D. 543-44¹ is sufficiently attested by the Damodar-pur plates. Samatata, though outside the limits of the Imperial provinces, had, nevertheless, been forced to feel the irresistible might of the Gupta arms. The Haraha Inscription of Isanavarman, however, shows that the political situation had changed completely about the middle of the sixth century A.D. A new power, viz, that of the **Gaudas**, was first rising to importance in the valley of the Lower Ganges. Gauda was already known to Panini² and the *Kautilya Arthamstra*? The grammarian seems to associate it with the East.⁴ A passage occurring in the *Matsya*, *Kurma* and *Lihga Puranas*⁵ has, however, been taken to mean that the Sravastl region was the cradle of the Gauda people. But the passage in question does not occur in the corresponding text of the *Vayu* and *Brahma Purayas* and the *Mahabharata*.⁶ In early literature the people of the bra vastl region are always referred to as the Kosalas. Vatsyayana, the author of the *Kamasutra*, writing probably in the third or fourth century of the Christian era, refers to Gau<Ja

1 For the date, see *Ep. Intl.*, XVII, Oct., 1924, p. 345.

2 VI. ii. 100.

3 ii. 13.

4 C/.Vf.ii,99.

5 *Nirmita yena Sravastl Gauda-dese dvijottamah.*

Matsya, XII, 30, cf. *Lihga*, I. 65.

Nirmita yena Sravastl Gaudadese mahapurl (Kurma, 1. 20. 19).

6 *Yajne Sravastako raja Sravastl yena nirmita (Vayu, 88. 27 ; Brahma, VII, 53).*

Tasya Sravastako jneyah Sravastl yena nirmita (Mbh., III, 201. 4).

aad Kosala as *namas* of distinct countries.¹ Gauda in the *Matsya-Kiirma-Lihga* MSS. may have been inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gondia in the same way as the term Madra-mag^ala is employed to denote the Madras Presidency by some modern *paydits* of the Southern Presidency, as well as other scholars and journalists who are unacquainted with the topography of Ancient India.³ In the Central Provinces the name "Gond" is very often Sanskritised into Gauda.³ Varahamihira, writing in the sixth century A.D., places Gaudaka in the Eastern division of India. He does not include Gauda in the list of countries situated in the *Madhyadesa*. Mention is no doubt made of a place called Guda. But, if Alberuni⁴ is to be believed, Gu<Ja is Thanesar and not Oudh. The use of the term *Pancha Gauda* as the designation of a territory embracing Northern India as far as Kanauj and the river Sarasvati, is distinctly late and dates only from the twelfth century A. D. The term is possibly reminiscent of the Gauda empire of Dharmapala and Devapala, and cannot be equated with the ancient realm of the Gaudas in the early centuries of the Christian era. The distinct statement in the Haraha Inscription that the Gaudas were on the sea-shore clearly suggests that the Bengal littoral and not Oudh, was the seat of the people in the sixth century A. D. In the next century, their king Sasaaka is found in possession of Karnasuvarna near Murshidabad. In the century that follows, a Gauda appears, in the *Gauda-vaho* of Vakpati-raja, as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. The zenith of Gauda power is reached in the ninth century when the Gauda dominion extends over the Gangetic Doab and Kanauj. About the early kings of the Gau<Jas our information is meagre. Certain copper-plate inscriptions, discovered in the Faridpur and Burdwan⁶ Districts, disclose the existence of three kings—Dharmaditya, Gopachandra⁶ and Samacharadeva, who are

1 For Kosala, see *dasanachchhedya-prakaranam* ; for Gauda, see *nakha-chchhedya prakaranam* and *dararakshika-prakaranam*,

2 Cf. Geiger's translation of *Mahavamsa*, p. 62n.

3 Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Central Provinces*, p. 158.

4 i. 300.

5 Mallasarula Plate (S. P. Patrika, 1344, 17).

6 Gopachandra may be the *Gopakhyā nripati* who was apparently a contemporary and rival of Prakataditya, son of Bhanu Gupta (*Arya-Manjuirt-tnula*—*O. P.* 90—80)

described as overlords of Navyavakasika, V5raka-man4ala, and, in one case, of VarddamSna-WwArti (Burdwan Division). The Vappaghoshavata inscription introduces to us a fourth king, viz., JayanHga, who ruled at Karnasuvarna. These kings are, however, not expressly referred to as Gaudas. The earliest king, to whom that epithet is applied is the famous Sasanka, the great rival of Rajya-vardhana of Thafiesar and his brother Harsha. The title *Maharajadhiraja* assumed by the Bengal kings mentioned above, leaves no room for doubt that they no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and set themselves up as independent sovereigns.

The uprising of the Pushyamitras, the invasions of the Huns and the intransigentism of provincial governors and feudatories, were not the only sources of trouble to the Guptas in the last days of their sovereignty. Along with foreign inroads and provincial insubordination we should not fail to take note of the dissensions in the Imperial family itself. The theory of a struggle amongst the sons of Kumara Gupta I may or may not be true, but there is evidence to show that the descendants of Chandra Gupta II did not pull on well together, and the later kings who bore the Gupta name sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and convulsions of the period. The later imperial Guptas do not seem to have been on friendly terms with their Vakataka cousins. Narendrasena Vakataka, a great-grandson of Chandra-gupta II through his daughter Prabhavati, seems to have come into hostile contact with the lord of Malava. Narendrasena's cousin Harishena claims victories over Avanti. Inasmuch as the Guptas are associated with parts of Malava as late as the time of Harsha, some of the victories gained by the Vakatakas must have been won over their Gupta cousins. In the seventh century A.D. Deva Gupta appears as an enemy of Harsha's family, while Madhava Gupta was a friend.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that while the earlier Guptas were staunch Brahmaniste, some of whom did not scruple to

kaipa, ed. G. Sastrl, p. 637). It is not altogether improbable that *Dhakarakhya* (*ibid*, p. 644) is identical with Dharmaditya. Was he a younger brother (*anuja*) of *Vakarakhya* (Vajra) and *Pakarakhya* (Prakataditya) ? If this surmise turns out to be correct he may have belonged to the Gupta line.

engage in sacrifices involving the slaughter of living beings, the later kings or at least some of them, c. g. Budha (Buddha) Gupta, Tathagata Gupta and Baiaditya had Buddhist leanings. As in the case of Asoka after the Kalinga war and Harsha after his intimate relation with the Chinese Master of the Law, the change of religion probably had its repercussions on the military and political activities of the Empire. In this connection it is interesting to recall a story recorded by Hiuen Tsang. When "Mahirakula," the Hun tyrant ruling at bakala, proceeded to invade the territory of Baiaditya, the latter said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I *cannot fight with them* (their troops) ; by the permission of my ministers *I icill conceal my poor person* among the bushes of the morass." Having said this he withdrew to an island with many of his subjects. Mihirakula came in pursuit but was taken alive as a captive. He was, however, set free and allowed to go away on the intercession of the Queen Mother.¹ We do not know how far the story is authentic. But it seems that Indians of the seventh century A.D. from whom the Chinese pilgrim must have derived his information, did not credit the later Buddhist rulers of the Gupta dynasty with the possession of much courage or military vigour, though they bear testimony to their kindness and piety. The misplaced clemency of Baiaditya and his mother helped to prolong the tyrannical rule of Mihirakula and gave Yasodharman and the succeeding aspirants for imperial dominion, viz., Isanavarman and Prabhakara-vardhana, an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage and thereby seal the doom not only of the Hun (Yetha), but also of the Gupta domination in Northern India.

1 Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, 168 f. ; Watters, I, 288-89.

APPENDIX E.

KINGDOMS, PEOPLES AND DYNASTIES OF TRANS-VINDHYAN
INDIA CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

Brhfmaga Period :— 1. Nishadhas (capital Giriprastha, Mbh., I 11, 324. 12).

2. Vidarbhas (capital Kundina) and other Bhojas.

3. Dasyu tribes—Andhras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas.

SQtra Period:—1. Mahishmati (Mandhata or Mahesvara, IA, 4, 346).

2. Bhrigu-Kachchha (Broach).

3. Surparaka (Sopara in the Kohkan).

4. Asmaka (capital Paudanya, Bodhan).

5. Mulaka (capital Pratishthana).

6. Kalinga (capital Dantapura).

7. (?) Ukkala (N. Orissa).

Ramayanic Period :—Aryan Expansion south of the Godavari—settlement on the Pampa—exploration of Malaya, Mahendra and Lanka.

Maurya Period :—

1. Aparantas proper (capital burparaka)
2. Bhojas (capital Kundina ?).
3. Rashtrikas (capital Nilsik ?).
4. Petenikas (of Pratishthana ?).
5. Pulindas (capital Pulinda-nagara).

Maurya Empire.

6. Andhras (capital Bezvada etc. ?).
7. Atavi.
8. Kalihgas (including Tosali and Samapa).

9. Viceroyalty of Siwaraagiri.

10. Ahara of Isila.

11. Cholas.

12. Paodyas.

13. Keralaputra.

14. Satiyaputra (Satyabhumi of Keralolpatti ?).

15. Tamrapargi (Ceylon)

Early Post-Maurya Period :—1. Kingdom of Vidarbha.

2. Satavahanas of Dakshinapatha.
3. Chetas of Kalinga.
4. Kingdom of Pithuda near
Masulipatam.
5. „ . „ Chola.
6. „ . „ Pa\$dyā.
7. „ „ Kerala.
8. „ „ Ceylon (sometimes
ruled by Chola
princes).

Age of the Periplus :—1. Ariake under Mambarus (or Nambarus?).

2. Dachinabades under Saraganus and his successors (*i.e.*, the Deccan under the Satavahana-Satakarnis).
3. Damirica (Tamilakam, Dravida) including :—
 - (a) Cerobothra (Keralaputra).
 - (b) The Pandian Kingdom.
 - (c) (Kingdom of) Argaru (=Uragapura).
4. Masalia (Masulipatam).
5. Dosarene (=Tosali).

Age of Ptolemy:—1. Kingdom of Baithana (Pratishthana) ruled by Pulumayi (Satavahana).

2. Kingdom of Hippokoura (Kolhapur), ruled by Baleokouros (Vilivayakura).
3. Kingdom of Mousopalle (in the Kanarese Country).
4. „ „ Karoura ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).
5. Pounnata (S. W. Mysore).
6. Kingdom of the A'ioi (capital Kottiara in S. Travancore).
7. Kingdom of the Kareoi (Tamraparni Valley).
8. Kingdom of Modoura (Madura) ruled by 'Pandion' (Pandya).

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9. Kingdom of the Batoi (capital Nikama).
10. Kingdom of Orthoura, ruled by "Sornagos" (Chola-Naga ?).
11. Kingdom of Sora (Chola) ruled by Arkatos.
12. Kingdom of Malanga (Kanchi ? Mavilangai ?), ruled by Basaronagas (°Naga?)
13. Kingdom of Pitundra (Pithuda).

- A. D. 150-350 :—
1. Abhiras (N. Maharashtra and W, India).
 2. Vakiitakas (Berar and adjoining provinces), and chiefs of Mahakantara.
 8. Kingdoms of South Kosala, Kaurala, Kottura, Erandapalla, Devarashtra (under the Vasishtha family ?), Pishtapura (under the Mathara-fcu/a ?), Avamukta, Palakka, Kusthalapura.
 4. Kingdom of Andhrapatha (and Vehgi) :—
 - (a) Ikshvakus.
 - (b) Rulers of the Ananda-flofra (Kandarapura).
 - (c) Brihatphalayanans of Kudura etc.
 - (d) Salankayanans (Salakenoi of Ptolemy ?) of Vehgipura, one of whom was Hastivarman of Vehgi.
 5. Pallavas of Kanchi.
 6. Gatakarnis of Kuntala.

- A.D. 350-600 :—
- 1 Traikutakas and Mauryas of the Kohkan ; and J-iatas, Nagas and Qurjaras of South Gujarat.
 2. Vakatakas (C. Deccan).
 3. Katachchuris (N. Maharashtra and Malwa).
 4. Kings of Sarabhapura (S. Kosala ?).
 5. Kingdoms of Udra, Kohgoda, Kalihga [under the Vasishtha family, the Mathara-iu/a, the Mudgala family (*Ep. Ind.* xxiii. 199 ff) and Eastern Gangas]; Len4ulura (under Vishnu-kundins) in East Deccan.

6. Pallavas of Kanohi (in Dramila or Dravida).
7. Cholas, Pandyas, Mushakas and Keralas of the Far South."
8. Gangas and Alupas of S. Mysore, Shimoga and S. Kanara.
9. Banas of E. Mysore and N. Arcot, Kekayas of Davangerei taluk, Kadambas of Vaijayanti etc. and Sendrakas of Nagarakhanda (N. W. Mysore), or of the Turhkur region.
10. Nalas of (a) Pushkari who governed the Podagadh region (Jeypore Agency), (b) Yeotmal in Berar and perhaps also (c) the Bellary District.
11. Early Chalukyas of Vatapi.

After A. D. 600 — 1. Silaharas of Konkau.

2. Early Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas including the lines of Manadesa etc., Later Chalukyas, Kalachuryas and Yadavas of W. Deccan.
3. Haihayas, Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripuri and Ratnapura, and Nagas of Chakrakuta (C.P.).
4. Eastern Chalukyas, Chiefs of Velmandu, and Kakatiyas of the Telugu Country, Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and Orissa, Karas, Sabaras (? Sasadhara and Pandu family) and Somavamsi Guptas of Mahanadi Valley (N. E. Deccan).
6. Western Gangas, Santaras and Hoysalas (Mysore).
6. Pallavas of Kafichi, Vaidumbas of Renandu, Kalabhras of the Tinnevely District, Cholas of Tanjore, Varmans of Kerala and Kolamba, and Panciyas of Madura (Far South).

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* This *Index* purports to give a general idea of the kind of literature that has been utilised in preparing the work. It may also be of some little use to students. In the case of the more well-known authorities no detailed reference has been deemed to be necessary; such references will ordinarily be found in the text itself.

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SOME ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page	Line	For	Read
23	20	laud	land
131	5	Vatsas	Vasas
145	fn1	a rdly	is hardly
	fn2	fication	identification
148	fn1	Add "in the Pala-Pratihara age they are also found in Pehoa (Ep. Ind. I. 247) and Bengal.	
131	11	KaSyā	Kfiaya
155	24	say gs	sayings
	26	Vim na	Vimana
	34	Davadaha	Devadaha
182	fn1	AJSB	JASB
188	27	Chandaloka	Chapd&ioka
194	7	Mayura"	Mayura
	fq2	Mahaparinibba"nau	Mahaparinibbana
208	fn2	amachchs	amachcha
240	4	For the contacts between the Medes and India, see India Antiqua, 1947, 180ff.	
	23	486 B.C.	513 B.C. \
		(Olmstead, <i>History of the Persian Empire</i> , P145. Some scholars believe that the conquest of Sind preceded Scylax's exploration of the Indus—India Antiqua, P.181).	
241	• 24	after 'was* add 'at first'.	
243	17	tracted	traced
256	35	after 'Ambastha' add 'Note also the attribution of the <i>Sutjan-charita</i> to a Gauda Ambashjha (DHNI, ii, 1061n4) of the time of Akbar.	
260	21	Scythiads	Scythians
271	4	Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri draws my attention to another Aramaic inscription of Devanampriya found at Laghman (ancient Lampaka, BSOAS, Vol. XIII, pt. I, 1949, 80ff). This confirms the Greek evidence about the inclusion of Kabul and its neighbourhood within the dominions of the early Mauryas,	
290	29	Pratipara	Pratihara
298	24	objects	object
	36	Kasas	KhaSas
304	24	Srinagan	Srinagari
354	5	Cf. Strabo, XV. I. 27—"We became acquainted with the eastern parts of India on this side the Hypanis and whatever parts beside which have been described by those who after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra".	

SOME ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS 671

Page	Line	For	Read
362	18	<i>Add</i> after Seleukos "The Antiochos-Sophagasenus alliance may also have been directed <i>against</i> the Imperial Mauryas of Pataliputra". Greek intrigue may have played a part in the disintegration of the empire, before the Greek raids.	
372	33	A Sungar&ja is known from certain coins found at Kausambi (JNSI, IV, i, 14). His identity is however uncertain,	
386	27	bronze	copper (<i>CHI</i> , 555, 690, Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 26)
387	18	<i>After</i> "Strato I" add the following "Seltman (<i>Greek Coins</i> 235) refers to a large gold coin which Eukratides struck to mark his triumph over Demetrius,	
419	fn2	o	or (R&ika)
443	29	he	the
	35	paro	pars
445	fn4	Add at the end "Also Whitehead, <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , 1944, pp19-104. <i>Apacharaja</i> of the Bajour inscription is taken by some to mean 'ruler of the West'.	
451	fn1	Before "A survey of Persian Art" insert "Pope and Ackerman"	
480	25	Basnagor	Besnagar
482	19	of	or
500	22	'After S II, add Vol. X II.	
513	3	Chashatna	Chashtana
	15	Satyasimha	Satyasirjahai
		Read dots above to indicate indefinite relationship with daughter of Rudra II.	
518	31	Chines ine	Chinese in
532	6	to a third	to the third
540, 627		Recently Dr. D. C. Sircar has come across evidence (in an Orissa inscription) which indicates that in 569 one Prithivl-Vigraha held Kalifiga apparently as a Gupta vassal.	
555	1	Capital of the Gupta Empire	Fall of the Western Satraps
557	33	Guruda	Garuda
559	9	Saba	S&ba
568	26	Bbagabata	Bhagavata
572	33	Bhitari	Bihar
575	49	System	Sister
579	26	grandson	copsin
584	8	Asvamedha	A^vamedha
592	9	his	Kumara's
593	11	<i>Add</i> after 476-7 "together with the Benares ins. of 159 (JRASB, 1949, 5ff)	
605	35	Isanavarman	isanavarman
	„	^aravarman	Sarvavarman
606	22	Isanavarman	Isanavarman
613	4	Mankar	Maukhari

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Page	Line	For	Read
628	11	Nanavasinah	Vanavasinah
630	5	Chakavartin	Chakravartin
631	2	Samkaragna	Samkaragana
639	29	Sahara	Sahara
		SaBadhara	Sasadhara

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

I.—Political History of Ancient India

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of
the Gupta Dynasty

Published by the Calcutta University

Opinions on the earlier editions and on Part I : —

THE HINJJUSTHAN REVIEW.—It is learned and luminous and is a scientific treatise based on the results of research into the records and materials of ancient Indian history, of which it is a sound and an accurate digest, interestingly put together. It is about the best text-book of the subject it deals with.

DR. L. D. BAUXETT. LONDON.—The author treats his materials with a certain degree of originality, but at the same time he preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories....This interesting book....shews judgment, ingenuity, and learning. And not the least of the authors merits is that he can write plain English.

DR. F. W. THOMAS. - I have profited by a closer acquaintance with your Political History and other writings, which are really models of sound judgment combined with full knowledge.

PROFESSOR HULTZSOH, HALLE, (GERMANY).—Your valuable work....is the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on darkest and most debated periods of Indian history. You have succeeded in building up an intelligible account from the stray and imperfect materials which are available to the historian of those times.

PROFESSOR JOLLY. WURZBURG, GERMANY.—Your splendid volume....What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography, not less than the ancient

history of India, has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archaeology and Chronology. The indices are very copious and the study of your work is greatly facilitated by them.

PROFESSOR PELLIOU, PARIS.—Le nom de l'auteur est garent du sérieux du travail.

PROFESSOR JARL CJARPENTIER, UPSALA, SWEDEN.—Professor Ray Chaudhuri belongs to a set of young Hindu scholars who, combining the traditional education of a Pandit with a thorough training in English, German or French Universities, have lately been carrying on deep and fruitful researches in the various domains of Indian lore.... Even the student, who on essential points does differ widely from the opinions expressed by Professor Ray Chaudhuri, must willingly recognize his high merits as a scholar.

PROFESSOR A. SCHEPOTIEFF, UFA, RUSSIA.—For our study of the history of the Ancient Age your Political History of Ancient India is of very great importance (trans. from original).

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM (J. R. A. S., 1928, JULY)—Part I of Professor Ray Chaudhuri's work deals with the period from Parikshit to Bimbisara. The author seeks to show, as he tells us in his preface, "that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible." He has laid under contribution the usual authorities, the Vedic, Puranic, Buddhist. and Jaina texts—though he does not appear to place much reliance upon the last-named (cf. pp. 6 and 72). A vast mass of records has been collated, and the evidence marshalled in a very concise and able, and in some respects original, manner. The apposite citations from the original texts are useful. Professor Ray Chaudhuri regards Parikshit I and Parikshit II, as they are named by the late Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, as being probably one and the same king, and as identifiable with the Vedic Parikshit. By "the great Janaka" he refers to the Janaka of the later Vedic texts, whose court is said to have been thronged with Brahmanas, and not to the traditional first king Janaka, the eponymous founder of the Janakavatsa, or to Janaka Śradhvaja, the reputed father of Sita. Synchronizing Grunakhya Sakhayana with Asvalavana and the Buddha, he inclines, it seems, to place Parikshit in the ninth, and the "great Janaka" in the seventh century B.C. though he wisely avoids coming to any positive conclusion as to these debatable dates, and points out that if the evidence of the

Puranas were accepted we would have to place them some five centuries earlier. If it could be established that Pariksit came into power at the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the tenth, this would help to corroborate the approximate chronology suggested by Mr. Pargiter, having regard also to the synchronism between Seniljit Bfirhadratha and Adhismakrsna. But until more convincing evidence is discovered most scholars will probably agree in the verdict of Vincent Smith that nothing approaching exact chronology is yet available for periods anterior to about 660 B.C.

Much of the matter in Part II will perhaps be familiar to students of Indian history : but it has been arranged in a fresh and scholarly manner, while several important suggestions have been made on different questions. One or two of these may be cited as examples. On pp. 72-73 reasons are set forth for accepting the Ceylon tradition that bisunaga was later than Bimbisara. The view recorded by Mahamahopadhyaya, (sic) H. P. Sastri that the ultimate dismemberment of the Mauryan empire was due to a reaction promoted by the Brahmanas, is vigorously controverted. "Whatever other causes may have operated, and Professor Ray Chaudhuri undoubtedly lays his finger on more than one such, Brahmanical influences cannot be ignored. The arguments used for holding that Demetrius,¹ rather than Menander, was the Yavana invader of the Madhyadesa in the time of Pusyamitra, and that Simuka, the founder of the SaUVihana dynasty, must be placed in the first century B. C, deserve careful consideration.

Since Hoernle made his well-known suggestion as to the identity of Devagupta, mentioned in two inscriptions of Harsavardhana, several writers have attempted to frame the history of the later Guptas of Eastern Malava and Bihar and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The period presents many difficulties, which are not likely to be solved until some further evidence reveals itself. Having regard to the conditions of the times and the bitter enmity of the Maukharis, who were then very powerful, it seems unlikely that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Apsand (sic) inscription of Adityasena as having been defeated by Mahasenagupta of E. Malava, could have been the king of Kamarupa, as the author states. Fleet's suggestion that he was the Maukhari king of that

1. For the latest reading of the Hathigumpha inscription reference to the Yavana king, see *JBORS.*, XIII, 228.

name,¹ whom we **know** to have been contemporaneous with Mahasenagupta, seems more probable.

Not the least valuable part of the contents of this volume are the numerous comments on the geographical information supplied in the records quoted ; and it is a matter of regret that of the five maps entered in the table of Contents (p. xvi), only one, viz., that of "Bharatavarsha" appears in the volume before us. As regards this map we are not told what specific period, if any, it refers to. In any case, the positions assigned to the Nisadas, S. Kosala, Kamboja, and the Kiksha mountains seem to call for some explanation. On the other hand, the geographical information given in the text is extensive, and often suggestive, and it indicates that much attention has been devoted to this important auxiliary to ancient Indian historical research. The indexes, both bibliographical and general, have been very well prepared.

PROFESSOR A. B. KURIEDALE K. KITHI, EDINBURGH.—I have read through the work and find it to contain much that is valuable. The author has arrived at clearly cut opinions on many of the chief difficulties in the history of early India ; he has formulated them effectively, and as a result, even when they do not commend themselves as final solutions, they will serve to promote the discussion and to facilitate further fruitful research. He observes a due sense of proportion and is well read in the literature. The work accordingly may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats.

PROFESSOR WILH. (TEIGER. MÜNCHEN-NEUBERG, GERMANY.—I highly appreciate Mr. Bay Chaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound, scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords an amass of valuable evidence, throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt in it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we now are enabled by the authors' penetrating researches to start in Indian chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B. C.

PROFESSOR JACKSON, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.—I can see the scholarly research which you have put into the volume, and am glad to have such a work for future reference in my historical studies.

1 No Maukhari king of that name is known (H. C. R. C.),

PROFESSOR LOUIS DE LA. VALLEE POUSSIN, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.—[believe that the book is well designed and has the twofold merit of collecting a vast amount (and in some chapters, an exhaustive one) of references, and of giving a clear and reasonable *expose* of the main line of this history. I agree with the author on several controverted points of chronology.

MRS. U. A. F RHYS DWIDS.—Dr. Ohaudhuri has made debtors of us all.

S. M. EDWARDES (*The Indian Antiquary*, July, 1927. p. 140).—Professor Kaychaudhuri's book forms a solid contribution to the discussion of the various problems implicit in the early history of India.

PROFESSOR R. J. RAPSON, CAMBRIDGE.—My best thanks for the kind present of a copy of the 'Political History of Ancient India,' which I am very glad to possess and which I shall find most useful for reference.

PROFESSOR, STEN KONOW, NORWAY.—The book is a very useful contribution.

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—I have to refer to it very often, both for corroboration of historical facts of the epic and for geographical information and the excellent maps included in the volume. It has been always a matter of great gratification to me that you have adopted my views with reference to the Satavihanas and at last given them, in a standard history of India the appellation by which they call themselves...rather than accept the doubtful description of them given by the late Puranas.

PROFESSOR NFLAKANTA SASTRI.—Your excellent Ancient History of India. I have been using it on every conceivable occasion.

SITARAM KOHLT, LAHORE,—I have immensely liked your book "Political History of Ancient India/'

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, SOUTH INDIA.—Our author rightly holds the balance between the views of Pargiter which would give excessive value to Kshatriya tradition whose date allowed of manipulation to serve dynastic ends and the value of Vedic tradition whose two strong points are its priority of date and freedom from textual corruption.

W. CHARLES DE SILVA, COLOMBO.—I have the greatest pleasure to express my high appreciation of your very valuable and learned article (Part I of the Political History).

PROFESSOR E, WASHBURN HOPKINS.—It is a fine augury for Indian scholarship when native scholars of the first rank take seriously in hand the great

problem of untangling: the web of Indian history. To this work your book is a valuable contribution.

PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN.—Very suggestive and contains some important details.

PROFESSOR F OTTO SCHRADER.—I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians. The portion I enjoyed most is that on the sixteen Mahajanapadas.

II. The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect

Published by the Calcutta University

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, YALE UNIVERSITY, AMERICA.—Your book has given me great satisfaction....I am particularly pleased to see an incisive study of this kind in the realm of religious history....Believe me, in the hope of further contributions of this character from your able pen.....

PROFESSOR A. BERUET DALE KEITH, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.—While I do not concur in your view as to the original character of Krishna, I recognise the care with which you have investigated the issue, and value highly the elaborate collation of the evidence which your work contains, and which will render it of much service to all students of this doubtless insoluble problem. The stress laid on the epigraphic evidence and the full use made of it is of special value, while in many details your opinions are of interest and value, as in the case of the date of Panini.....

SIR GEORGE J. GRIERSON.—Very interesting and informing....The book is full of matter which is of great importance for the history of religion in India and will form a valued addition to my collection of books on the subject...

F. E. PARGITER, OXFORD.—I agree with you in discarding various theories, but I don't think Krishna Devakiputra is the famous Krishna, and it seems to me your exposition can stand just as well without the identification as with it. Your book will help to elucidate the whole matter, but are you sure that the cult does not owe something to Christianity?

PROFESSOR F. OTTO SOHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—I perfectly agree with your opinion that Ohandogya passage on Krsna Devakiputra and his teaching is to be considered as the first historical record of Bhagavatism. There were, of course, many Krsnias, but to conjecture that more than one was also a Devakiputra, is to my mind an unscientific boldness * which is the less justifiable as the teachings mentioned in that passage, as you show, perfectly agree with those, e.g., of the Bhagavad-gita and the Rk. quoted with the famous afew!.

PROFESSOR GARBE, TUBINGEN. GERMANY.—I have read your book with the greatest interest and perfectly agree with you in the main points, as to the personality of Kṛṣṇa and the development of Bhagavatism. . . . You have brought together much important material and elucidated the dark early history of Bhagavatism as far as possible.

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, MAY 12, 1921.—The lectures of Mr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri on the early history of the Vaishnava Sect read almost as would a Bampton lecture on the "Historical Christ" to a Christian audience. They are an attempt to disentangle the authentic figure of Krishna from the mass of Puranic legend and gross tradition, from the wild conjectures and mistaken, if reasoned, theories which surround his name. The worship of Krishna is not a superstitious idolatry; it is the expression of the Bhakti, the devotional faith of an intellectual people, and many missionaries, ill-equipped for dealing with a dimly understood creed would do well to study this little volume.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, JANUARY-MARCH, 1923. PARIS.—Dans le domaine historique, signalons un travail plein de mérite de M. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri. *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect* (Dr. Jules Bloch of Paris).

DR. JULES BLOCH, PARIS.—My Guru, Sylvain Levi, who has come back from his travels, told me also of his esteem for that book.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.—The scope of this small book is rightly expressed in its title. The author who is Lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has collected and discussed statements, references, and allusions from the early literature to throw light on the position and life of Kṛṣṇa and the growth of Bhagavatism. He deals with the various theories that have been put forward, and with good reasons discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva was a solar deity or a tribal god

or a vegetation deity. He is right in treating Krsna Vasudeva as one person, the Vrsin chief, but he unnecessarily identifies him with Krsaa Devakiputra. the scholar mentioned in the Chandogya Upanishad(F. E. Pargiter).

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE, JUNE 19, 1921.—Mr. Henichandra Ray Chaudhury of the Calcutta University has collected much valuable material from which he has succeeded in tracing the origin and growth of the Vaishnava creed. The Historicity of Srikrishna—or as the author calls him, Krishna Vasudeva, is also handled with remarkable clearness.....

A GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN.—I pay you a most deserved compliment upon your acquaintance with the Azhvans and Sri Vaishnavism of southern India as evidenced in your learned book *the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*.

III. Studies in Indian Antiquities

Demy 8vo. pp. xvi, 211

Published by the Calcutta University

PROFESSOR E. J. RAPSON, CAMBRIDGE.—Dr. Eaychaudhuri's essays on Indian History and Antiquities are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive.

E. J. THOMAS (J. 11. A. S. OCTOBER, 1933, p. 926).—The study which Dr. Baychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well known. In the present book he discusses some of the geographical problems which still face the historians, as well as Vedic, epic, and specially historical questions He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results.

O. C. G-AXGOLY.—Permit me to thank you for your valuable gift of *Studies in Indian Antiquities* in which I have read with great profit your article : Vanga Kon Des ? It is an excellent contribution to our knowledge of the little known phase of old Bengal. You do not try to prove too much, yet you have given very much based on solid data. It is a pity many scholars do not know of this article—buried in a series of Essays in English.

**Opinions on some of the Papers incorporated
in the Volume.**

DR. BARNETT.—They are very interesting and critically sound.

DR. KEITH.—They are all very interesting, and I am glad to note the very useful information elicited as to Bhoja.

PROFESSOR DR. STEN KONOW, KRISTIANIA, NORWAY.—They are written in a thoroughly scholar-like way, and more especially it seems to me that your paper about the Laksmana Sena era deserves very careful attention.

PROFESSOR H. JACOB—The verification of the Bhligavata credo in the Besnagar inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated.

PROFESSOR SCHRADER, KIEL, GERMANY.—*The Antiquity of the Rig Veda* is a sober and useful little piece of research work with which, on the whole, I fully agree. If we follow Jacobi and Tilak we create a gap (which we cannot bridge over) between the Mantras and the Brahmanas, for the Jatter are certainly not far removed from early Buddhism, On the other hand, if Hertel were right, the Eg Veda would immediately precede Buddhism, and there would be no room at all for Brahmanas and Upanisads.

Your important paper on the inter-relation of the two epics: The opinion held by Macdonell, Winternitz, and others, viz., that the heroes of the Mahabharata are unknown to the Ramayana, seems, indeed, to be untenable... Again, I find it difficult, as you do, to distinguish between a Pandava story and a Kuru-Bharata Epic,

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER.—The identification of some words in this very important document (the Besnagar Inscription) with a passage in the Mahabharata seems to be a most happy find.

PROFESSOR E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—It is certainly a remarkable resemblance which you have established and I should be inclined to agree with your conclusion.

IV. An Advanced History of India

Opinion on the book and particularly on the chapters contributed by the author of the Political History of Ancient India

PROFESSOR LOUIS RENOU, PARIS.—C'est un ouvrage tout-a-fait remarquable, destine a mon avis a remplacer pour les etudiants avances le Vincent Smith (et autres) un peu vieillis. Vatre expose est tres clair, sobre, prudent, eloigne de toute hypothese inutile.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland. Parts 1 & 2, 1949
Pp. 103-104. L. D. Barnett.

An Advanced History of India. By R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, Kalikinkar Datta. Second edition, pp. ix, i, 1081 ; 10 maps. London : Macmillan and Co., 1948.

One of the most hopeful features in the mental life of modern India is its thirst for history. Schools, Colleges and Universities pursue this study with vigour. The favours of Clio are not easy to win : she loves to walk especially in the domain of India's past, though darkling ways,.....But her Indian suitors have urged their quest with courage and often with notable skill, and their labours have borne fruit in a large number of works, many of high merit. In this book three distinguished Indian scholars have collaborated in order to produce for advanced students an outline of their country's history from the earliest ages down to our time, in which are summarized the main results of modern studies. In this they have been on the whole very successful. Their attitude is generally fair and reasonable, their narrative lucid and straightforward. ^ Naturally specialists, particularly in the realm of ancient Indian annals, on which opinions are very often divergent, will find food for criticism in some of the views presented ; but our authors may justly claim a right to their opinions.

It must, however, be acknowledged that in at least one respect their work shows some lack of proportion. They are Bengalis whose studies have been mainly concerned with the history of Northern India; and this has led them to allot a very small space to the annals of the great kingdoms of the South from the decline of the Satavahanas to

the end of the rule of the Calukyas, the Cplas, and their epigoni (pp. 172-180 and 188-190). In some minor matters also there is room for improvement. Thus, the account of administration on p. 71 f. seems a little too summary and hardly critical enough ; and the statement on p. 81 that "another (highway) stretched from Eajagriha in South Bihar by way of Sravasti in Oudh to the banks of the 6 ^ ^ ^ ' contradicts the facts,¹ for the highway ran from Sravasti through Eajagriha to the Godavari. The diacritic marking length of vowels is so often misplaced that one is led to think that the authors would have done better to have never used it at all. To quote a few examples, we find *passim* errors such as "Konkan" "Malabar", "Peshawar", "Mandalay", "Kathakali", "All". > "Alivardi" (for "Ilahvirdi"), "Kashmir", "Wazir" and both "Qasim" and "Kasim", with other inconsistencies in representing the Arabic gutturals. On p. 71 we note with sorrow the misspelling "diarchy" ; on p. 202 f. we regret to see Basava presented as "Vasava", while on p. 203 Vatsyayana appears as "Vatsayana", both errors being due to the influence of Bengali pronunciation². It is disagreeable also to meet hybrid spellings of names such as "Hyder 'Ali" and "Omdut-ul-Umara".

In a work of this kind there should have been some recognition of Warren Hastings' enlightened and successful efforts to revive Hindu education and law ; absence is to be regretted.

This book, now in its second edition, will surely be soon reprinted ; and then, we hope, blemishes will be eliminated.

1 Not, it may humbly be pointed out, the facts record in some early Buddhist texts (cf. *Sutta-Nipata* and its trans, by Fausboll, 1881, SBE, x, pt. ii, pp. 187-188, 209) which narrate a journey from Patitthana (on the Godavari) to several places including Savatthi and thence to the city of Magadha and to Pasanaka cetiya in Magadha.

2 That the errors in spelling are not all due to the influence of Bengali pronunciations will be apparent from the *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed. 1938, p. 339, line 29 ; and the *Ground-Work of Indian History* by Sen an^Saychaudhuri, seventh edition (1945). p. 112, which gives a brief^pcount of "Basava". As to "diarchy" for which the authors are criticised attention may be invited to *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, edited by Henry Cecil Wyld (sixth impression, 1946) p. 304 where we have the following : "diarchy.....the irregularly formed dyarchy is common and should be avoided." That form irregular found on p. 124 of the *Advanced History of India*, is not commented on by the learned reviewer. The explanation for many of the blemishes will be found in the Preface, especially on. 7 vi.

