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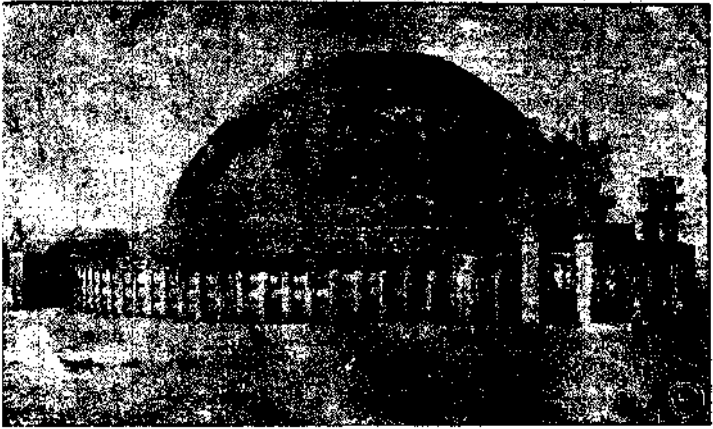
To Him, my Illustrious Guru—who is the very Spirit of Joy—Bliss himself, radiates bliss all around—who is the light of Knowledge, shining through a human personality—the Prince of Yogins and the very Object of veneration—the Healer of all spiritual ills that Spirit is 'heir to—my homage with every breath.

*

*

*

A Historian is a research worker who has to sift the facts passing for "History"—who brings to bear on the ancient happenings, which he has to analyse in all their aspects, not only with sympathy but also with relentless logic of an impartial judge—who separates the outer crust from the kernel is above praise and censure. He examines the other man's point of view by putting himself in his place,



Nirvvan of Lord Mahavir
(Arhate - namo - namah)

Pp. 186-8



The above one but showing a different view

ANCIENT INDIA

History of Ancient India for 1000 years in four volumes

[From 900 B. a to 100 A. D.]

Volume II

A marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories, substantiated with facts and figures from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers

By

TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH
L. M. & S.

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PREFACE

I have divided the preface into two parts. The first part consists of general observations; the second part treats of matters pertaining to this volume.

(A) No book serves any useful purpose if it does not contain anything novel in any branch of knowledge. The novelty can be of two kinds:—(1) New ideas and new facts unthought of and unpublished, hitherto; and (2) Old facts given a new interpretation. As the book bristles with novelties of both kinds, a heavy shower of criticism, favourable and unfavourable is only natural. Anticipating this, I have already explained and answered many of them in the preface to vol. I. Some more explanations are given below.

Some critics have said that only those pieces of evidence are given in the book, which supports the theory or conclusion arrived at by me, and that those going against it are eschewed. I agree that the method of stating pieces of evidence of both kinds is more preferable to the one adopted by me; but it remains to be stated, that in doing so, the size of the book would be much greater than it is at present. The present size is not small. Again, that method is more suitable to a treatise on one particular point, but would rather be unsuitable to a book on history, which is expected to be a connected, concise and consistent narration of facts, with due attention to causes and effects. Evidence to the contrary is not wholly debarred from this book. As instances, I draw the readers's attention to (1) The dynastic list of the kings of Avanti, vol. I (2) Which Udayan died without a son, vol. I (3) The family and race of Chandragupta, vol. II (4) Chandragupta's relation with Nand IX, vol. II (5) Can Chandragupta be identified with Sandrecottus ? vol. II etc. Those who hold the opinion that I have stated conclusions and theories, which are not properly supported by facts and figures, are quite welcome to disprove them, by arguments and evidence to **the**

contrary. Little useful purpose will be served by merely denouncing things with which they do not agree. A sane person would either state evidence to the contrary and disprove them or would accept them as true. Again, I have adhered to the definition of history as given by Mr. Vincent Smith. "A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible." The book contains dynastic lists, chronologies and dates of events, wherever they are necessary. I, therefore, request my critics to go through these volumes in a spirit of dispassionate search of the truth, and not accuse me of any charges, unless they can advance reasons and solid pieces of evidence to prove them.

A learned writer has said:—"The aim of history is to reveal the truth. Only that history is real, which has truth as its basis. Its aim is realized only by strict conformity to truth. No nation can afford to forget history of this kind. Partiality destroys history." Another writer has said:—"An impartial history of India is impossible without a thorough study of Jaina literature." If we cast a glance at any book, non-Jaina in character, we shall nearly always find, that it is crowded with praises of that particular religion. We would not mind them, as long as the term 'historical' is not foisted upon them. But a book on history contains truth, and nothing but the whole truth. Partiality to any religion is suicidal. Truth, as a Greek scholar has said, is as piercing as a sword; and it is absolutely impartial. I can assert with confidence, that I have written these volumes in strict conformity to this standard. If, in doing so, I have offended any one, the only way open to me, is to ask for forgiveness and to add that, no statement in these volumes is made, with a view to wound the feelings of any one. I am sure, that a cool and dispassionate reading of the book, will convince any one of this.

It is a convention that the "Foreword" to a volume is written by a scholar of repute and fame; so that the writer would enjoy some immunity from showers and attacks of criticisms from all sides. I had an inclination of the kind; but after a few unsuccessful efforts, I thought it fit to do without it, and rested content with

the idea that every novel theory was loaded with pieces of evidence supporting it.

I have given names of authors, whom **I have** quoted **and from** whom **I** had reasons to differ. I have to state that none of the names is quoted with a view to derision. I have differed **from** them with the intention of finding and establishing truth. If any writer finds anything, which he thinks rather discourteous **about** him, **I** request him to forgive me, only as a beginner in writing books on history.

(B) Preface in connection with the present volume:—

In vol. I, an account has been given of the sixteen kingdoms that existed in ancient India. Then were given the accounts of **the** Sisunaga and the Nanda dynasties that ruled over Magadh, the largest, the most powerful, and the most important kingdom of those times. The present volume contains an account of **the Mauryan** dynasty. Most of the books concerned with ancient India contains accounts of this dynasty. Several of them are devoted solely to an account of it. Many of them, however, re-iterate the same material in different forms and many others are little more than conglomerations of legends and anecdotes about it. The present volume, as the reader will find, gives a connected and consistent account of the dynasty and contains much novel material and many new theories.

The faith, that the Mauryan kings followed, exerted very great influence upon their policies, and was not without its repercussions in every field of activity. No historian can afford to leave this out, in an account of the dynasty. In fact, many things connected with the dynasty, can be understood in their true perspective only, if we devote proper attention to it.

It is a general belief that Chandragupta was a Jain, Bindusara a follower of the Vedic religion, and Asoka a Buddhist. As the gospel of the Vedic religion is said to have been revealed by the Almighty himself, we cannot trace it to a human founder and give his account, but Buddhism was founded by Buddha, **and** Jainism was revived in those times by Mahavir. Hence **their accounts and** influence exerted by them over the people of

those times, are given their due place in the book. Here is not a place for the discussion of the doctrines or philosophies preached and propounded by them. I have therefore rested content with giving an account of the social and political changes wrought by their personal influences and by the doctrines preached by them.

To any student of ancient Indian history, the rock and pillar edicts serve as irrefutable and absolutely reliable pieces of evidence. The kings of the Mauryan dynasty were authors of the most of such edicts, that are found to-day. Several books solely devoted to them have been published. Their contribution to the cogent formation of ancient history of India is invaluable, as also of the coins. Most of the writers on the Mauryan dynasty have not given any account of the coins, because none were found that could be connected with it. I followed the same plan at the first; further research, however, convinced me that the dynasty had its own coins. So I have given an account of such coins in the present volume.

The reader will find, that the accounts of coins and of the two religious prophets, Mahavir and Buddha, have been interwoven with the accounts of the Maurya kings, as they really were in those times. The family name of the first disciple of Mahavir was Gautam. Buddha has also been known as Gautam. Writers on Indian history committed the mistake of taking them to have been the names of one and the same individual, due to this similarity of names. Most of them, thus misguided, came to the conclusion that Jainism was merely a branch of Buddhism. Later on, however, this misunderstanding was clarified and the two Gautams were taken as representatives of two different religions, which were independent of each other. Further research has made me come to the conclusion that Buddhism was a branch of Jainism. Its founder was first a Jaina monk; finding, however, it very difficult to practise all the rules and regulations of the Jaina order, he left it and founded his own faith, which is comprised of the philosophy and doctrines of Jainism with a few changes here and there. All the pieces of evidence supporting this theory have been given and explained in details in the book. Several signs on the

Coins, originally connected with Jainism, were misinterpreted as belonging to Buddhism, due to similarity between the two. All these signs have been proved as belonging to Jainism in the book and the problem has been discussed in details, with numerous proofs supporting the theory.

Two chapters in the book have been devoted to an account of the coins. The first of them contains general information on the coins, and the second gives a detailed account of every coin with historical conclusions to be deduced from them. The interpretations of other writers are also given side by side with my own interpretations, in order that the reader may be able to compare and contrast them and draw his own conclusions. It remains to be stated here, that very few publications have been out about Indian coins of very ancient times. Only three or four books are known to me, dealing with the coins of the time with which we are concerned. Extracts from them and opinions of their writers are given in the book. All the coins connected with the period are described in the volume. I hope that, the reader will find these chapters on coins very interesting.

No reader need labour under the erroneous conception that I am partial towards Jainism and that I have dwelt largely upon it at the cost of other faiths. As I have already stated in the preface to vol. I, I have come to the conclusion, based on solid pieces of evidence, that all the principal kings of India, right from the 10th century B. C to the times of the Mauryas, were followers of Jainism. All my subsequent researches into rock-edicts, coins and a study of the books of the scholars belonging to other faiths, have convinced me, all the more of the truth of the theory. In propounding this theory, I have no ulterior motive except the search for and establishment of truth, which is the duty and goal of a historian. Even the Mohan-ja-dero excavations, which represent the civilization of nearly 2500 years ago, reveal that Jaina religion and culture prevailed during those times. The seals and coins excavated from its ruins have convinced the archeological experts of this truth. (A paragraph is given about Mohan-ja-dero at the end of Chapter II).

Now I turn to other details in the book:—

(1) Hitherto, it has been a commonly accepted **belief among** the scholars, that Asoka and Priyadarsin were names of the same individual. Hence those edicts and other relics which really go to the credit of Priyadarsin, have been mistakenly ascribed to Asoka. Hence the edicts—large and small—and the relics, which have astonished the whole world and which were really erected by PriyadarSin, a staunch follower of Jainism, have been ascribed to Buddhism, because Asoka was a Buddhist. I have proved the fact that Asoka and Priyadarsin were different kings and that all the rock and pillar edicts and the other relics are connected with Priyadarsin and consequently with Jainism. As far as Jains are concerned, they will find that some of the places of Jaina pilgrimage have been hitherto unknown to them, because they had been taken to be connected with Buddhism.

(2) Scholars have identified Sandrecottus with Chandragupta. I have proved that it was not so and that Sandrecottus can be identified with Asoka. In doing so, I have quoted an extract from Strabo's diary, and have shown how and where, it has been misinterpreted. When once we accept the conclusion that Sandrecottus was Asoka, several anomalies in the episodes in his life which have been described in the Buddhist books, and which rather falsify and go against the statements given in his own rock-edicts, at once disappear, and his life is clarified of ail such contradictory details and conflicting opinions. Some of these anomalies are given below:—(a) Asoka changed his faith before his coronation ceremony was performed; while it is stated in the rock-edicts that he changed his faith 3 to 9 years after his annointment. (b) He massacred his queen and numerous other persons, and started the cruel institution named "Narkalay;" the edicts, on. the other hand, credit him with love and kindness towards all mankind. These are merely two of the many instances. All these anomalies would automatically disappear, if it is accepted that Sandrecottus was Asoka.

(3) The author of Arthasastra, and prime-minister of Chandragupta has been given many names:—Chanakya, Chanikya,

Kaityilya, Kutilya, and others. All these are false names. The dates and the places of his birth and death and the conditions prevailing during his times, have been included in the book.

(4) New light is thrown on the life of Bindusar and dark clouds of false theories which surrounded him, have been dispelled.

(5) A clear account of the invasion of Alexander the Great, together with the political condition of the territory subdued by him and the rule of his generals over it, has been given. A separate chapter is devoted to this account. No book on Indian history has dealt with this subject.

Part III ends here. Part IV consists of the accounts of Asoka and Priyadarsin.

(1) To prove that Asoka and Priyadarsin were different individuals, their dates have been fixed, based on the authority of Buddhist books and the dates of other contemporary kings. These things are very briefly discussed in this volume. For more details, the reader is to refer to my "Life of Priyadarsin."

(2) After this fixing of the dates, a connected account is given of Asoka's life, together with necessary details of the faith that he followed; hence the position has also been clarified.

(3) Thus, when Asoka's account has been clearly given and the episodes connected with him are thus sifted, we are in a position to present clearly and cogently an account of Priyadarsin. The extent of his territory, the policy of administration adopted by him, his relations with foreigners, his love for and devotion to his faith, have all been clearly described in three full chapters.

(4) The first of these chapters is connected with his personal affairs. An account is given of his queens, his children, his conquest tour and of many other interesting things. How he subdued Tibet, Khotan and central Asia, why the Chinese wall was built—all these things have been described in this chapter.

(5) The second chapter contains an account of his previous birth and its significance with relation to his life. After his coming to know of his former birth, he began to be very strongly inclined towards religious deeds like, sending missionaries in every part of the country, in and out of India, erecting rock and pillar edicts,

and taking part into every activity conducive to the general welfare of humanity.

(6) His empire is described in the last chapter. An account is given of his administrative policy. He had divided his empire into nearly two dozen provinces and had appointed governors over every one of them. Short accounts have also been given of these governors and of the provinces under them. Then follows an account of his monuments, specially of his rock and pillar edicts, Stupas and Colossal figures. It is a wonder that all the books on history are quite silent on the last two items. Eventually he has been compared with emperors like Charlamagne, Caesar, Napoleon, Akbar, Jesus, Buddha, Aristotle and Bacon, and it has been established that there was such a harmonious union of the qualities of all of them in him, that none of them can stand comparison with him, though some of them may surpass him in a single virtue. Then is discussed the problem whether the eastern (Indian) civilization conquered the western or vice versa.

The next chapter is devoted to the discussion of the causes that led to the sudden and catastrophic decline and fall of the Mauryan empire. Then, as usual, is given an account of the extent of the territory of every Mauryan king.

At the beginning of every chapter is given a synopsis of the contents of that chapter. Every point discussed is indicated by a title at its beginning. At the top of every page is given the title indicating the matter discussed in it.

The book is divided into four volumes, of which the present volume is the most important, due to the following causes—(1) It contains a detailed account of all the coins connected with the time with which we are concerned. (2) Asoka and Priyadar-sin have been proved to have been different individuals and all the rock and pillar edicts, the gigantic idols and many other relics, which have been mistakenly ascribed to Buddhism, have been proved to be connected with Priyadarsin, and so, with Jainism. (3) The theory of identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta has been disproved. Several misapprehensions about the birth, date, the birth-place and the various names of the author of Artha*

sastra have been removed. (4) One whole chapter is devoted to the account of the invasion of Alexander the Great and the condition of the territory subdued by him, after his departure. All history books are silent on this point. (5) Accounts have been given of the lives of the two great prophets, Mahavir and Buddha, and of the signs, the relics and the edicts connected with them.

Four appendixes have been appended to the volume. (1) To whom can be applied the name, "Dharmasoka". (2) The SudarSan Lake. (3) Dasarath and Salisuk; both of whom were near relatives of Priyadarsin. (4) Jalauk, the famous king of Kasmir, about whom all the history books have hitherto preserved silence. All these four appendixes contain entirely novel material and especially the last two. In the second, the theory that the Sudarsan lake was dug by Ksatrap Rudradaman has been disproved. In the first it has been proved that the name Dharmasoka does not belong to the king, with whom it has hitherto been connected, but to quite another king.

At the end of the book are given, as usual, the dynastic and the chronological lists and the index. The last to be given are extracts from some of the opinions about the book.

Suggestions from readers are cordially invited.

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After the publication of these volumes, numerous criticisms, both in favour and against, have seen the light of the day. Favourable criticisms have not been mentioned here, because that might smack of self-praise and advertisement. Some of the adverse criticisms are stated below:—

(1) A review has appeared in the " Prasthan ", contributed by Durgashanker Shastri. There is also a summary of the lecture delivered by him as the president of a section of the Literary conference held in Karachi.

Mr. Shastri has not spared any pains in almost calling me names and dubbing me as a religious bigot. So far these are concerned, I have nothing say, because they call for no answer. One thing in the volume seems to have enraged Mr. Shastri rather **very** much. He has severely questioned my right to interpret the

three verses of Hemchandra, the author of Parisistha Parva, written in connection with the rulers of Avanti, differently from the interpretation by Dr. Shantilal Shah. The reader will judge it for himself whether an author and a student of history has right or not, to forward his own interpretation of a particular piece of antiquity, provided he has given sufficient causes for doing so.

(2) Prof. Dolarray Mankad has reviewed the book in the report for 1936, of the "Gujarati Sahitya Sabha".

Prof Mankad has penned his criticism in a masterly language. He has ascribed two drawbacks to me. One is, that details have incorporated, which should not have any place in a book on history. The second is the method of stating arguments and drawing conclusions from them. With reference to the first, it remains to be stated, that it has not yet been decided once for all, what should be and what should not be, given place in a historical treatise. I draw his attention to my preface to vol. I, and to a learned article—"Itihas num Parisian " in the Prasthan for Kartik, 1994. With regard to the second, I sought an opportunity to see him personally in Ahmedabad. It transpired from this meeting, that he had never cast his eyes upon the first volume. Possibly he might have never made the charges, had he gone through it. I saw him twice at his residence in Karachi with vol. I, but for want of time, he could not enlighten me on the point. Several letters have been written to him, but I have not been fortunate enough to receive any reply from him.

(3) Mr Zaveri, a contributor to the " Bombay Samachar," has stated nearly thirty conclusions without forwarding any reasons for any of them. As nearly all of them tally with those stated by Indravijayasiiri. I shall discuss them below.

(4) Indravijayasiiri has been found to have been keenly interested in these volumes. The preface to vol. III, (Gujarati version) contains summary of his charges and strictures against the book. After that three other publications have come out in relation to the volumes. They are:—(a) A Review of " Prachin Bharat* varfia "; (b) The Lion capital Pillar of Mathura; and (c) Mahaksatrap Rudradaman. All the three have been studied by me.

(a) **The** Review is studded with hard names for me. **But** **they** neither concern me nor perturb me. One thing, however, **strikes** me as rather strange. I fail to understand the cause of so **much** ire on his part. So have failed most of the readers.

The Suri ji is a great compiler and of a studious temperament. But he seems to be lacking the faculty of synthetic judgement. He seems never to have cared to look into the reasons advanced by me for all the new theories emanating from me. He seems to have discredited them, simply because they were novel and did not agree with current conclusions and beliefs.

(b) He seems to have circulated a letter Dt. 15-7-37 to twenty-three scholars of great repute, in connection with the Lion Capital Pillar. The letter may have contained a question to the effect, whether the pillar in question had any connection with Jainism. As most of the scholars were ignorant of the reasons stated for this theory, they replied unanimously that it had no connection with Jainism. Justice and fairness required that the Suri ji should have stated my reasons for the theory in his letter. Had he done so, I trust, that most of them would have answered **just** the other way.

(c) The pamphlet on Rudradaman requires correction and overhauling at every stage. Why does the Suri ji adhere to the conclusions of foreign scholars, eventhough there are cart-load^ of evidence to the contrary ? Why such mentality ?

That he must have circulated a letter to different scholars in connection with these two questions, is clear from a letter by Prof. Ramchandra of the Calcutta Museum, dated 24-7-1937.

" With reference o your letter of the 15th inst., inquiring if the Mathura Lion Caj/tal inscription contains any reference tp Jaina affairs or names of Nahapana, Bhumak or Nanaka, I have to give you a reply in the negative."

The question is obviously related to the conclusions arrived at by me (though, I do not know from where he unearthed the the name Nanaka). May I ask him to point out, where I have made this reference ? I have merely stated that Nahapan **was** a contemporary of Mahaksatrapa Rajuval, who is mentioned in the Lion Capital Pillar. For this, I have quoted a passage from

J. B. B. R. S., New Ed. Vol. III, p. 61, (f. n. 13, pp. 284, **vol. III**).

* It is obvious that Nah&pan was a contemporary of Rajuval, **the** Mahaksatrap of Mathura." Numerous other pieces of evidence have also been given by me together with dates. The Suriiji should have taken note of all these things.

The Gujarati edition of the second volume has been reviewed by the Suriiji in the "Prasthan" Pp. 270 to 281 (11 pages). The editor has printed it, as a separate article and has not given it a place in the review section. He has hurled several charges against the volume, without stating reasons for doing so. Strangely enough, to some of his doubts and questions the answers have already been given in the volume itself. He does not seem to have looked to them. One or two instances will suffice:—(1) We don't differ from each other as to the setting of the Gomafca idol. I have raised a doubt about the time of its being carved out. (2) Another instance refers to the Kalyanak of Mahavir. I agree with the Suriiji that its name is Pavapuri. The doubt raised by me pertains to the situation of the place. Such instances can be multiplied. At several places he has severely criticized me for theories which are not my own, but which I have quoted from other writers.

The Suriiji holds the degree "Itihas Tattva Mahodadhi". He has repeatedly stated it to be his intention to publish a regular treatise against my book, I will be the first to read it and try to grasp all sound pieces of criticism and advice from it.

I can ill afford to devote much time to answering criticisms upon my book, which bristles with novel theories. The volumes to be published by me are:—"Life of Priyadarsin" (500 pages); "Life of Mahavir" (500 pages) and "Encyclopaedia JainicS," (20 volumes of about a thousand pages each). I am already in the evening of my life (60 years). Hence I have decided to devote all my energies to the stupendous task I have undertaken. The pioneer in any field is always hooted by his contemporaries and I form no exception to it,

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Now I turn to certain general remarks:—

(1) The whole book was written by 1928. During the years that intervened between the compilation and the publication,

aeveral additions, alterations and corrections were found necessary to be made in the book. Some of these have been given in the indexes and other tags appended to some of the chapters, because I did not think it wise to disturb the uniformity of the original matter,

(2) Most of the criticisms were anticipated by me and I have already stated my explanations in reference to them.

(3) Any one, who takes up any book on ancient history, will find, that little space is devoted to the faith followed by a particular king or by a particular dynasty. A perusal of these volumes, on the other hand, will convince the reader that the policy of all the ancient kings was formed by the faith that they followed. It was the basis of their activities in all other fields of life. An account of the life of any king, like Chandragupta, Bindusar, Asoka or Priyadarsin will convince the reader of this*

(4) We are not concerned here with the problem—"What is religion " *I*¹ Neither need we discuss here, whether the influence of religion extends over this life, or of the subsequent lives as well. Suffice it to say, that most of the modern educationists are convinced of the truth, that intellectual development is only one isolated part of real education, and that real education of a child should mean a harmonious growth of physical, mental and moral of his nature. The spiritual and moral side of education* has received little attention hitherto. Real happiness and peace in the world can never be established without properly training and developing the moral and spiritual virtues of the members of a nation and for that matter, of all the human beings. These are the reasons why religious matters have been discussed in details in my volumes.

(5) Those scholars, who have deeply studied the edicts of Priyadarsin have unanimously declared that they contain a gospel which has the power to establish universal brotherhood. They have hitherto been mistakenly ascribed to Asoka and so to Buddhism. Really speaking they contain the essence of the Jaina gospel.

(6) Jainism was a universal religion in times immemorial. Its followers are very few at present and most of them all Banias.

(7) It is understandable that followers of other faiths might

may that the Mohan-ja-dero excavations and the rock-edicts do not have any connection with Jainism; but the wonder of wonders is that some of the Jains themselves declare their concurrence with the view.

(8) The people of the west were followers of Jainism in ancient times, (p. 60 to p. 142 chap, about coins) Strangely enough, though these people declare themselves to have been highly oivilized some 2500 years ago, yet they never even mention that they owed their civilization to Jainism. At present, they have given up the principle of non-violence and seem to have adopted the policy of persecutting dependent nations. The reader will easily see, how far they have deviated themselves from the original ideal.

(9) The aim of a historian is the search for, and establishment of fact. To quote a passage from a learned writer*:—If nothing succeeds like success, the great triumph of Jainism in holding its own against its numerous rivals in the north, discredits the view that Jainism, like Buddhism, did not strike deep roots in India and that there was nothing like a Jaina period in the history of India. During the glorious period of more than a thousand years, there was not a single dynasty in the north, whether great or small, that did not come under the influence of Jainism at one time or another." This same period has been wrongly named as a Buddhist period, because they did not know how to distinguish between Jaina signs and Buddhist signs. In fact there was no Buddhist period. For this, I draw the reader's attention 10 Pref. pp. 20, vol. I, where I have quoted extracts from Mr. A. K. Mazmudar's " Hindu History " (pp. 702-3), and from Mr. Vincent Smith's " Oxford History of India." p. 55. During the thousand years with which we are concerned, there was not a single -dynasty which did not come under the influence of Jainism at one time or other.

T. L. Shah

(1) One definition is given in the preface to vol. I. According to a writer religion is the basis of life in all its branches.

(2) We have got only "Directors of Public Instruction " but not of "Education."

(3) Jarnism in Northern India, pp. 261

Pictures in the Book

In the following description, the first line of numbers shows the serial numbers of the pictures themselves, and the second line indicates the page in the book on which they are given.

Deficiency in successive numbers of the pictures represents those pictures given at the top of every chapter; for their details see ante.

(A)

No. Page

1 **Cover:**—It represents the Kalpadruma. Details about it are given on Pref. pp. 25 Vol. I. It was at first decided to give different pictures on the covers of all the four volumes. Later on, however, it was found more advisable to preserve unity by giving the same picture on the covers of all the four volumes.

2 **The Title page:**—It represents the Safichi Stupa, which the scholars have generally stated to have connection with the Buddhism. According to my opinion it is a relic of Jainism. In ancient times, there was at the place around it a city, which could be named Safichi Puri. Chandragupta donated Rs. 40000 per year for illuminations in it. A part of it is at present also known as " Siddha Ka Sthan "; and hence I have put the words:—" Arhate nama namah "• For details see P. 186-8. All these details go to prove that it is connected with Jainism. At this place Mahavir, the last Jain Tirtharika attained salvation.

The dome is majestic. Following is the description given in the Bhilsa Topes P. 186:—"The total height of building including the cupolas, must have been upwards of one hundred feet-the base of the Tope is surrounded by a massive colonnade, 144½ ft. in

No. *Page*

diameter from west to east and 151½ ft. from north to south. (P. 187) The total height of the gateway is 18 ft. 2 in. and its breadth is 7 ft. 1 in.

PART III

5-6	10	Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and Mahavlr, the founder of Jainism. They are given side by side for comparison and contrast of their respective signs.
7	186-88	The gate-way of Safichi stupa, the place of the salvation of Mahavlr. In olden times the entrances to holy shrines were always low in height, so that those who wanted to enter, might have to bend down their heads at first. For details see no. 2 above. The average height of people in those times was more than our own. Mahavlr's height was 10½ ft.
12	177	The Birth of Bindusar. Chanakya is seen drawing out the child from the phoetus of the queen of Chandragupta.
13	195	Monk Gomata; a gigantic idol of Bhadrabahu. It is situated in the district of Hasan in Mysore state. Its height is 56 ft. Its symmetry is unique and has struck with wonder all artists, Indian as well as foreign. It has been carved on the top of amount; certainly we do not clearly understand how the sculptors must have managed to execute this difficult task. For further details the reader is referred to p. 195 and 323.
16	212	The portrait-head of Alexander the Great, who invaded India in 327 B. C For details about him vide chap. VII.
16-17	212-220	Portrait-head of Seleucus Nicator, the chief general of Alexander. He declared himself as an independent ruler after the death of the latter. His attempts to conquer India were rendered unsuccessful by Asoka who at last married his daughter. For details vide the account of Asoka.

No. Page

- 18 221 Asoka is seen starting towards the Punjab to suppress the rebellion. The Yavana generals there, had begun to quarrel with one another. Asoka comes across an elephant in the forest. The elephant has lifted Asoka with his trunk and has placed him on his back.

PART IV

- 20-21 225 Portrait heads of Asoka and his Vaisya queen. Artists generally add something of their own, whenever they have to draw pictures of the people of ancient times. Such pictures do not give a correct idea of those people. This picture given here is based on truth. It gives a true impression of the persons it represents. It is based on the famous "Bharhut Stupa" It gives us a correct idea of the dresses and other details of the kings and queens of those times.
- 22 237 After the ordination of prince Mahendra and princess 'Sanghamitra, Asoka sent a group of missionaries under their leadership, to Ceylon. In the picture Asoka is seen seeing off the missionaries on the sea shore.
- 23 248 Kunal the eldest" son of Asoka, was studying at Avanti, when he was 13 years old. His step-mother, Tisyaraksita; contrived to make him blind. In the picture Kunal is seen blinding himself according to the order of his father.
- 25-26 235-6 Portrait-heads of Kunal and his queen Kanchanmala. (Read no. 20-21 with this.)
- 27 263 The middle picture represents Priyadarsin. The two
& seq. above it represent Asoka and his queen Padmavati, and the two below Kunal and his queen Kanchanmalft.
- 28 256 The dream of Mayadevl. The scholars have taken her to be the mother of Buddha; but Buddha's mother's name was not M&yadevi. Again the Buddhist

Page

- books give no explanation as to why the elephant was one of the features of the dream; Thus many things go against connecting this picture with Buddhism. As to my conclusions about it, vide descriptions on P. 240-2 and P. 256 with their notes.
- 261-2 The portrait-head of Priyadarsin. The reader can see the fine personality of the emperor. The picture is based on the same material on which pictures Nos. 20, 21, 25 and 26 are based. The reader will see that his account given in the book agrees with his picture.
- 277 As stated in the Dhauli-Jagaudft rock-edict, Priyadarsin invaded Kaling during the 9th year of his reign. At the sight of the ruthless massacre, both of soldiers and horses, his heart melted with pity and he took the vows of a Sravak.
- 320 Some of the numerous edicts and relics of Priya-
& seq. darsin. The details about all of them are given in the book.
- 323 The gigantic idol; I have come to the conclusion based on research work that Priyadarsin must have erected numerous idols of such tremendous sizes. Only 9 to 10 of them are found at present. Seven of them have been described at some length in the book. The picture has been given here with two points of view; it is one of the numerous edicts of Priyadarsin whose account is given here; the other is to give an idea of the vast size of the idol, as contrasted with the height of the man, who is also given in the picture. The height of the idol described in no. 13 is 58 ft; the height of this idol is 35 ft.
- 332- Monuments of Priyadarsin. They have been given
33 here with a view to show an idea of the art of those times. Details about them will be given later on.

B

Pictures at the beginning of every chapter

Part III

Chapter I—Buddha is seen preaching his gospel on the other side of the Himalayas—in China, Japan and other countries. Jaina monks are seen preaching the gospel of Mahavir every where. A poet is seen engrossed in observing the cycles of the world and then puts them down into writing.

Chapter II—In ancient times every new thing originated from the king. The coins were struck in his name. His main duty was to look after the welfare and happiness of his subjects. Their coins represent their different likes and dislikes.

Chapter III—Original forms of coins. Gold and silver and their transformation into coins. These coins bear religious signs showing religious-mindedness of the kings of those times.

Chapter IV—Chandragupta is seen in a state of dreaming. Everything in the world is bound to be destroyed in course of time. Chandragupta is seen sitting at the feet of his preceptor, who accepts him as his disciple; then both of them start towards the deccan.

Chapter V—A person is influenced by the company he keeps. The incident of the old dame played a very important part in the life of Chandragupta and of Chanakya. The pregnant queen of Chandragupta is poisoned. Chanakya wished the death of the queen for the sake of saving the life of the child. The pilgrimage to Satrunjaya and Chandragupta's ordination are also significant points.

Chapter VI—Wars were common in those times. Kings of those times maintained standing armies consisting of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. Chanakya's death took place at this time. His enemy died also by that time.

Chapter VII—Porus, who is defeated, submits his sword to Alexander, who hands over the sword back to him. Porus was murdered by his own people. The emperor of Magadh regains the throne.

Part IV

Chapter I—There were many facts to the life of Asoka, Varied were the events that took place in his life. The lion licked his body. It is said that Asoka was very cruel in his former life. He had started the cruel institution known as "Narka-lay." The most tragic incident of his life was the blindness of his eldest son, Kunal.

Chapter II—After the birth of his grandson Priyadarsin, Asoka managed the administrative affairs as his regent. By this time he had become very pious. His daughter Sanghamitra had gone to Ceylon to spread the gospel of Buddhism. His (?) another daughter and her husband having crossed the Himalayas had gone towards Nepal for religious propaganda.

Chapter III—Priyadarsin was a beggar in his former life. He turned a new leaf in his life after coming into contact with Jaina monks. In his present life, he came across the same monks, and recollected his former life. He salutes them respectively and turns more devotedly to the path of religion by beginning to get shrines and edicts and many other things built.

Chapter IV—Priyadarsin throws himself heart and soul into religious activities. He got erected numerous edicts, topes, shrines, traveller's guest-houses, gigantic idols and many other relics, most of which are seen to-day.

Chapter V—Chandragupta has gone on a pilgrimage to Girnar. He is seen getting the lake Sudarsan dug at the foot of the mount. The coolies are seen building the wall of the dam.

Chapter VI—Rebellions are found rising in every corner of the empire during Subhagsen's reign, owing to his policy of religious persecution; seeing the woeful plight, the Commander-in-chief murders the master with his own sword and is seen to usurp the throne for himself.

Chapter VII—King Chandragupta and his adviser Chatiakya are seen to consult on some important state matters. The Greek emperor, Alexander the Great is seen marching speedily towards

India; how finally, the blind prince Kunal had resorted to the life of a singer, owing to the high-handed and mean policy of his step-mother Tisyaraksita, the then-Queen-consort of Emp. Asoka is also shown here.

(C)

Maps

Maps are given of the extents of the territories in the time of every Mauryan emperor.

Fig. 41 shows, where Chandragupta began to rule as a petty small king and founded the Mauryan dynasty; and finally how much land he brought under his sway.

Fig. 42 shows, how much of the mighty Magadha empire was lost during Bindusar's rule.

Fig. 43 shows how it was destined for Emp. Asoka to preserve the integrity of inheritance from his father.

Fig. 44 shows, how far and wide in all directions was extended the same Mauryan empire under Emp. Priyadarsin.

Fig. 45 shows the fate of the Mauryan empire during the time of Emp. Priyadarsin's successors within a short space of only 25 years, thus furnishing a good lesson to those, who follow in their footsteps.

(D)

Coin plates

There are seven coin plates; within them 104 coins have been represented. Both the obverse and the reverse sides of most of the coins are given. Thus their total number is about 200. Details about every one of them are given in chap. III. Some details are also given in the preface pp. 8 & seq.

**The names of the books, that are consulted,
cited and quoted ,**

(A)

Books that are abbreviated

A. G. C.	Ancient Geography of India by Gen. Cunningham
A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India by Nandlal Dey
A. E. C.	Ancient eras by Gen. Cunningham
A. E. J	
A. R.	Asiatic Researches
A. S. I.	Archeological survey of India
A. S. R. I.	Archeological survey Report of India
B. L	Buddhist India by Prof. R. Davis
Bh. A	
Bh. Asoka	Asoka by Dr. Bhandarkar
B. I. P.	Bhavnagar Inscriptions, Sanskrit and Prakrt by Prof. Peterson
Bh. P.R. Bh.]	
Bh. P. R.	Bharat no Prachin Rajvamsa
Bh. P. Rau J	Vol. I-II by V. Rau
B. M. C.	British Museum Coins
C. A. I. 1	Coins of Ancient India
A. C. I. J	by Gen. Cunningham
C. J. B. 1	Coins of India by. C. J. Brown. M. A. (1922)
C. A. B. J	The Heritage of India Series
C. H- I.	Cambridge History of India Vol. I
C. I. M.	Coins of Indian Museum
C. D. I	
C. I. J	Chronology by Mrs. Duff
C. A. R.	Coins of Andhra Dynasty by Prof. Rapson
E. I.	Epigraphica Indica
E. H. I.	Early History of India by Vincent Smith
H. H.	The Hindu History of India by A. K. Majmu dar, Calcutta 1920
H. J.	Heart in Jainism by Stephenson
H. U. Chho.	History of India (Uttarardha) by Chhotalal Purani M. A. (G. V. S. edition)
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly (Quarterly Magazine)
I. C. C.)	
I. C. I. J	Inscriptions Corporatorum by Prof. Hultzs

I. C. I. C.	Inscriptions Corporatorum Indices by Gen. Cunningham
I. A.	Indian Antiquary (Monthly Magazine)
I. C	Epigraphica Karnatica
J. A. H. R. S.	The Journals of the Andhra Historical Research Society
J. B. A. S	Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
R. A. S.	
J. R. S. B	
A. S. B.	
T. S. L. S.	Jain Sahitya Lekh Sangrah
J. B. B. R. A. S.	Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
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J. N- I.	Jainism in N. India by C. J. Shah
J. G. D.	Jainism; translated by Prof. Glazanapp published by J. D. P. Sabha, Bhavnagar
J. B. O. R. S.	Journals of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J. O. B. R. S.	
J. S. I.	The Studies in Jainism in Southern India Vol. I - II by Prof. Rao
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K, A. I.	Kautilya Arthsiistra by J. P. Joshipura M. A. (Gaekwar Series No. 187)
K. S. S.	Vinay Vijayji's Comments of Kalpasutra Sukh-bodhini by Harilal Hansraj'
K. S. S. C	
M. S. I.	Maurya Samrajyaka Itihas by Acharya Shree Vidyabhusanalankar, Kangdi Gurukul.
M. S. E.	
M. S. K. I.	Offord History of India by V. Smith
O. H. I.	
Pari	Hemchandra Surfs Parisista Parva translated by J. D. P. Sabha Bhavnagar
Pari P.	
R. K. M.	Asoka by Prof. Radha Kumud Mukerji
R. W. W.	Records of the Western World Pts. I - II by Rev. S. Beal
S. B. E.	Sacred Books of the East
S. B. East	
S. J. I. D.	Sanksipta Jaina Itihas by Kamtaprasad Jain Surat 1990

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 London; 1910 Vol. I - I I
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 Avasyak, Nisithchurni etc. etc.)
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A. D. Anno Domini; In the year of our Lord;
 Christian Era
A. E. Anjan Era; Era of the king Anjan of Ceylon
A. M. Anno Mahavir; in the year of Mahavir;
 Mahavira Era
A. V. Anno Vikram; Vikrama Era
A. B. Anno Buddha; Buddha Era
B. Brhat
B. C. Before Christ; before the Christian Era
B. M. Before Mahavir
B. V. Before Vikram
Cf. = Compare; **Chap.** = Chapter; **Dr.** = Doctor;
E. = East; **e. g.** = for example; **F. N. : f. n.** = Foot note;
I. e. : i. e. = that is; **Fig. : Bg.** = Figure; **ht.** = height;
Intro. « Introduction; **ft.** = foot; feet; **in.** = inches;
G. V. S. Gujarat Vernacular Society
K. E. Kali Era
L. S. Laukika Era
M. E. Mahavira Era
M. R. E. Minor rock-edicts
N. North* **N. E.** North-east. **N. W.** North-west
N, W. W. North-west-west **No. : no.** Number
P. E. Pillar-edict **Pref. :** pref. preface **Prof.** Professor
P. : Pp. : pp. page pages **Pt. pt.** part
R. E. Rock-edict
R. I. S. Royal Indian Series
Seq. sequel, that follows **S.** South
U. P. United Provinces
Vol. Volume **W.** West

Part 3

PART 3



- I Chapter How the religious prophets led humanity
- II Chapter Coins (generally)
- III Chapter Coins (particularly)
- IV Chapter The Maurya Dynasty
 - (1) Chandragupta
- V Chapter Chandragupta (contd.)
- VI Chapter Chandragupta (contd.)
 - (2) Bindusar
- VII Chapter India under foreign rule



Chapter I

How the religious prophets well-versed in the workings of nature let humanity.

*Synopsis:—Marvels of nature—Account of leaders of humanity who were contemporaries—Fixing the dates of the events of Lord Buddha, the founder of Buddhism—Contemporary events in the life of Mahavir, the last Jaina Tirthankar—List of other important facts concerning their lives and the writer's thoughts on them—Spread of Buddhism in India as well as outside India and an analysis of its reasons—An explanation of dreams dreamt by mothers of great persons during their period of pregnancy—Origin of the present social structure—Special advantage of the Federal System, and the coins of those times—Beginning of the art of writing and of grammar—Relation between nature and human society—Brahmin religion, the proved eternity of the Vedic religion—Culture and learning rather than birth and age, decide the progress and status of a man in the **world**—The existing coins, rock inscriptions and other relics which are hitherto accepted as connected with Buddhism; and points leading to the removal of this belief.*

1 Nature and her preconceived plan for everything in this world Chapter

It is indeed a happy sign that common people have begun to turn their backs to materialism in favour of spiritualism, and that they have begun to recognize the existence of nature.

The two causes of all the activities in this world are nature and man, who, when they act on the same lines, make this world happy and progressive like the ship, the sails of which are helped by a favourable wind. If, on the contrary, any activity of man is against the plan of nature, the world progresses, if it progresses at all, with the speed of a snail, though, in nine cases out of ten, it does not progress at all, but receives a set-back.

This part of the book contains an account of the Maurya dynasty, the kings in which line, were not only great but were responsible for many significant changes, social as well as political and religious, many of which exist even at present. The seeds of these pregnant changes had been laid long ago, but the efficient rule of these kings brought them into being effectively.

Nature's way to execute her plans is to create great men¹. Accordingly,³ four³ of them, two of which were connected with changes of a social nature, and the other two of which with religious, had laid the foundation of the changes mentioned above. Their general aim was the welfare of the common people.

The account of the first two great men is already given in the first volume, though we shall have occasion to refer to them in this part. In the foot-note given below⁴, are quoted passages

(1) Nature always creates great men with a set and serious purpose. Vide Part I. Chap. I. f. n. JO. As Lord Kṛṣṇa has said in Gita : " I take birth in every age for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked and for establishing religion."

(2) See f. n. no. 1.

(3) For details about them vide Vol. I in Chap, about king Śrenik.

(4) The following paragraph is quoted from page 51 of the presidential address of Mr. Hornele before the annual meeting of the J. R. S. B. in 1898:—

"Another point clearly brought out by the inscriptions in the position of

from foreign writers, treating of the magnitude of the changes brought into effect by these two great men. Here I propose to give some details about the other two, the religious leaders. No attempt is made here to expound the tenets preached by them; there can be little scope for it in a volume of this nature. We shall content ourselves with noting only the historical significance of the changes caused by their preachings.

One thing deserves notice here. We have already stated that nature periodically created great men to get her plans executed by them. Within the time-limit fixed for this book, she had already created a great man in the 8th century B. C.

This great man was Parsvanath, the great twenty-third Tirthankar of the Jains. As stated in foot-note no. 1, the authors of *Srutis* and Parsvanath existed in the 8th century B. C. Vedic literature is not quite definite about the time of these authors; but all Jaina books have unanimously fixed the time of Parsvanath as stated in the first part.⁵ They tell us that when Parsva was a young prince, he had an incident⁶ with a Vedic ascetic named Kamath, who was observing penance, hanging upside down from the branch of a tree, with five fine burnings*

the lay element in the Jaina community. I have already remarked that, that element formed an integral part of the Jaina organization, and shown the very important bearing of this point on the fortunes of the order—pp. 45. With the Buddhists, his position was exactly the reverse. In this matter, Buddhism made a fatal mistake."

Thus, in Jainism, due recognition and classification of the lay element have made its existence permanent; while, want of these in Buddhism has shortened its life. Let us hope that the Jains of to-day may cease to disregard the importance of the lay element, and follow Dr. Hornele's suggestion.

Another quotation is from J. N. I. pp. 76:—"With all these schisms and divisions in the Jaina Church it is remarkable that Jainism is still a living sect, whereas the Buddhists have disappeared from India. Its strength and persistence are centred in its power of enlisting the interest of the laity and forming these into a corporation." (Elliot p. 122).

(5) In the first part, we have fixed the dates of Parsva as folio Wxi Birth ; 877 B. C. Entering into holy orders: 847 B. C. (at the age of thirty),

(6) Vide pp. 106, K. S, S.

immediately below his head. In one of the logs of wood, thrown into the fire, there was a serpent who was trying to escape death. Attracted by the noise of the crowd gathered there, Parsva, riding an elephant, went there and knowing with the aid of his spiritual knowledge⁷ that the life of the serpent was in danger, asked his servant to take out the log and split it gently, thus freeing the serpent.

Hence, during the eighth century, sacrifices involving slaying of animals, were generally performed and liked by the people, who followed the Vedic religion. This means that the doctrine of giving sacrifice must have been preached a century or two ago, which leads us to the conclusion that the authors of the Srutis must have existed, not in the eighth but in the tenth or eleventh century B. C.

Thus, animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the 9th century B. C. This fact is supported by the literatures of the two then existing religions—Vedic and Jaina. Nature⁸ created a great man⁹ in Parsvanath, who after attaining Kaivalya Gnan, led the right

(7) Knowledge is divided into five parts in Jainism. (1) Mati Gnan or knowledge which a person has, since his birth. (Persons possessing this, know everything about their previous birth). (2) Sruta Gnan or knowledge which is derived from hearing the preachings of the preceptor and from reading and studying books. (3) Avadhi Gnan or knowledge with a limit. (4) Manaha paryava Gnan or knowledge which enables a person to read thoughts in the minds of others. (5) Kaivalya Gnan or pure and perfect knowledge.

The first three of these, a person, destined to be a Tirthankar, possesses from his very birth; the fourth, he attains at the time of entering holy orders, and the fifth comes to him as a result of severe penance.

A person cannot be said to possess full knowledge, as long as he does not attain Kaivalya Gnan; and he is forbidden to preach upto that time, because his preachings may possibly have defects in them. Consequently, a Jaina monk neither preaches nor has any disciples before the attainment of Kaivalya Gnan. (Cf. the question of the relation between Mahavir and Gosala).

As Parsva was destined to be a Tirthankar, he possessed the first three kinds of knowledge since his birth, and so was able to know the existence of the serpent inside the hollow of the log.

(8) See f. n. no. 1.

(9) Thus nature created a great man in the 8th century B. C. and Sbd created Mahavir and Buddha in the 5th century B. C.

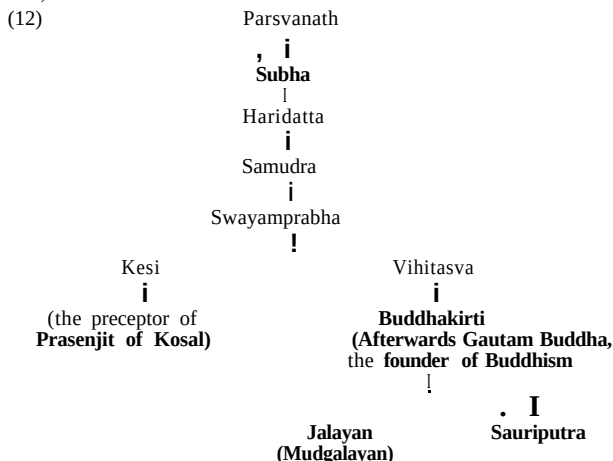
path; he is thus called a great Tirthankar, as is proved by rock-inscriptions.¹⁰ In short, Jaina literature, like Purans, contains valuable and authentic information; however if we misconstrue them the fault is ours and not theirs.¹¹

The fifth monk in order from Parsvanath, was Kesi¹² who preached Jainism to Prasenjit of Kosala, formerly a Buddhist and known as Pasadi in Buddhist works, and converted him in Jainism. He was a contemporary of Mahavir and Buddha. These things are treated fully in the first volume.

The two religious prophets created by nature in the 5th century B. C. were Mahavir and Buddha. It is expedient to fix their times, before we deal with other details about their lives; because, while Jains are definite about the time of Mahavir and his era¹³, the Buddhists do not seem to have come to a definite conclusion about them.

(10) The inscriptions of Gandhar and of Taksasila contain the name of Parsvanath, thus proving the prevalence of Jainism in those regions, at that time. The Manikyal Stupa having the same data, must also be connected with Jainism. (Vide Vol. I, f. n. no. 1, pp. 37 and 294).

(11) Many quotations from, and references to, both these literatures are given in, this book.



(13) See further for this.

Many books have been published expounding the philosophy of Buddhism. From the historical point of view, **The time of Buddha** however, Dipvarhsa, Mahavamsa, Divyavdan, Asokavdan and the Singhalese Chronicles only are important. All these books treat of mainly two periods, one of which is about Buddha's life and half a century round about it; while the other is about two century later when Maurya rule began and upto the end of Asok. Though many facts are given which took place after the first century A. D. we give them up, as they do not fall within the time-limit fixed for this book.

These writers have adopted Buddha era while dealing with these two periods; but all books are not unanimous in assigning dates to the same events in Buddha's life and after¹⁴. The reader, therefore, is perplexed about it and to make confusion worse confounded, several experts, including among them, western scholars of repute, have fixed up Sandrekotes to be none other than Chandragupta¹⁸ the Mauryan emperor, and not stopping at that, have made Alexander the Great, to have been his contemporary. Non-existence of the materials for putting down these important events into writing, at the time when they took place¹⁶, has helped to make these dates more inaccurate than they otherwise would have been. These events were put into script¹⁷ some six or seven centuries after they had actually taken place.

(14) M. S. E. pp. 54:—Buddhist books are full of contradictory and impossible statements. Mahavamsa has a story to tell entirely different from Dipvanisa, and DivyavJan strikes a still new path, while other northern books go on a different journey.

(15) No evidence is forthcoming to support this theory. It is a hypothesis taken for granted by a certain writer who is followed by others without questioning or honest doubt. I have discussed this problem in the account of Asok.

(16) Vide Vol. I. pp. 36 for the possible time of any script being used in writing.

(17) Books might have been written in the third or fourth century B. C., but we find no traces of them to day. It is possible that such books may be found out in Tibet or China.

Hence, in spite of all honesty and conscientiousness of **these** writers, some discrepancies were bound to creep in. **To reduce these** difficulties to a minimum, we should fix up the Buddha sra properly.

The Simhalese Chronicles¹⁸ have adopted the Era of king Anjan of Devah, while giving dates of the main events in the life of Buddha. These dates are:—

- (1) Birth:- A. E. 68¹⁹
- (2) Great Renunciation:- A. E. 97 (i. e. at the age of 29)
- (3) Attainment of Buddhahood:- A. E. 103 (at the age of 35)
- (4) Nirvan:- A. E. 127 (at the age of 59* °)
- (5) Parinirvan:- A. E. 154 (at the age of 80)²¹

It has been found out²² that Buddha died during the eighth year of the reign of Ajatsatru, while Mahavir died during the second. The year of Mahavir's death has been fixed up to be 526-7 B. C.²³ As Buddha died six years after that,³⁴ the year of his death can be fixed up, to be 520 B. C. As he died at the

(18) I. A. Vol, 32. pp. 228.

(19) This era must have been begun in 668 B. C. (600+68=668).

(20) Some are of the opinion that Buddha was 57 at the time of Nirvan, because there was an interval of 23 years between his Nirvan and his death.

(21) C. H. I. pp. 155.

(22) I. A. pp. 342. Vol. 37.; C. H. I. Vol. I. pp. 157; L A. 1914, pp. 132. (Prof. Carpentier has written a large essay entitled "The Time of Mahavir in this last book).

(23) S. B. E. Vol. 22, in which Prof. Jacobi writes:-"The belief of the two Jaina sects, both the Svetamber and Digamber, is unanimous as regards Lord Mahavir's death B. C. 526."

Vide Introduction to H. J. pp. 14.; Hemachandra's Parista Parva; A. E. C. pp. 37. (Nirwan 470 years before Vikrama which means 470+57=527 B.C.); Intro, to Kalpasutra by Dr. Stevenson, p. 8 and f. n. no. 96; J. R. A. S. Vol. IX; B. Theravali of Merutunga, p. 149; J. R. S. Translations, Vol. HI, pp. 356 by Colonel Miles: I. A. Vol. 43. pp. 132. Dr. Jal Carpentier.

(24) The exact period of interval is 6 years and 6 months. Buddha died in the middle of May, 520; Mahavir died in the middle of November, 526. (Vide Vol I. Pp. 107 & 368)

Thus Ajatsatru must have come to the throne \ in May, 523 3 • C.

age of eighty, he must have been born in 600 B.C.²⁵; as Mahavir died at the age of 72²⁶ he must have been born in 598-9 B. C. At the age of 30 i. e. in 568 B. C. he entered the holy orders¹¹⁷ and twelve years after that, i. e. in 556 B. C. he attained Kaivalya Gfian⁹⁸. Let us place their dates side by side:—

Buddha	Age	Age	Mahavir
(1) Birth:- 600 B. C.	0	0	(1) Birth:- 598-9 B. C.
(2) Great Renunciation:-571 B.C.	29	30	(2) Entering into holy
(3) As a preacher:- 564-5 B. C.	36		orders:-568 B. C.
(4) Nirvan:- 544-3 B. C.	57	(3)	
(5) ParinJrvan(death):-520B.C.	80	42	(4) Kaivalya
	(May		Gnan:- 556 „
		72	(5) Death:- 527-6 „
			(November).

Thus Buddha and Mahavir were contemporaries throughout almost the whole of their lives.

Another point which becomes clear from this, is, that while books of northern India have commenced the Buddha Era from 520 B. C. i.e. the year of Buddha's death³⁰, while books of south India have commenced the same era from 543 B. C. i. e. the year Buddha's nirviin³¹, thus making a difference of 23 years,

Gautam Buddha's original name was Siddharth Kumar. His father, vSuddhodan, was the king of the region about Nepal, the capital of which was Kapilvastu, the ruins of which extant to-day. His mother's name was Yasodharii. He was a Sakya ksatriya

(25) See f. n. no. 19 above.

(26) See f. n. no. 23 above.

(27) Jaina literature and Vol. I. pp. 364.

(28) See Vol. I. pp. 366.

(29) Vide Dignikaya, pp. 117, 206. Mazimanik'aya, II, 243; I. A. 1914. pp. 177: "While Buddha stayed at Sangam, the report was brought to him, that his rival' Mahavir, died at Pawa.

(30) Chinese and Tibetan books, and especially Mahavamsa, has this era.

(31) The Sinhalese, the Burmsse add the Siamese have adopted this em in their book Dipvamsa.

and his Gotra (family descent) was either Kasyap **or** Gautam^{8*}. **The old books** make no mention of the family of YasodharJ, **modern books** have affixed Gautam for her. Suddhodan was far advanced in-age (nearly sixty) when Siddharth

Other details was born. After proper training, Siddharth was married to Yasoda, a girl of good descent.

A short time after marriage, she gave birth to a son. At the age of 29 in 571 B. C. Siddharth's mind was turned away from worldly things due to certain events, and as a result, he went away alone at the dead of night, leaving his wife, son and parents, slumbering soundly. Hitherto the Vedic, the Buddhist and the Jaina books agree with one another; from hence Buddhist books differ from others in certain matters. They tell us that for a period of seven years, after his renunciation, (571 to 564 B. C.) Buddha wandered everywhere in search of truth, and never preached to any one³³. Then his mind turned towards penance which he began somewhere on the banks of the Ganges. He attained Nirvan³⁴ at the age of 57 in 543 B. C. and became **free** from worldly shackles³⁵ near Gay a, which is few miles in the south of Patna. During the 21 years from 564 to 543 B. C. he preached his gospel to many and made many disciples³⁶, some of whom were his old³⁷ disciples like Sauriputra,

(32) Generally sons are known by their father's family, the name which always accompanies their own name. Buddha is known as Gautam and hence this doubt. See f. n. nos. 48 and 49 below.

(33) See f. n. no. 37 below.

(34) In Buddhism, Nirvan means attainment of perfect knowledge and Parinirvan means death. In Jainism, Nirvan (generally known as moksa or ialvation) means death (f. n. no. 35 below).

(35) Persons who attain this stage become free from the cycle of birth and re-birth. (See f. n. no. 34 above).

(36) His father, mother, wife, and son became his disciples after 564 B. C. As for Bimbisar and Prasenjit being converted to Buddhism, Vide Vol. I.

(37) It is said that, when he began severe penance, his disciples left him alone; but they rejoined him after his Nirvan. Such disciples are called "old".

(Cf. f. n. no. 33 above, where it is said that he neither preached nor made any disciples before his Nirvan. Hence, this can be explained only, if we

Mudgalayan,³⁸ Inand and others. King Bimbisara³⁹ of Magadh was converted to Buddhism in 564 B. C. and his queen Ksema became a Buddhist nun⁴⁰. After many years of successful preaching, he died in 520 B. C. at the age of eighty in Kusinara-nagar in Videh. Right from his great renunciation in 571 B.C. to his death in 520 B. C. he never met Mahavir.⁴¹ These are the details gleaned from Buddhist books. Below is given a comparative list of details about both of them.

	Gautam Buddha ⁴²	Mahavir ⁴³ .
(1) Name	Siddharth	Vardhaman ⁴⁴
(2) Father's name	Suddhodan	Siddharth
(3) Mother's name	YaSodhara ⁴⁵	Trisla

understand that he must have preached another religion before his Nirvan; for, he could not have preached Buddhism before he founded it.

So the question arises:—who were the disciples who deserted him and what religion did they follow? (f. n. no. 12 above). Which religion did Buddha follow for seven years from 29 to 36 of his age ? (See further for explanations).

(38) Cf. f. n. no. 12 above. Some Buddhist books spell the name differently. (Jalayan).

(39) Vide Vol. I.

(40) Vide Vol. I.

(41) Why they did not come across each other can be explained. See f. n. no. 60 below, and read further question 2, in this chap.

(42) Details are already given.

(43) Some details about him are already given in Vol. I., for others see f. notes below.

(44) Vardhaman was his real name. Mahavir is a name given by the Jaina writers according to their custom of giving significant names to great persons. Vide Vol. I. pp. 81.

(45) Modern books give the name Mayadevi. The Bharhut Stupa contains a picture about Mayadevi's dream. As the Stupa is believed by many to be connected with Buddhism, these scholars must have taken this Mayadevi to be the mother of Buddha. Bharhut Stupa belongs more properly to Jainism. In short, modern books but not old books which are more reliable, support this contention of Mayadevi being the mother of Buddha.

(4) Birth-place	Kapilvastu* ⁶	Ksatriyakundgram* ⁷
(5) Father's gotra	Kasyap ⁴⁸	Kasyap.
(6) Mother's gotra	Gautam ⁴⁹	VaSistha ⁵⁰
(7) Stock ⁸¹	Sakya	Nat ⁵²
(8) Birth-year	600 B. C.	598 B. C. ³³
(9) Wife's name	Yasoda	Yasoda
(10) Year of renunciation	571 B. C. at the age of 29	568 B. C. at the age of 30 ⁵⁴
(11) Attainment of true knowledge	543 B. C. at the age of 57	556 B. C. at the age of 42 ⁵⁵
(12) Place of the above	Gaya	Bank of the river Rjuvaluka ^{5B}

(46) Some people now-a-days say, that the place where stand to-day the Rumindiai and the Nigliva pillars of Asok is the birth-place of Buddha. I am in favour of Kapilvastu. (Cf. f. n. no. 45 above. More details will be given in the account of Priyadarsin).

(47) Vol. I. pp. 120.

(48) Possibility is in favour of "Kasyap"; but as he is famous at Gautam Buddha, a doubt is raised as to the genuine of "Kasyap". (Cf. f. n. no. 32 and 49).

(49) Generally a mother's family name is not joined with the name of the son; his father's family name is joined. Sometimes, however, when a king had several queens, and many of them had sons, these sons were distinguished from one another by joining their mother's family names with their own names, "uddhodan had neither many queens nor many sons. Some are of the opinion that he had two queens and that Buddha was brought up by his step-mother. But these two queens are said to have belonged to the same family. Even if we take for granted that for some unknown reason, Buddha bore the family name of his mother, yet we fail to understand why, as in the case of other princes, he was not called "Gautamiputra" or "Gautami Buddha". It is possible that his father's family name may have been "Gautam" and his mother's "Kasyap". The question deserved attention of scholars.

(50) P. 210 of the Jan. number of "Ganga" (1931). K. S. S. Com. pp. 29.

(51) K?atriya stock.

(52) In Buddhist books he is called Natput for this reason.

(53) Vol. I. pp. 362.

(54) Vol. I. pp. 364.

(55) Vol. I. pp. 366.

(56) Vol. I. pp. 285, f. n. no. 41.

(13) Place of death	Kusinagar	Madhyam Apapa =Pavapuri ⁵⁷
(14) Year of death	520 B. C. at the age of 80	527 B. C. at the age of 72
(15) Distinguishing sign on coins etc.	not known ⁵⁸	Lion
(16) Height	not known ⁵⁹	about 11 feet

Jaina books⁶⁰ furnish the following details about Buddha:- Swayaniprabha, the fifth monk in line from Parsvanath, had a disciple named Vihitasva.⁶¹ Siddharth, the son of king ISuddhodan became his disciple⁶² and had adopted the name, Buddhakirti.

(57) Vol. I. pp. 74, 75.

(58) Idolatry is accepted in Buddhism and idols do not require distinguishing marks for recognition. Again, Buddha was the founder and the only prophet in Buddhism. Jainism had 24 Tlrtharkars or prophets hence such marks are necessary for distinguishing one from the other.

(59) It is possible that he must have been nearly as tall as Mahavlr, because Mahavlr had the common height of those times.

(60) A certain Digamber Jaina monk named Amitgati wrote a book named "Dharma Pariksa" in the 9th century A. D. Yati Balchandraj in one of his series of article in a Jaiua monthly from Agra, (P. 8 of 19-7-34, under the title of "Jaina-Sangh-Bhed") has quoted verse 68 from chap. 18 of that book, which is as follows:—

Rustah sri Virnathasya tapasvl Maudilayanah |

Sisya sri Parsvanathasya vidadhe Buddha-darsanam ||

Meaning:—"Maudilayan, thd disciple of Parsvanath, being angry with Mahavlr, started Buddhism."

The writer has added:—"The disciples of Parsvanath used to put on red-coloured clothes and maintained no relations with Mahavlr, as they were angry with him." Thus Maudilayan was none other than Gautam Buddha; we can easily understand why Buddhist books write that Buddha and Mahavlr never met each other throughout their (subsequent) lives. See further question 2 in this chap, and the foot notes about it.

(61) f. n. no. 12 above.

(62) The four tenets preached by Parsvanath were also preached by Buddha; they are known as Anhaya in Buddhism. [Dr. Bhandarkar(pp. 127) has 6aid so quoting from Dr. Buhler.] Thus Buddha, before he started Buddhism must have been a disciple of Parsva.

He continued his discipleship for seven years and during these years had two disciples named Jalayan and Sariputra. While observing penance near a town named Palasi on the banks of the Saryu, he got tired of the whole thing and gave up Jainism. Like Marichi, the grandson of Rsabhdev, he began to preach a new faith which he named Buddhism"³, which differed in certain tenets from Jainism. Mahavir was alive for 14 years⁰⁴ after the Nirvart of Buddha.

Doubts and questions arising from statements made above I have stated above details about Buddha's life, some of which are unanimously supported by all⁶⁸ and in some of which literatures of different religions and writers of different times and climes widely diverge from one another. Below are raised questions arising from honest doubt on my part, and I request my readers to view them with the dispassionateness and logic of a reasonable student. No attempt is here made to find a hole in the statements, credited with veracity by well-known writers, simply for the sake of doing so.

Question I:—The first question is already stated and discussed in the foregoing pages, and hence we shall state it briefly. If Siddharth's father's family name was "Kasyap," how did he come to be called "Gautam" (?)⁶⁶. Suddhodan had no problem of

(63) Buddhism must have been named after his own name: or "Buddha"* =one who has awakened (to a new sense of life), and hence a religion preached by such a man.

(64) According to Anjan Era, Buddha attained Nirvan at the age of 59 in 541 B. C; and 541-14=527 B. C. the year of Mahavir's death. Following these calculations, the interval between the Nirvan and Parinirvan of Buddha, would be 541-520=21 years; while in f. n. no. 20 and elsewhere, we have stated it to be 23 years. In favour of 21 years we have Jaina books and the Anjan Era concurring with each other in facts. Hence the balance goes in favour of 21 years and hence forth we adopt 541 B. C. as the year of Nirvan. This also proves that the Eras adopted in the northern as well as southern books are not quite correct.

(65) These are stated in the foregoing pages.

(66) F. N, nos, 32, 48 and 49.

distinguishing many princes by many queens from one another, as he had neither.⁶⁷

Question II:—Why did Siddharth call his religion "Buddhism" ? There are, no doubt, words like "Previous or Former Buddhas"⁶⁸ occurring in Buddhist books, but they refer to the previous births of Buddha. (Is it because, as a Jaina monk, his name was Buddha-kirti and that he did not change it after giving up Jainism ?). Buddha means "wise"; why should he have selected such a common name to signify the religion started by him?⁶⁹ Or is it that his disciples have fixed up terms like "Gautam, Buddhism etc.?"

Question III—It is a puzzle why Buddha did not preach anything or made no disciples for the first seven years after his renunciation. He began to preach at the age of 36, while he attained Nirvan at the age of 57. This means that, though he attained perfect knowledge in 543 B. C, he had begun to preach 21 years ago. So his abstinence from preaching for the first seven years cannot be explained on the principle, that he did not think it proper so long as he had not attained perfect knowledge. His preachings before his attainment of perfect knowledge must certainly have contained errors and defects. Did Buddha correct them after his Nirvan ?

Here I am reminded of a tenet of Jainism. As long as a person destined to be a Tirthankar has not attained Kaivalya

(67) May be ? his real family name must have been Gautam, while "Kasyap/**must** have been added by Buddhist books later on. It deserves further inquiry.

(68) "Asok" in the Rulers of India Series* P. 40, 54, 200 and F. N. on kumindiai inscriptions. Cf. f. n. no. 69 below.

(69) Ibid. pp. 54:—"The relation of the cult of the "Former Buddhas" to **the** religion of Gautam, as already observed, is a subject concerning which Very little is known." What is the necessity of using the term:—"Former Buddhas," when Buddha himself is the founder of the religion. This means that "Buddha" signifies, "Talented or Possessing knowledge", and experts **have** committed mistakes misconstruing the word "Buddha" into Gautam or **his** follower, in interpreting rock inscriptions, and thus fixing them as connected with Buddhism. More details will be given in the account of Priyadarsiin.

Gnan, he does not preach⁷⁰ and makes no disciples. Hence GoSala, the son of Marikhali, could not have been a disciple of Mahavir as is believed by some scholars⁷¹.

Gosala came across Mahavir three years after Mahavir entered into holy orders. For next six years he accompanied Mahavir wherever he went, because he got all the comforts of his life from people, who welcomed and honoured Mahavir from village to village, and so he assiduously said to them that he was Mahavir's disciple. Mahavir observed the vow of silence during these years and never talked to Gi'Sila. Jainism has tenets which deserved more attention than they have been hitherto given.

Question IV:—Jalayan and Sariputra are claimed to have been Buddhists and disciples of Buddha by Buddhist books; on the other hand Jaina books declare them to be Jaina monks. Let us turn to evidence from rock inscriptions to settle - this. Sifichi stupa has been described in " Bhilsa Topes " by Sir Cunningham, and he has found these two names on certain stone-boxes. If Safichi stupa is proved to be connected with Jainism,⁷³ there can be no doubt that these two were Jaina monks. (See-farther for this).

Question V'—Jaina tenets prove useful in deciding many questions. With the help of one of them, we could say (vide question no. 3 above) what relation existed between Mahavir and Gosala; with the help of another we could solve the riddle of Bimbisar's religion in Vol. I. One other tenet says that great

(70) See f. n. no. 7 above.

(71) K. S. S. pp. 86. "Gosala said to Mahavir:—"I am your disciple". Mahavir did not reply as he had taken the vow of silence. Again, on p. 22, the words "Gosala, the apparent disciple" are stated.

(72) Details will be given in the account of Priyadarsin. It will be enough to state here that the Stupa of Mathura has been unanimously accepted as belonging to Jainism, by the western scholars. Why should the Safichi Stupa which is quite identical in sculpture and design with it, not belong to Jainism? It contains names of kings like Chandragupta and Hal Salivahan who have been proved to be Jaina kings,

men,—known as Salaka-purusas as like Vasudev, Prativ&sudev, Balabhadra, Rama, Chakravarti and Tirthafikars, can exist only singly, at a particular time and in a particular place.⁷⁸ How can we explain this tenet in connection with Mahavir and Buddha living side by side?

Another tenet tells us that all the disciples of a previous Tirthafikar declare themselves as disciples of the succeeding one, as soon as he attains Kaivalya stage. If we accept the facts stated in previous questions, Buddhakirti, formerly a disciple of Parsvanath, should have declared his allegiance to Mahavir in 556 B. C.;⁷⁴ but history tells us that Buddha had begun to preach a different gospel right from 564 B. C. Now even the laity knew at that time that Mahavir was destined to be the last Tirthahkar. Did Buddha strike out a new path in order to avoid accepting Mahavir as his leader? There is no reason why he should have done so, and he must have started the new religion quite in good faith;⁷⁵ but as soon as he attained Nirvan in 543—a stage quite identical with Kaivalya - there is no reason why he preached a gospel different from that of Mahavir. Is it possible that Buddha himself did not make distinctions between Jainism and Buddhism after his Nirvan, but the present differences are only the results of the narrow-mindedness of his disciples? History furnishes an

(73) Exceptions to this tenets are always foretold in Jainism, and are known as "Achchheras". But none of the books contain any allusion to Buddha and Mahavir.

K. S. S. Com. P. 21—

Uvasagga gavbhaharanam itthititham abhavia parisa \
Kanhassa avarkanka, avarayanam chandrasuranam || 1 II
Harivams kulappatti, chamaruppao, adhasay sidhha i
Asafijayanapua, dasaviapa tenakaleija || 2 \

Let us take one instance from this quotation. Though there was one Vasudev in Aparakaiika, another named Krsna was to go there. This is called an exception.

(74) In Mahavira-times, Keslmuni, a disciple of Parsva, immediately came under the banner of Mahavir when he attained Kaivalya.

(75) Buddhism preaches four Anhas. (Asok by Bhandarkar pp.127; vide f. n. no. 62 above). Mahavir has rejected five asravas. (Third pillar inscription of Priyadarsin.)

instance which supports the last contention. The first conference of Buddhist monks was held immediately after the death of Buddha; why was it not held during his life time? Was it due to the fear that he would not have allowed them to make any distinctions between the two religions?

One might say that the conference was not held during Buddha's lifetime, because there were no differences and doubts to be settled. Does this mean that immediately after their leader's death, these disciples began to quarrel thus precipitating the conference? Had Buddha not formed any definite rules about the conduct of life of these monks? Or was this hair-splitting suppressed as long as he was alive? All these things lead us to the conclusion that, what the condition of Buddhism might have been after Buddha's death is not definitely known, and hence these questions and doubts.

All the questions stated above give rise to one outstanding doubt about the equality of the stages of knowledge attained by Buddha and Mahavir—the doubt which might have a fact during their lives or which might have been the result of the changes instituted in Buddhism after his death. Again Jainism has a tenet which might be helpful. When great persons are on the eve of birth, their mothers get some dreams, the maximum number of which, is fourteen.⁷⁶ The mother of an ordinary king⁷⁷ gets one dream, that of a Prativasudev gets four; that of a Vasudev, nine; and that of a Chakravarti or a Tirthankar gets fourteen. Jaina books are very explicit about the number of these dreams in the case of every great man. Ancient Buddhist books are silent about this thing. They do not state whether any dreams were dreamt by Buddha's mother. Modern Buddhist books tell us that Maya-devi, the mother of Buddha, saw in a dream, a white elephant

Parsva and all the previous Tirthankars have preached only four asravas. Buddhakirti, being a disciple of Parsva preached four Anhayas, following the four Asravas of Jainism. (Buddhism, thus, may owe its origin to Jainism).

(76) The Digarpper sect states that she had sixteen dreams.

(77) The number of such great men is 63. Vide Vol, I. pp. 44 f. n, no, 1; K. S. Com. pp. 66.

entering **her** womb⁷⁸. Mah&vir's mother had fourteen **dreams**. What does this lead us to believe ?.

During Buddha's lifetime, no great king—Kke that of Magactfi, Kosal, Ka&, Kausamb!, Taxila, Avanti, or Sindh-SauvirTM, as the coins prove it, ever accepted **Spread of Buddhism in India (upto 370 B. C.)** Buddhism as state religion.TM They all followed Jainism, which thus patronized by kings, had spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Buddhism had thus not much progressed in this country. There were internal dissensions among the chief Buddhist monks, and things came to such a pass that nearly a century after Buddha's death, on the fifteenth day of the eleventh year of the reign of Mahsipadma or Nanda II of Magadh, the second Buddhist conference was held in order to make reforms. Jainism being the state-religion, the progress of Buddhism was much retarded, even though its missionaries were very zealous and persevering; hence they began their activities in the farther south, going at last to Ceylon and making it their head quarters. The kings who succeeded Mahapadma, as the coins prove, were all followers of Jainism, which, having non-violence as one of its principal tenets, never allowed its followers to do anything that retarded the spread of any other religion. Consequently, Buddhism, though it had not a large number of followers, continued to exist in India for two centuries and a half after its inception. With the accession of King Asoka, fortune smiled upon it⁸⁰. Asoka was

(78) Cf. f. n. no. 45 above.

(79) It is not known what the distinguishing marks of Buddhism were; there must have been some signs, and it is possible that they must have been only slightly different.

The discover[^] of the coin bearing the likeness of a Buddhist king (like Asoka, for instance), would be of great help. Ceylon promises to unearth such a coin in future. We have to remember, however, that as in India, so in Ceylon, the custom of printing religious signs had begun to disappear after 327 B. C. due to the contact with western people.

(80) I have exceeded the time-limit of the chapter here; but I thought it proper to finish off the account here as there would be no occasion to insert it anywhere else.

at first a Jain according to the tradition of his forefathers; but after his marriage with the beautiful Tisyaraksita, who was a Buddhist, he accepted Buddhism as his faith. Two children of Tisyaraksita, a son and a daughter, embraced the Buddhist holy orders and became monk and nun. The third Buddhist conference was held at Patliputra, during the seventeenth year of the reign of Asoka, (313 B. C.). Representatives from Ceylon were also invited and a large number of monks⁸¹ had actually travelled from Ceylon to Magadh to attend it. The conference continued for nine months, at the end of which it was decided that the deputation from Ceylon must return to Ceylon under the

(81) These monks have been wrongly called missionaries by some scholars; they were only representatives from Ceylon. They had not come to Magadh for propagandist purposes.

A comparison of some of the religious activities both of Asok and Priyadain will not be inappropriate here:—

Asok

Priyadarsin

(1) Asok had <i>invited</i> representatives from Ceylon to attend the third Buddhist conference.	(1) Priyadarsin had <i>sent</i> missionaries to distant countries to propagate his religion.
(2) He might have got pillar-inscriptions erected; but none of them is extant at present; Pillars, if at all erected by him, must not have been of great size.	(2) Pillars erected by him are extant to-day. Many of them are more than thirty feet in height.
(3) He has no rock-inscription to his credit.	(3) He has numerous,
(4) The descriptions of stout followers of Buddhism like Hu-en-Tsang do not agree with the place and the number of inscriptions found to-day.	(4) Descriptions do agree with what and where they are to-day.

It will be clear from this, that most of the rock and pillar -inscriptions found to-day are wrongly attributed to Asok. (Here I must draw the reader's attention to the fact that Asok and Priyadarsin are different individuals; they were not the names of the same person as most scholars imagine to-day. Asok was a Buddhist while Priyadarsin was a Jain, and the grandson of Asok. This will be dealt with in details further)

leadership of the son and the daughter of Asoka⁸³. The whole of southern India was under the sway of the fourth Andhra king, Satkarni First—Vadsatsree, Vilivaykur, Vasisjhaputra, a powerful Jaina king⁸³, who would not allow this large deputation of Buddhists, touring with pomp and show, to pass through his kingdom. Hence Asoka had arranged that the deputation should travel by sea⁸⁴ beginning the voyage from the mouth of the Mahanadi which was on the outskirts of his kingdom. With the death of Asoka, however, Buddhism declined, and for eight succeeding centuries, was confined to Ceylon, as far as India was concerned. After that it rose to power once more.

As Buddhism could not achieve much progress in India due to its* powerful rival in Jainism,⁸⁶ Buddhist monks selected foreign countries as their fields of activities. Jaina monks, **Spread of Buddhism outside India** "being handicapped by many rules governing the mode of travel from one country to another, and by many regulations about their food, refrained from foreign travel. Thus the way of the Buddhist monks became clear and easy⁸⁶, because they had no such regulations. Neither did they miss the opportunity. Crossing the northern frontier⁸⁷ they began their activities in Tibet⁸⁸ and China; while those who had gone to Ceylon, went further south and east towards Siam, Pinang, Java and Sumatra. They succeeded too

(82) Vide his account.

(83) Vide Chap, on coins. Coin no. 58; and f. n. no. 87 below.

(84) See the map of the kingdom of Asok.

(85) Vide pp. 20 of the introduction to Vol. I.

(86) Vide pp. 12 for some of these rules.

(87) This must have been the straightest possible course for them. They could not go southwards as the whole of southern India, as shown above, was under the sway of a Jaina king.

(88) Cf. the account of Priyadarsin.

It is more possible that one group must have gone to Java and Sumatra" by sea from Ceylon and the other passing through Indian China must have proceeded towards Burma and China. This second group must have selected Tibet as its headquarters.

well in these countries as Buddhism had derived⁸⁹ many of its tenets from Jainism⁹⁰. Thus, their failure in India was more than amply compensated by their success in these countries which are Buddhist even to-day.

Mahavir, the last Jaina Tirthankar, was born in Ksatriyakuridgram, one of the three suburbs of Vaisall, the capital of Videha.⁹¹ Entering the holy orders at the age of thirty, he attained Kaivalya Gnan, twelve years later, after observing severe penance for twelve years.⁹³ A certain brahmin of Gautam family, named Vasubhuti had three sons, named Indrabhuti,⁹³ Vayubhuti and Agnibhuti, by his wife named Prthvi. These three and other eight equally learned scholars had begun animal sacrifice in company of their 4400 disciples. All these eleven scholars had their own doubts about certain tenets of the Vedic religion; but they never gave expression to them for the fear of being considered dull by others. Mahavir owing to his having attained Kaivalya-gnan knew their doubts without asking them any questions, and solved them satisfactorily. Consequently, these scholars saw the superiority of Jainism to their own religion, and embraced it. Jainism spread quickly throughout the country, as these scholars together with their disciples, actively began to preach it in various countries. All great kings⁹⁴ accepted it⁹⁵.

After the attainment of Kaivalya Gnan, Mahavir could see

(89) Buddhakirti was a Jaina monk before he founded Buddhism. Cf. f. n. no. 75 above.

(90) Cf. (in the account of Priyadarśin) how Jaina tenets are acceptable to all, and how easily it can be turned into universal religion.

(91) Fagan number of Jaina Dharma Prakash, 1985, pp. 261 to 288; and the list given on pp. 11 of this volume.

(92) According to Jainism one is prohibited from preaching as long as he has not acquired Kaivalya Gnan. See f. n. no. 71 above.

(93) Indrabhuti became commonly known as Gautam. Some scholars mixed this Gautam with Gautam Buddha-error which gave rise to several misconceptions.

(94) 3rd. Chap. Vol. I, where sixteen chief kingdoms of India have been described.

(95) See their coins described further on.

that the fourth Ara was to be shortly succeeded by the fifth, and that Avasarpini⁹⁶ would exert its evil influence more and more upon the people. Famines would be more frequent than before and people would have to try harder for their maintenance. These conditions would necessitate the formation of a settled order of government in all phases of life. Inspired by such ideas of public welfare he directed Srenik and Abhayakumar in their task of social organization, as described in Vol. I.⁹⁷—an organization that is highly spokeft of by western scholars.⁹⁸

**The origin of the
present social
structure**

The special feature of Srenik's plan was to divide people into guilds according to their professions. Every guild elected its own representatives,⁹⁹ the number of which depended on the importance of that profession; and these representatives were to Jorgi an assembly which was to enact laws for the guidance of political officers. Thus Bimbisar was given the name Srenik (builder of guilds), an instance of the custom of Jaina writers to give significant names to great persons.

Mah.Tvir was also the originator of the political system of government existing to-day. Changes must have been made in the system, in course of time, but the original plan is still to be seen behind them. Religious structure no doubt had its source in Mahavir. An extract from a learned English writer, supported by another German one is given below to justify this statement.¹⁰¹ **The**

(96) First two chapters of Vol. I.

(97) Vol. I. pp. 254.

(98) See further in this chapter

(99) The words, "Gramin, Srestin, Grhapati etc." which have been used in Vol. I. were representatives of such guilds. This makes it clear that republic form of government was first established by Mahavir.

(100) They were called "Paur-janas". Their assembly resemble the Municipal corporation of to-day. In Bimbisar's time their number was 500 and Abhayakumar was at their heads as the prime-minister. (Vol. I. pp. 257). **They** were a legislative body.

(101) C. H. I. pp. 169—On the evidence of Proc. of the A. S. B. 1898, pp. 63 says:—Dr. Hornele is no doubt right in maintaining that this good organization of the Jaina lay community must have been a factor of the greatest

present structure of society, the present system of political govern*ment and the present religious constitution, thus, are the rich fruits of Mahavir's capacity and zeal. Buddha¹⁰³ has left little to compare with the achievements of Mahavir, because his knowledge may have not been as perfect as that of Mahavir.

Every kingdom was thus republican in its form of govern*ment. As long as Time did not exert its evil influence on kings, they never annexed other kingdoms to their own kingdoms, even though they invaded them and forced the defeated kings to acknowledge their suzerainty. Consequently, coins of those times

had no signs indicating the superiority of one king over the other.¹⁰⁴ They stamped their religious signs on the obverse side¹⁰⁵ and their family and provincial signs on the reverse side, in order to distinguish coins of different countries from one another. As the avarice of kings for land began to increase¹⁰⁰, organization of armies¹⁰⁷ became necessary, weapons were designed and manu-

importance to the church, during the whole of its existence and may have been one of the main reasons why the Jaina religion continued to keep its position in India, while its far more important rival was entirely swept away by the Brahminic reaction. As Prof. Jacobi has pointed out that the religious life of the Jaina community is now substantially The "same as " it was two thousand years ago. It must be confessed from this that an absolute refusal to admit changes has been the strongest safeguard of the Jains." (These remarks pertain to the religious structure of the Jains only, but a further researches are being made and will be made, my state will be more than proved).

(102) Cf. Questions 3 and 5 given above.

(103) Woman was the chief cause of quarrel in those times; land was not given much importance.

(104). C. A. I. pp. 2-3. See coins of Taksila. It was under the sway of Pulusaki, and then under that of several nations. See coins of Odambar, Kulund, Ayuddha, Panchal, Mathura and of Ayodhya. These kingdoms were subordinate to Kosal, yet they bear no signs of it.

(105) Obverse side is the chief side, and reverse is the subordinate.

(106) Udayanbhata had defeated all kingdoms upto Ceylon; yet every kingdom was fully independent in internal administration.

(107) It began from the rule of Nand I, though its seeds must have, been laid by Udayanbhata.

factored,¹⁰⁸ though these weapons were not as deadly as those of to-day.¹⁰⁹ In spite of this, kings were not fond of commemorating their own names. A change was made, however, in the coins. Religious sign was given the reverse side and family or provincial one was given the obverse¹¹⁰; while some coins of those times show pictures of kings commemorating some important event in their lives¹¹¹. All these coins bear signs of Jainism which had spread from Magadh in the east to Sindh-Sauvir in the west, and "From the Punjab in the north to Ceylon (Anuruddhapur¹¹²) in the south."¹¹³

Though all these kings were Jains, they frequently waged wars against many foreign foes. The present belief that Jains, believing in non-violence, are lacking in bravery and the use of weapons, is thus ill-founded^{114, 116}. In politics, the principle of non-violence,

(108) These weapons were made out of stone and wood,

(109) Better weapons were made during the reign of Nand IX or during that of Chandragupta. (Vol. I, pp. 338 cf. Sakdal's preparation of weapons at his own place). More organization of army and manufacture of better weapons resulted from the contact with foreign people beginning with Alexander the Great.

(110) Cf. coins of Andhra, Kosambi, Taksila and those of Chandragupta Maurya.

(111) See coin indicating how Ninth Nanda got his kingdom by Pafich-divya, and the coin indicating how Nandivardhan annexed the kingdom of Kosambi to his own. (When a king died without an heir, his kingdom was annexed to another. See account of Vatsa, pp. 209 of Ujjayini, and of Anga.

(112) Vol. I. pp. 293.

(113) Coins of those countries bear signs of Jainism.

(114) Those who have studied ancient history will never say so; because there are many and glaring instances in ancient times (Udayanbhata, Nandivardhan) as well as in the middle ages (Kumarpal, Vastupal, Tejpal, Sujjan and others).

(115) The belief that the religious policy of Priyadarsin was the main cause of the decline of Mauryas, is ill-founded. I will discuss in details in the account of Priyadarsin, who was not Asok, as is commonly believed.

was observed with due discretion¹¹⁶. Otherwise these kings would never have been powerful as they were, and would have perished in no time.

Many instances of the influence of Nature and Time have already been given in the first volume. Some more are enumerated here. They refer to Buddhism and Brahminism. **Influence of Nature and Time** One of them was the second Buddhist conference¹¹⁷, and the second was the cessation of the Udhisthira era and the beginning of the Kali era.¹¹⁸ These changes took place in the beginning of the twelfth year of king Nand II.

As time passed on, people began to deteriorate physically. Their memory began to grow less sharp than before; as a consequence of which learned men decided to put down everything in writing¹¹⁹. The king who took the initiative in getting religious books written was Kharvel¹³⁰, while Nand IX was the king who got books written on sociology and other subjects of general knowledge,^{1*1} by establishing the university of Nalandft, where he engaged many scholars, among whom was the famous trio from the Punjab.

The fifth Ara did not exert its influence in the field of knowledge only. Famines became more frequent, as a result of which

(116) Mahatma Gandhi's movement of civil disobedience is based on this principle.

(117) Vide the previous pages of this chapter for details.

(118) There has been no occasion to write in details about this. But it will be clearer if the attempt of Nand IX to exterminate ksatriyas is placed side by side with the beginning of the Kali era.

(119) The art of writing began at this time. Coins began to bear names from this time onwards. (See coins of Kausambi, and those of Nanda kings). Cf. f. n. no. 121 below.

(120) See the inscription of Hathigumfa.

(121) Vide his account. Panini wrote his grammar at this time. Possibly Chanakya must have planned to write his Arthasastra at this time, but the idea must have been postponed due to the desire for vengeance taking possession of his mind.

Nand I had to get a canal dug from the Ganges,"⁹ (The first of its kind in history), from which a sister canal was dug by Kh&rvel for the province of Kaling.

With the greater frequency of famines, people had to worry more about their means of livelihood. Instead of staying separately in small groups, they began to have a collective existence, required more land to inhabit, which they found at the cost of cutting down forests. This again resulted into still greater frequency of famines.¹³³

In former times pupils could recite things which they heard only once from their preceptors. This occurrence began to be rarer with the progress of time. The seven daughters of Sakdal, the prime-minister of Mahanand, could recite one by one the verses which were only once sung by Katyayan-Varruchi.¹²⁴ Such things became conspicuous by their absence later on. This kind of memory was to be found only upto the time of Sthulbhadra, the son of Sakdal¹⁸⁵. The last Jaina monk, who had such memory, was Bhadrabahu,¹²⁶ the spiritual uncle of Sthulbhadra.

(122) See the Hathigurnfa inscription. I believe that this famine must have taken place after M. E. 60 or 467 B. C. See the time-list at the end.

(123) Readers might not believe that these events were predicted in Jaina books: but events themselves prove the truth of the prophecy. Vide chap. I & II. Vol. I.

(124) Vol. I. pp. 336, f.n. no. 43.

(125) Cf. f.n. no. 7 above.

(126) Chandragupta had entered Jaina holy orders as a disciple of Bhadrabahu, who had also travelled to Sravan-bel^ol in the Deccan. Here is the chronological list of Jaina monks:—

	Mahavir	(5) Yasobhadra	(„ 98 to 148)
(1)	Sudharma (M. E. 1 to 12)	(6) (a) Sambhuti	(„ 148 to 156)
	1	(b) Bhadrabahu	(„ 156 to 170)
(2)	Jambu („ 12 to 20)	(7) Sthulbhadra	(„ 170 to 215)
(3)	Prabhav („ 20 to 75)	(8) (a) Mahagiri	(„ 215 to 249)
(4)	Sayyarpbhava („ 75 to 98)	(b) Suhasti	(„ 249 to 292)
	1	the preceptor of Priyadarsa	

At this time, a decade witnessed two famines, one following the other after an interval of only seven years. The first took place at the beginning of the rule of Chandragupta Maurya¹²⁷ and the second, and the more terrible, at its end.¹⁵⁸ Harassed by the second which lasted for twelve years, the chief monk Bhadrabahu had gone southwards with a large number of disciples, as there was good rainfall there on account of denser forests. Some of his disciples who stayed in Magadh, became emaciated in body due to starvation¹²⁹. So, Sthulbhadra called a conference of the Jaina monks at Patliputra¹³⁰ in order to get all Jaina lore and philosophy put down into writing, and achieved it.

The necessity of the art of writing was first felt in M. E. 60 or 467 B. C. during the rule of Nand I. (See coins of Nand and Andhra dynasties). It developed **Beginning of the art of writing and of grammar** very greatly during the reign of Kharvel who got the inscription of Hathigumfa prepared (M. E. 111 or 416 B. C.) and got books written. (M. E. 112 or 415 B. C.)¹³¹ Immediately after this Panini wrote his grammar and taught it to many. Written records of orders, laws and transactions began to be kept. Correspondence and* communications began to increase between nations and between people. Foreigners heard of the prosperity and the splendour of India, and began to make attempts to invade it. Their dream was realized by Alexander the great, who would have stayed in India longer than he did, had not his soldiers clamoured for returning home, which they had left years ago, and who consequently returned home taking with him some traits of Indian

(127) Vide his account.

(128) See reasons given above. Cf. f. n. no. 126 above.

(129) Cf. Two Siddhas invisibly dined with Chandragupta.

(130) This gathering is known as "Patliputra-vachna" in Jaina books. It is not unreasonable to say that these books were re-written during the reign of Kharvel under his own patronage. (Vide his account).

(131) Writing was done with and upon very crude materials. Yet when the matter was lengthy, longer sheets like leaves of palm-tree, bhoj-tree or plaiatain-tree were used) in place of bricks or such other things, Cf, Vol, I, pp. 36,

culture,¹³³ and leaving behind some of his generals. No sooner did he turn his back to India than these generals began to fight with one another. During the next twenty-five years, India was invaded by several foreigners. At last Salucus Nekator had to come to terms with Asok (M. E. 223 or B. C. 304),¹³⁵ who married his daughter, thus mixing¹⁸⁴ the oriental blood with the occidental. All these things contributed to the growth of the art of writing, some specimens of which we see in the inscription upon lake Sudarsan, and the rock and the pillar incscription of Priyadarsin.

The reader should not labour under the erroneous conception that there was nothing like the art of writing prior to these times. As a matter of fact the memory of the people was so sharp that they felt little need of the art of writing. Momentous occasions were always commemorated in a script that was crude and in a language that did not follow any fixed rules of grammar. Ink and other materials for writing did not exist in those times, and hence we do not find any written documents of those times to-day.

To the end of the rule of Asok, Jainism dominated in India, while Buddhism and the Vedic religion had little sway over the people. This was not due to Jaina kings forcing their subjects or subordinate kings to follow Jainism. Religious tolerance prevailed everywhere, as is proved by the undeniable authority of coins. The king who conquered, no doubt, got his religious sign inserted on the coin of the vanquished king, but that was all. Chapters on coins will throw much light on this subject. Buddhism and

(132) Western civilization began to mix with the eastern one from this time on wards. Cf. f. n. no. 134 below.

(133) For peace-terms, vide the account of Asok.

(134) This is the first instance of its kind.

The scholars generally believe that Chandragupta, whom they have identified with Sandrekottus, was the first to marry a foreign girl of the Pallava race and that this Pallava chief mentioned in the SudarSan lake inscription was a member of the Pallava caste, which they consider to be a foreign race. The fact is that the Pallavas or Palhavas were not foreigners but a **Section** of the Lichchhavi ksatriyas. It is proved in Vol* I. pp. 349.

the Vedic religion had also their periods of boom, the former in the reign of Asok¹³⁸, and the latter during the rule of Suriga kings¹³⁹.

Out of the three religions that existed in ancient India, one was comparatively younger than the other two.

The Vedic religion This was Buddhism. Jainism and the Vedic religion were both time-old; but we are not concerned here with the question, which of them was older than the other.

Again both Buddhism and Jainism had their founders. Buddhism* had one and Jainism had twenty-four, who succeeded one another at long intervals. The Vedic religion, however, had no ppe individual as its founder, and it is therefore called A-pauruSeya (founded by no one individual). Its origin is unknown.

Both Jainism and the Vedic religion are time-old rivals, each supplanting or giving way to the other, as opportunities occurred. Jainism however had always the upper hand, as its tenets were more catholic than those of the other.

In support of this statement I request the reader first to look to quotations from foreign writers in the preface to vol. I, and, then to the following quotation from Vincent Smith^{137, 188} "The association of the idea of duty with caste is dropped by Asok" (the writer really means Priyadarsin, as he has made the above statement in his description of the inscriptions of Priyadarsin) "and two virtues, namely respect for the sanctity of animal life and reverence to parents, superiors and elders are given a place, far more important than that assigned to them in Hindu teaching"¹³⁹. With regard to this quotation, I have to

(135) Vide his account.

(136) Their accounts will be given later on.

(137-138) Rulers of India Series "Asok", pp. 30.

The two virtues, mentioned here by Mr. Vincent Smith as present, though in a lesser degree, in the Vedic religion, were not in fact so, in that religion. Animal sacrifices actually endangered the "Sanctity of animal life" in the **Vedic** religion.

(139) There Were no "castes" in those times in the sense of the word at present. Writers have always used this word in the sense of **one of the** four "glasses". (Vol. I. pp. 25).

titter a word of caution. Scholars generally believe that Asok and Priyadarsin were one and the same individuals. Really speaking they were two different individuals, having different religions. Priyadarsin was a Jain¹⁴⁰, and hence this quotation proves the superiority of Jainism to the Vedic religion¹⁴¹. The reader may hesitate to believe this, and hence, I propose to give another piece of evidence here, similar to those given in previous pages¹⁴². Jaina literature states beyond possibility of doubt, that many learned Vedic brahmins¹⁴³ embraced Jainism, after making a deep study of its principles and after minutely comparing it with the Vedic religion. Then they became great Jaina monks¹⁴⁴ in line with Mahavir, and spread Jainism in every corner of India. The preceptor of Priyadarsin himself was a brahmin at first.

Statements made above should not lead any one to believe that the Vedic religion had never any strong hold over the people. On the contrary, before the advent of Mahavir, it had its palmy days with animal sacrifices in full swing. After Mahavir attained Kaivalya and made the three Gautam brothers, Indrabhuti, Vayubhuti and Agnibhuti, with their eight brother preceptors and 4400 pupils, staunch converts to Jainism, the Vedic religion was on its decline, which was aggravated by the advent of a new rival in

(140) Vide his account.

(141) Cf. f. n. no. 139 above.

(142) Vol. I. pp. 31-32 for details.

(143) F. n. no. 6 above for instances.

(144) Some instances are given below for the satisfaction of the reader.

Mahavir had eleven chief disciples who had 4400 pupils. These eleven were the three Gautam brothers and their eight friends. The eldest brother Indrabhuti became commonly known as Gautam and has often been mistakenly taken for Gautam Buddha and confused with him.

A list of the disciples of Mahavir is given in f. n. no. 126 above, out of whom all were converted from the Vedic religion, except nos. 2 and 3.

Chanakya, Varahmihir, the great astrologer and the brother of Bhadrabahu were also Jains. (*The date of this Varahmihir is M. E. 150 or B. C. 377, while the date of another Varahmihir, who followed the Vedic religion, Was the 5th or the 6th century B, C).*

Buddhism. The hundred and twelve years of the rule of ourigas were, again the golden period career of the Vedic religion the chief reviver was the great commentator, Patanjali. The time-limit for this volume does not permit any more details about the Vedic religion here. We shall have them in the third volume.

The cycle of involution and evolution is bound to bring about the revival of both these time-old religions in future.

Appendix

Readers will generally feel that in most cases I differ from other writers in things, the truth of which has been commonly accepted. They will particularly feel that most of the things ascribed to Buddhism by other writers, are being attempted to be proved to have belonged to Jainism by me. I have certainly forwarded many reasons and many pieces of evidence for my theories. A list of these will not only, not be out of place here, but of great help to readers who are conscientious and willing to learn the truth.

(1) Both Saffichi and Bharhut stupas are built on the same model. One of the Sannchi stupa contains the Points arising from rock-inscriptions, mention of Chandragupta's large donation. coins and pictures¹ Chandragupta has been proved to be a Jain. Hence Saffishi and Bharhut stupas are connected with Jainism.

(2) Most coins have signs like Tri-ratna, Chaitaya and Bodhi tree. Sir Cunningham asserts that they did not belong to Buddhism. He says⁹. "The coins themselves do not present any traces of Buddhism except the Bodhi tree, and the combined symbols of the Tri-ratna and Dharma-chakra. Neither also do they show any special traces of Brahminism except in the names of Siva and Vayu". Evidently the coins belong to the remaining religion Jainism, and so do the signs mentioned above.

(3) What evidence have we to prove that the above-stated signs are connected with Buddhism ?

(1) Details about this will be discussed in the chapter on coins.

(2) C. A. I. pp. 91; chap, on coins further f. n. no. 1 above.

(4) Do any ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of these signs ? (Vol. I. Vide account of Ajatsatru, wherein are given details about "Lalitvistar"),

(5) The design of the gates of Safichi, Bharhut and Mathura is the same. (Vol. I. pp. 189 fig. no. 31, 32, 33, 34). Why then should we connect only Mathura stupa with Jainism and the other two with Buddhism ?

(6) The sign of Buddha is always his idol.

(B. I. pp. 15; Vol. I. pp. 287 f. n. 27 & pp. 289 f. n. 53. Nowhere has it been found that his sign was the imprint of his feet. The Ajatsatru Pillar (Bharhut Stupa; Plates No. 16 and 17) has only imprint of feet. Does this not lead us to conclude that the pillar is not connected with Buddhism ?³

(7) Again it has been proved that Ajatsatru was a Jain. (Vol. I. his account). Bharhut Stupa contains the following words "Bhagavate vandate Ajatsatru" (Ajatsatru salutes to the Bhagavat). To which religion do these words point ?

(8) Bharhut contains the pillar of Prasenjit also, who has been proved to be a Jain. Some of the pictures in this pillar correspond to certain important events described in Jaina books. To what religion can this pillar be said to belong ?

(9) Safichi Stupa contains the name of king Salivahan of Andhra. Did Salivahan or any of his descendants ever embrace Buddhism ? Do any ancient or modern books say so ? Undoubtedly no, Jaina books clearly state that Salivahan had gone on a pilgrimage to mount Satrujijay in Saurashtra and had got some ruined temples repaired under the guidance of a monk named Arya Khaput (Vol. IV).

(10) Most of the pillar inscriptions extant to-day have the sign of the figure of the lion at the top. Only one or two have not, and even in the case of these, they must have been removed either by some persons in the past or by some accidents to these pillars⁴. Is there any mention of this sign in Buddhist books ?

(3) See f. n. nos. 7, 9 etc. quotations from experts are given there.

(4) If, for any reason, the figure may not be of that kind, vide the account of Priyadarsin,

Jaina books, on the contrary, do declare that lion **was the sign or symbol** of Mahavir⁵.

(11) The pillar inscriptions of Nigliv and Rumindiai **have this** sign. What do the word " Buddha " and " Jata, " found in these inscriptions, mean ?⁶ Do Buddhist books contain any mention of these inscription-places.

(12) The signs Dharma-chakra, Chaitya and others are found in the Punjab, Kasmir and other countries. Did Buddha ever go there ? Or do ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of any such visit ?

(13) Some stone-boxes have been found at the Safichi Stupa. Certain letters are inscribed on many of these. Why do scholars find it difficult to fix these names as those of Buddhist monks ?⁷

(14) The Bharhut and Sanchi stupas⁸ are quite similar in design to Amaraoti Stupa⁹ in Dhankatak and to Manikyal Stupa in Punjab. Again, the rock-inscriptions in Afganistan and Peiavar contain a reference to Parsvanath who was a Jaina Tirthankar, and not a Buddhist monk. Do any Buddhist books contain any mention of these Stupas ?

(15) Do any ancient books contain any description of any peculiarities of any of these stupas ?

(16) Hu-en-Tsang, the famous Chinese Buddhist traveller, had visited India, with the intention of collecting all available historical material about his religion. His descriptions of his travels are considered to be faithful and reliable records by all

(5) Why the image of a lion is placed at the top of this pillar inscription, will be explained in the chapter on Priyadarsin. For more details the **readers** are requested to read my "Life of Mahavir"* which is to **be published shortly**.

(6) For its meaning vide my "Account of Priyadarsin" which is to be published later on.

(7) For explanations vide my "Life of Mahavir" and "Life of Priyadarsin", both of which are to be shortly published.

(8) Vol. I. pp. 189. The design of all these four pillars is quite similar,

(9) For details vide Vol. I. pp. 149.

scholars to-day. These books contain minute descriptions of all the pillars connected with Buddhism, and even the smallest have not been neglected by him. Yet they do not contain any reference to the large pillars mentioned in the foregoing points. That can certainly not be called an oversight on the part of so faithful a recorder like him who has mentioned all small pillars also. Does this not prove that these larger pillars belong to some other religion ?

(17) The region about Avanti which is crowded with stupas, the chief among which are the Saiichi stupas. Hu-en-Tsang has described all small pillars that are here, and has alluded to some that were destroyed. But he has made no mention whatsoever of those majestic pillars towering above eighty to ninety feet and nearly 150 to 180 feet broad. Does this mean that they were erected after the time of Hu-en-Tsang or that they must have been buried in the earth at the time of his visit, and unearthed afterwards ? Had such been the case, some mention of it must have been made somewhere in history. But there is no such mention. Why, then, did he not describe them ?

(18) Do reliable Buddhist books like Mahavamsa or Dipvarhsa tell us anything about these gigantic¹⁰ pillars ? If they tell us what is their drift ?

(19) Do any Buddhist temple in Burma or Ceylon, known as Pagodas, have any similarity with these pillars ? Do we find any figures of elephants, horses or lions in these temples, as we do find, in Jaina temples and in the Amaraoti stupas ?

(20) Many scenes in Bharhut stupa are said to be illustrating incidents narrated in Jataka tales. Sir Cunningham, however, says that out of nearly five hundred Jataka tales found in Buddhist books, only ten or twelve have any correspondence with these sights, and that too when the meaning had to be twisted in nine cases out of ten. This has been said by a Buddhist monk of

(10) Vol.1, figure no. 32; 1933 Jan. number of "Ganga", which is the special number for antiquity. Pictures are given on pp. 97 of that number, the Government Communique about which was published in Dec. 1931. Cf. the pictures of Pagodas given on pp. 176, 177. (Fig.no, 142 to 146), with the figure given on pp. 97.

that time who was reputed to be very learned. What is the reason behind this ?

(21) One of the scenes in Bharhut pillar illustrates the dream of a certain Mayadevi, whom some scholars have fixed up as the mother of Buddha. These scholars assert that the dream was dreamt by Mayadevi when Buddha was in the womb. Two questions arise here which do not agree with these statements:—

(1) Was the name of Buddha's mother Yasodhara or Mayadevi ? What do ancient Buddhist books say about it ? (2) Would such a dream be illustrated at a place where Buddha was born or anywhere else ? Or was Buddha born here ? Or, taking for granted that the scene refers to some incident in the life of Buddha, did any such incident take place here ?

(22) Do any ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of Buddha having ever visited the places where the stupas of Sanchi, Bharhut and Mathura are erected? Or do they tell us of any important event in the career of Buddhism having ever occurred there ? Why are there no pillars and inscriptions at these places which Buddha is said to have frequently visited and at which momentous events of his life to have taken place ?

(23) Does any ancient book tell us that Buddha ever visited the Punjab ? How do we, then, account for the spread of Buddhism there. Some say that his disciples visited the place. Do the remains of Taxila agree with the time of their going there ?

Only twenty-three points have been raised here. Many more can be raised, but the size of the book does not permit. Only some more points are given below, which the readers will find very stimulative to thought:—

(B) (1) No doubt, all pillar and rock inscriptions go to the credit of Priyadarsin;¹¹ but what reasons lead us to believe that Priyadarsin was no other than Asok ? No Buddhist books contain the word Priyadarsin as referring to Asok. Certain Simhalese books do sometimes have the word Devanampriya¹²

¹¹—

(11) Cf the f. n. no. 12 & 13 below*

(12) This word means:—"Dear to gods". According to K, S. Com. 47; this word means "One whose nature is straight-forward",

or Priyadarsan;¹⁸ but these words are used as adjectives of Asok and not as his other names. We have already seen that they are different individuals¹⁴ We will discuss the problem in details in the account of Priyadarsin¹⁵.

(2) What reasons have we got to support the contention that Priyadarsin was a Buddhist ? (cf. point 11 above). The figure 256 in the inscription of Sahasram by Priyadarsin, has not yet been interpreted by any scholars.¹⁶ It is my opinion that it refers to the Mahavir Era.¹⁷ If it is so proved, can we call Priyadarsin a Buddhist or a Jaina ? and which era would a king in such cases adopt in his inscriptions ?

(3) Scholars differed from one another as to the identity of Asok and Priyadarsin as long as the rock-inscription of Maski was not found out. When they came across the " Asokassa," they fixed it up that the identity was established beyond cavils of doubt. The word itself, however, is not in the Nominative case but in the Genitive, and hence cannot be accepted as the subject of the part in that sentence.¹⁸ Again there is a blank space after this word. How can we explain it unless by saying that some noun in the Nominative must have been then to which this word •' Asokassa " clearly refers ? This word must probably have been " Pautra, Anuj, Vansaj," (any word meaning grandson or descendant). The whole phrase would thus probably be Asokasya-pautra, (the grandson of Asok), who must be taken as the person responsible for all these inscriptions.

(13) Please note that it is Priyadarsan and not Priyadarsin. Even If it is" the latter word, it is used as an adjective. For more details vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(14) Vol. I. Preface 9 and pp. 82, f. n. no. 37.

(15) Vide the account of Priyadarsin in this book, as well as "Life of Priyadarsin"* to be published later on by me.

(16) Scholars have interpreted it as "256 nights".

(17) Vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(18) I take this occasion to thank Diwan Bahadur Kesavlal Harsadrai Dhruva who had first drawn my attention to this. (I am sorry he is now **dead**.)

(4) Modern books assert that Ajatsatru was a Buddhist. In support of this they say that this king got the Satpani caves built at his own expense. Though, no king can be said to have been the follower of a particular religion simply because he got some structure built for it, yet admitting that generally a king would grant money for structures connected with his own religion, do any ancient Buddhist books contain any mention of it? Rock-inscriptions and Jaina books have, on the contrary, proved him to be a Jain.

(5) Do ancient Buddhist books say anything about Buddha ever having visited the places where we find to-day pillar and rock-inscriptions? or do they tell us that any important events connected with Buddhism ever took place there?

(6) Why did the founder of Buddhism become known as Buddha? His original name was Siddharth Gautam. (Question 5 in the foregoing pages); there is not the slightest tinge of the word in his name.

(7) It is said on one hand that Buddhism was started by Buddha. On the other hand, events from the lives of previous births of Buddha are narrated? To what religion, then, do these tales belong? They can certainly not be connected with Buddhism, as it had its inception from Buddha.

(8) If in reply to the point no. 7., it is said that Buddha did not form an entirely new creed, but Buddhism was the result of certain alterations in tenets borrowed from another faith? Which was this faith? When did he study the tenets of this older faith? Does this not lead us to look into Jaina books for further information?¹⁹

(9) In reference to the origin of Taksila, it is stated that Buddha, had his birth in mankind, in one of his previous²⁰ lives, and that he had sacrificed his head in order to satisfy the hunger of a starving tiger. If this is true, we shall have to admit that

(19) F. n. no. 60 on pp. 12 and f. n. no. 12 on pp. 35.

(20) The previous five births of Buddha were those of animals and not of human beings. Hence this must have taken place even before that*

Taksila existed long before the birth of Buddha. This means that either the former story is false or that Taksila was on the globe years before Buddha was born. Vedic and Jaina books tell us that Taksila was a city in times much older than that of Buddha. Thus we find many contradictions in Buddhist books.

(10) Same is the difficulty with the Jyesthavan of SravastL. All its descriptions have been derived from Bharhut and Bhilsa stupas.

(11) In support of the statement given above, I draw the readers' attention to the difficulty that is experienced and the twisting of meanings that has been necessary in establishing relations between the persons of Kaudinya and Srughna families. Does this not give rise to the idea that there is something wrong at the very bases of these interpretations ?

(12) Many things described in the inscriptions which are connected by scholars with Asoka, do not at all agree with facts stated in Buddhist books²¹ about the life of Asoka⁹². Do this not lead us to a question similar to one stated in point no. 11 above.

(13) Even Greek books tell the same tale. I draw the readers' attention to a big paragraph quoted (in the account of A^oka) from Mr. Crendel's translation of the descriptions of Megasthenis. Though this is not directly connected with Buddhism, yet I have referred to it, as it is indirectly concerned with it.

Thus I have stated in all 36 points above, on the evidence produced by coins, rock and pillar inscriptions and pictures. Many more points have been stated and will be stated as occasions arose or will arise for them. Why should we, then, not change our established beliefs, when there is such great weight of evidence against them. A single fault turns into two. Why not avoid this fend be more neutral-minded?

(21) Such instances are occasionally giveri in the account of Priyadasin.

(22) Such instances are given in the account of Asok.



Chapter II

Coins

Sgnopsie:—Origin and purpose of coins—Details about them—
their gradual development—their manufacture and varieties—
Method of fixing their time—More details—their two sides—
Religious signs stamped on them—their meanings—Conjectures of
scholars about these signs—Explanations about them—How these
coins and signs are connected with certain places, countries, families
or exceptional occasions.*

All nations require some means of exchange for selling **and** buying commodities, internally as well as among one another. At present, we notice that this purpose is chiefly **Origin and purpose** served by coins of various kinds as well as paper money. Though there is no evidence to show that the latter was used in former times, yet it is evident that coins were used since very early times. Jaina books, supported by books on Persian history¹, say that golden dust (known as Tejanturi in Jaina books) was also used for this purpose.

We cannot say definitely whether this dust was given by weight, by measure or by getting it into crude coins. In very early times the first two ways must have been adopted³; and later on, possibly during the rule of the Sisunaga dynasty³, as its coins are found to-day, the third one must also have been adopted. We can infer from this, that the credit of this novel ideas must go solely to Bimbisar, the maker of guilds.

This was in the 6th century B. C. Before that, the means of exchange, according to Mr. C. J. Brown⁴, were as follows:—"Wealth in those early times being computed in cattle, it was only natural, the ox or cow should be employed for this purpose. In Europe then, and also in India, the cow stood as the higher unit of barter. At the lower end of the scale, for smaller purchases, stood another unit, which took various forms among different peoples—shells⁵, beads⁶, knives, and where those metals were discovered⁷, bars of copper and iron." Merchants coming from

(1) Vol. I. pp. 70 and 252 about Cyrus and Darius.

(2) Vol. I. pp. 234.

(3) C. A. R. Plate no. 8, 207, 208. E. G. P. I.

(I have proved these coins to have belonged to Sisunaga dynasty. (Vide chap, on coins).

(4) The Heritage of India Series: "Coins of India" by C. J. Brown M. A. pp. 12 (1922 edition).

(5) Even at present, some villages, remote from modern civilization, use shells.

(6) Pearl beads, empty walnuts, and sometimes corn, are still used in some villages at present.

(7) Metals, we can infer, must have been found out and begun to be used by men by this time.

distant countries must have naturally preferred jewels **and such Other** more valuable things to these catties⁸ and other means. **In course** of time coins began to replace cattle and other commodities.

Coins were not struck, at first, from metals of ordinary value, which were given in forms of bars, pieces of various sizes and forms. Gold and silver were paid either in their crude or purified form. Possibly, as already said before, Bimbisara hit upon the ideas of coins as the most convenient form of payment. Every guild was empowered by him to have its coins stamped⁹. State control of currency was a later occurrence¹⁰.

Round or square sheets of metals,¹¹ were at first possibly heated, and then were punch-marked¹⁴ as are the railway tickets and tramway tickets done to-day. Such coins were marked on one side only¹³. Later on, finding this punch-marking a tedious affair, people began to heat metals into liquid forms and then pour these liquid into dies made of clay. Sometimes, in this process, two coins which stuck with each other, were cut into two and separated and sometimes they were allowed by oversight to remain as they

(8) The property of the eleven lay-disciples of Mahavira was measured and spoken of, the number of cows, every one possessed.

(9) Pieces of equal weight were used for coining.

(10) C. J. B. pp. 15. "It seems probable that in India as in Lydia, coins were actually struck by goldsmiths or silversmiths or perhaps by communal guilds (Seni)—It may perhaps, therefore, be conjectured that the "Punch-marked" piece was a natural development of the paper-hundi or note of hand; that the coins had originally been struck by private merchants and guilds and had subsequently passed under royal control, that they at first bore the seal of the merchant or guild or combination of guilds, along with the seals of other guilds or communities, who accepted them."

(11) Sanskrit writers call these coins Dhartja or Parna etc. They were square or round thin pieces of copper slightly mixed with silver.

(12) C.J.B. pp. 15:—"The reverse side of these is very ancient coins **was generally blank.**"

were. We see even to-day these double-coins.¹⁸ Still later on another method was adopted Pieces of metals were first of all heated, and while they were hot, were stamped with a die, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on both. At last mints were erected for coining purposes.

Thus there were four kinds of coins:—

(1) Punch-marked¹⁴

(2) Cast coins¹⁵

(3) Die-coins¹⁶

(4) Minted coins¹⁷

Punch-marked coins differ from die-struck coins in two ways.-

(1) Punch-marked coins are often not properly stamped due to unevenness of pressure while pressing; (2) sometimes letters on the punching machine were worn out and so prints were faint even though the metals were properly pressed.

In die coins these two defects were avoided.

It is easy to fix up the time of coins for one particular country and dynasty; but it is difficult to do so in the case of the coins of various kingdoms, as one kingdom might have begun coining much earlier or much later than the other. We can, however, build general conclusions by keeping in view the coins of Magadh as it was the most powerful kingdom in ancient India.¹⁸

Time of coins

(1) Punch-marked coins:—They were first begun by various guilds during the rule of Bimbisara who divided people into guilds after 556 B. C.¹⁹

(13) C. J. B. pp. 18:—"This method of pouring liquid metal into moulds must have been of a very ancient origin. Sometimes these moulds were combined to-gether, as a result of which we see double-coins to-day. Such coins are usually nameless.

(14) See coins of the province of Eran in C. A. I.

(15) For instances see coins plate no. I, figs. no. 1, 2.

(16) Coins plate no. 1. fig. no. 4.

(17) Coins plate no. 1. fig. no. 6 and so on.

(18) I am chiefly responsible for the conclusions stated above. I have stated conclusions arrived at by other scholars for comparison.

(19) C. J. B. pp. 16:—"Punch-marked coins are indigenous in origin."

(2) Cast coins have been chiefly unearthed from the region of Kausambi. Their time, therefore, can be settled as after 472 B. C.²⁰ as Nanda kings established their sway over this country after this time.

(3) Die struck⁹¹ coins are found from the region about Taxila and are generally believed to have been struck during the rule of Priyadarsin. (220 B. C. outwards)²².

(4) Minted coins began to be struck during the reign of king Vikramaditya Sakari of the Gardabhil dynasty. (B. C. 57).

These conclusions are open to change as further means of investigation and pieces of evidence are found out.

Only general description of these coins is attempted here. Readers wishing to obtain more information must read books entirely written about them.³³

The obverse³⁴ side of the coin is always of greater importance than the reverse. This maxim will be important in deciding many

(20) C. J. B. pp. 18:—"The earliest of these copper coins, some of which may be as early as the fifth century B. C. were cast. (pp. 19). We find such coins being used at the close of the third century by kingdoms of Kausambi, Ayodhya and Mathura."

(21) See f. n. no. 22 below.

(22) C. J. B. pp. 18:—"The earliest die-struck coins with a device of the coin only, have been assigned to the end of the 4th century B. C. (3rd. according to my calculations). Some of these with a lion-device, were certainly struck at Taksila, where they are chiefly found, (pp. 19). The method of striking these early coins was peculiar, in that the die was impressed on the metal when hot, so that a deep square incuse, which contains the device appears on the coin.*"

(23) Two of the most authoritative are:—"Cat. of coins of Andhra Dynasty" by Dr. Rapson (Intro, from clxv to ccviii), and "Coins of Ancient India*" by Sir A. Cunningham.

(24) C. A. R. Pref. XV. pp. 14. "When one side of a coin tends to be convex, that is to say when the type has been impressed from the lower die which was fixed on the anvil, it is called obverse; when, on the other hand) it tends to be incuse, that is to say, when it bears the impression of the upper die which was fixed on to the punch, it is called reverse."

things in ancient Indian history. For instance, it can be deduced, without much fear of contradiction, that the sign of the sovereign king was stamped on the obverse side, while that of a subordinate king was done on the reverse one*. Sometimes the same sign is stamped on the obverse side of one kind of coins and on the reverse one of another kind of coins, thus showing the political and other changes that must have taken place between the intervals of stamping of these coins.

Kings in ancient India were not very particular about getting their portrait-heads embossed on the coins. The obverse side generally contained some sign or signs indicating their country, family or dynasty. The reverse side was generally reserved for the religious sign.⁸⁵ Signs indicating price or nationality were not yet stamped on that side. As time went on, ideas began to change, and kings began to introduce their names and titles in the coins,³⁶ though none had yet gone so far as to get his portrait-head embossed. This began after the Indian rulers came into contact with foreigners.²⁷ The first king who got his portrait-head stamped on the coin was Nahapan of Avanti (114 B. C.), who succeeded his father Bhumak²⁸ and a long line of foreign rules like Demetrius and Menander. We should, however, take into consideration the fact that only Nahapan had come to the throne of Avanti. Again his predecessors had not given up their foreign title of Mahaksatrap, even though they ruled in India. Nahapan on the other hand assumed the Indian title of the " Rajan "²⁹. Thus he had made many innovations. He seems to have changed

(25) See coins of Naga and gisunaga dynasty. (Nos. 44 to 46).

(26) Coins of Andhra and Nanda dynasties.

(27) C. J. B. pp, 25. "These models, the Indo-Greek kings introduced Greek types and among them the portrait-head into Indian coinage and their examples was followed for eight centuries.

(28) I mean, these foreigners got their portrait-heads stamped on the coins but no Indian king adopted the custom. Nahapan was the first to do so, and that too, after he came to the throne of Avanti.

(29) Vide the account of his kingdom*

his name even to Nabhovahan or Narvahan, though we do not get any coin or inscription to prove it. The moment his rule ended⁸⁰ (74 B. C)., Avanti came under the sway of Indian kings once more, with the results that coins of the old type became current again. This continued upto the accession of Chasthan to the throne of Avanti³¹. There arises no question of Chasthar/s father getting his portrait-head stamped on the coins, as he never came to the throne of Avanti.

The reverse side is not so difficult to interpret as the obverse; as that side was mainly reserved for religious signs, right from the 6th century B. C. to the 1st century. When the obverse side began to have the portraits of kings, family signs were taken over to the reverse; while figures indicating date were always stamped on the obverse side

There are some coins which have one side totally blank³⁹. Their number is very small.

Extraordinary occasions were always taken note of, in coins,¹ and often new coins were struck in celebration of these. (See the coins of Nand I and Nand IX). More details are given furtheron.

Coins were struck from valuable metals like gold and silver³³ and also from copper, zinc, lead and other metals, including among them potin and billon³⁴.

Metal and religious signs

(30) Vide their accounts for details. Their coins will tell us the changes they have made.

(31) The kings of Kusina dynasty have also got their portrait-head9 stamped. But these kings were also foreigners.

(32) These coins are main'y punch-marked.

(33) Coin experts have fixed up the following signs for different coins:—

Copper=Æ

Silver = A. R.

Gold=A. N

Lead=L. 8 ,

(34) J. C. B. pp. 21;—*'Billon or Potin is a mixture of silver and coppet in varying proportion; most Andhra coins are either of Billon or lead with: Bi&hml legends on both obverse and reverse,

Only three religions existed in those times, Jainism, Buddhism and the Vedic religion; out of which, Jainism predominated everywhere. As a result we find that most of the coins have signs which do not refer to the Vedic religion.

Of the two remaining religions, I have not yet been able to make out the difference between their signs. But Buddhism owes its origin to Jainism³⁵ and hence both of them have very similar or nearly the same tenets. This makes it very difficult to distinguish between their signs. In ancient times, however, of all the kings that ruled various countries, only Asoka was a staunch Buddhist. It follows from this, that Jainism being the state religion in nine cases out of ten, most of the signs that we find on the coins to-day must refer to Jainism. It is with not a little regret that I have to draw the reader's attention to the fact, that most scholars have mistakenly taken for granted that these signs refer to Buddhism—a natural result of want of study on their part of Jaina literature.³⁶ If we, by chance, come into possession of the coins of Asoka this dispute would be at an end.

I have given below short notes on these signs:—

(1-2) Lion and Serpent:—Everyone of the Jaina Tīrthankars has his own distinguishing sign. That of Parsvanath, the twenty-third Tīrthankar, is the serpent, and that of Mahavir is the lion. The coin bearing the sign of the serpent thus indicated that the king responsible for it was the follower of Parsvanath, and that bearing the sign of the lion showed that the king who got it struck was a follower of Mahavir.

As already said before, Jaina Tīrthankars do not begin to preach or have disciples as long as they have not attained the Kaivalya stage;⁸⁷ Mahavir attained this in 456 B. C. Hence, coins bearing the sign of the serpent must belong to the time before 556 B. C, and those bearing the sign of the lion

(35) F.n. no. 3 above*

(56) This point will be discussed in a special paragraph later on*

[37] F.n. no. 3 above and the matter connected with it,

must³⁸ belong to the time after that date. (See C. A. I. Plate No. 3 fig. no. 1 and the pillar of Sarnath etc.

(3)  Each of these figures contains different number of heaps. They can be variously interpreted. They are indicative of certain peculiarities of Jainism.

These heaps can be interpreted as Ratna-traya (three jewels). Six can be interpreted as indicating six schools of philosophy, while the figure itself can be taken to mean that Jainism helps a lot in the real interpretation of any one of these, thus proving its fitness for being adopted as a world-religion. Or the three tiers in the figure like the storeys of a building, suggest the three principal tenets of Jainism. In the figure having ten heaps, we can say that the highest indicates the place of a Tirthankar while he is preaching, the next one stands for the place of gods who have come to hear the sermon, and the two lower ones for Jaina monks and the laity³⁹ etc.

Taken collectively, they⁴⁰ may mean to be standing for mount Mem, which was considered to be the central point of the whole earth. The heaps indicate the Chulikas⁴¹ or the peaks of Meru. Meru being considered as eternal and beyond the influence of time, these signs may have been stamped by kings aspiring after such permanence either for themselves and their dynasty or for these coins.

(4)  These signs stand for the Ratna-traya (three jewels), which are known as Gfian (knowledge), Darsan

(38) Cf. f. n. no. 74 in the first chap, and the matter connected with it.

(39) Modern scholars have taken this sign to suggest the Jaina laity; that interpretation is also adequate. This sign is also called "Chaitya". I do not know why.

(40) They have respectively two, three and four tiers and they can be interpreted variously according to Jaina philosophy.

(41) Chulika means a division: there are such three divisions; and hence one Chulika suggests one-third of the total height or stretching area of the mountain.

(real insight) and charitra (character), which mean the sum **total** of human life.

(5)  This is Swastika. Four horizontal **and four** perpendicular lines touch one another in this figure. It **means** Su-asti-ka⁴² (that which does good to us). It has not been much in use in the Vedic religion. The sign belongs to Jainism; and was borrowed from it by the followers of other two religions, as a result of close contact with the former. This exchange of signs and tenets has been mutual in many cases. The old numbers of the Indian Antiquary contain exhaustive discussion as to the various meanings of this sign. Unfortunately, no space has been devoted to the possibilities of its interpretation according to Jainism. (Jains themselves are never either enthusiastic or particular about such things). According to Jainism the four perpendicular lines stand for the four channels of existence for a being:—God, Mankind, Tiryanch and Narki, while the four horizontal lines mean the obstructions which do not allow any being to be free from them. The figure therefore means that a being has to revolve ceaselessly in the cycle of these for existence. The whole universe goes on like that.

 These are also imperfect swastiks. It also stands for the lake containing lotuses. Hence such signs may indicate the origin of the coins to be Kasmir or the Punjab, where such lakes were in a large number.

(6)   I a r s call these signs as "Tree without railing" and "Tree with railing"⁴³. According to Jainism, however, it stands for the religious banner. The perpendicular line in the middle stands for the staff and the fans on both the sides suggest the waving-cloth of the banner. The square below stands for the wooden stand kept for the purpose of keeping the banner erect and steady. At present, in the religious processions of the Jains, this banner is kept on wooden horse-back or on the back of the

(42) C. A. R. Preface, pp. 145, paragraph 147.

(43) This sign on the coins of Mulanand and Chutakanand, found out in Karvar district, is interpreted as a spear. (Coins no. 47 to 50).

elephant or is put on a carriage drawn by coolies. This figure originally meant to be one of the eight Pratiharyas,⁴⁴ which were arranged by gods at the time when a Tirthankar attained the Kaivalya stage. It may also stand for the Boddhi-tree, which was also one of the eight Pratiharyas.

(7 ) e religious Wheel. This is also one of the eight Pratiharyas. It means that, just as the sceptre of a sovereign (chakravarti)king⁴⁵ precedes him wherever he goes, so does this religious Chakra precede a Tirthankar wherever he goes.

(B)   This is called the " Moon " by the scholars. According to Jainism it means the place of salvation (commonly known as Siddha Sila), which is as peaceful and as purely bright as the light of the moon.

When this sign is embossed in combination with this sign, they together mean the sun and the moon. They may be interpreted as standing for the desire of the king responsible for it, to be as permanent as the sun and the moon. These signs are seen on the coins of the Chasthana dynasty.⁴⁶

(9  ) e first is called the Taurine symbol and the second is called Nandipad (The foot print of a bull) by scholars. They do not seem to have any special meaning. They may perhaps be another representation of the Ratnatraya.

(44) Pratihari = the personal attendant of a king. His duty is to fan the king or to walk in front of the king bearing the sceptre in his hand. These eight Pratiharyas are:—(1) Asoka tree, (2) Shower of flowers, (3) Celestial voice, (4) Fan, (5) Lion-throne, (6) Bhamandal, (7) Heavenly band or Dundubhi, and (8) Umbrella or canopy.

(45) The modern substitute is the sceptre. This Chakra being the sign of Takfila country, that country is also known by that name. Taksila being a place of pilgrimage is known as Chakratirth (part III).

For the meaning of Pravrttchakra, vide Vol. I. pp. 167 and Vol. III for the details on Hathlghumfa inscription.

(46) Coins Plate no. 2, no. 42. For explanation see further.

I have already shown that some of the signs are religious* There are, however, signs found on the coins, which seem to have no religious significance. They must have some other significance. Mr. Rapson says⁴⁷ " Very Purpose of these signs little is known as to the meaning of the symbols which often occur as adjuncts to the main type of Indian coins. Many of them were probably religious in origin and may have been used as sectarian marks. " I have only to add that these signs furnish a lot of religious as well as non-religious information⁴⁸ as I have shown below.

Again Mr. Rapson says:-⁴⁹ "The origin and significance of Indian coin-types are often obscure but it seems possible to determine sometimes whether their use was local, dynastic or personal-that is to say whether they were intended to denote some particular locality, some particular family of rulers or some particular ruler/* Mr. Rapson, being a western scholar, cannot naturally have the same psychology as an oriental one. There being also paucity of implements with which to imprint signs, the latter may be either imperfect or not very distinct. On this account, however, we cannot call these signs " often obscure, " because their obscurity is not due to themselves, but due to our ignorance of the motives behind them. These signs are really eloquent with information of the locality, family and personal details of kings and countries.

I shall first of all dwell upon the informations about places conveyed by these coins.

(1) Taksila was the capital of Kamboj-rastra. This included within it Gandhar which consisted of the Punjab and Afghanistan. Numerous coins of this country bear the Dharma Chakra (religious Wheel.) (C. A. I. plate 3. no. 13). The sign was not always stamped by the kings of the country only. Bhumak was never the king of this country, and yet his coins bear this sign (Plate II ; no. 35-36) in order to indicate either his birth-place or his religion*

(47) C. A. R. pp. 174, para. 147.

(48) Details are given further on.

(40) C. A. R. Intro, pp. 160-65.

(2)  This sign is called "Ujjain symbol" or "Cross and balls" by the scholars. Several distinct dynasties ruled this country, and yet the sign is seen uniformly in their respective coins. This means that the sign was used to denote the place only.

(3) The coins of Vatsa invariably bear the sign of a calf⁵⁰ (Vatsa=calf), no matter which dynasty ruled it; clearly the sign indicates the country and nothing else. (C. A. I. plate 5, and plate 2-3 in this volume.)

(4) The coins of Ayudhya contain the signs of a warrior (C. A. I. plate VI.)

(5) Kosala abounded in palm-trees, and hence its coins bear the palm-tree. (Plate I. no. 14). Sometimes its coins bear the sign of a bull, which was the distinguishing mark of Rsabhadev, the first Jaina Tirthankar who was born there. (C. A. I. plate IX nos. 7, 12, 14; and nos. 14 to 18 in this vol.)

(6) Panchal being the birth-place of Draupadi, its coins have a warrior with several heads, to indicate the five husbands of Draupadi (C. A. I. plate VII).

(7) Kulind (about Hastinapur) being the birth-place of Santinath, the sixteenth Jaina Tirthankar, its coins have the deer which was the mark of Santinath. (C. A. I. plate V; nos. 1, 2, 3.)

Now I turn to dynastic details revealed by coins:—

(1) Sisunga dynasty is divided into the great Sisunaga and small Sisunaga; the coins of the former have two large serpents⁵¹, and those of the latter two small ones. (C. A. I. plate VIII nos. 207-208. nos. 44 to 46; and no. 45. in this vol.)

(50) Scholars have taken the bull to be indicating Saiva sect of Hinduism. It is not so. The bull is the sign of the first Jaina Tirthankar, Rsabhadev. One reason for this is that the Saiva sect came into existence, several centuries after the time with which we are concerned, in the 9th century A.D. when Sankaracharya, its founder was born. If this Saiva sect be included in Hinduism, why should not the Visnu sect be included in it too? It originated in the 15th century A. D.

(51) This is one of the reasons. Other reason might be to show that they were the followers of Parsvanath,

(2) Mauryan kings have selected the horse in order to indicate their bravery, and the head of the horse is adorned with the crest of a peacock, which denotes their dynasty. (C. A. I. plate V; nos. 105-106; plate VI, no. 148 G. p. 6.)

(3) The Andhras, having their origin from Sudra class⁵² have selected the bow-and-arrow as their dynastic sign.

(4) The Parthians have given preference to the sign of the sun, as they were its worshippers.

(5) The rulers of Chasthana dynasty⁵³ have selected this sign, which denotes the place of salvation⁸⁴ according to Jainism, and the Star and Crescent or the Sun and Moon,⁵⁵ because their native place was the northern region about the Hymalayas, which was the original place of Mt. Meru (in Asian Turkey). C. A. R. plate IX-X and the subsequent coins; plate II, no. 42 in this vol.)

(6) Gardabhila kings have adopted the ass, because king Darpan, the founder of the dynasty, knew the art of Gardabhi

(52) Mahananda's mother was a Sudra woman; similarly the mother of Srimukh of Aadhra was also a Sudra.

(53) I have to refer to Chastana dynasty here, though it cannot be taken within our time limit, due to special reasons:—These kings to whom these coins are attributed are generally considered to have belonged to the Kusana dynasty; but the coins show that they lived nearly four centuries before the beginning of the Kusana dynasty. If my calculation proves true, as I hope it will, these kings will come under our time-limit.

(54) See coins of Chastan. (C. A. R. Plate IX-X). These signs may also indicate the desire of these kings to be as permanent as the sun and the moon.

The sign of Islam is also  this. Does this mean that Islam had any connection with Jainism? Jaina kings ruled Arabia in the 1st century B. C., and the majority of their subjects were Jains. Islam was established in 611 A. D. Hence some other religion must have prevailed there before that time. (Vol. III and f. n. there).

(55) I will later on prove that these kings were a sub-sect of the Kusanas. Mr. Rapson says:—(C. A. R. Intro, pp. 113, para 92). "Star and crescent the symbols of the sun and the moon occur on Parthian coins and hence Parthian origin is extremely probable in Chastana family.

(C. A. R. plate VIII nos. 209 E, 210 E; plate II nos. 38-39 in this vol.)

(7) If the sign of Ujjain was on the reverse side of the coin, it meant that the king who got it struck, was subordinate to Avanti. If the sign was on the obverse, and if the coin bore no sign of Avanti, it meant that the kings were independent. If the coins of any other country bore the sign of Ujjain on the obverse, it meant clearly that these kings were under the suzerainty of Ujjain. This shows that the obverse is more important than the reverse. Mr. Rapson says:—(C. A. R. Intro, clxvi para 139). "Horse type to the Elephant seems to have depended on the will of the sovereign or of the mint authorities." This is not true. The change from horse to elephant means that the kings came under the sway of Priyadarsin from that of a Mauryan king like Chandragupta or Bindusara (coins nos. 67-71.)

" Sri " means a king having less power than " Raja." Maharathi coins have only " Sri " (coin no. 37), while Andhras have " Raja." If both these signs are stamped together, they mean a king greater than a " Raja."

Now I turn to personal details as revealed by coins:—

(1) Udayan of Sisunaga dynasty, being a warrior, seems to have selected the Horse as his sign. (nos. 68 and 71),

(2) Nandivardhan, also being a warrior by nature, has got himself represent on his coins in the uniform of a warrior. (C. A. I. plate V. no. 8. and no. 27 in this vol.)

(3) Nand IX became the king of Magadh, as the female elephant selected him out of all citizens. This occasion is illustrated in his coins. (C. A. I. plate V no. 9 and no. 29. in this vol.)⁵⁸

(4) The mother of Priyadarsin has dreamt a white elephant entering her mouth, when she was pregnant.⁶⁷—Hence the coins of Priyadarsin have the elephant, which is also found in his rock-inscriptions.⁶⁸ (C. A. I. and C. A. R.)

(56) Coins nos. 15 and 17 are of Vatsa no doubt; but the sign of bull has been dropped because they were under the power of Nanda kings of Magadh. Hence special occasions of these kings have found place on them.

(57) Vide the account of Priyadarsin for details.

(58) At the end of the large rock-inscriptions he has placed this sign in place of his initials,

(5) Coins bearing the sign of a sword or a shield, go to the credit of Chand-pradyot. (C. A. I. plate no. X nos. 1-5. and no. 28. in this vol).

Coins of Ujjain bear the sign of the observatory,⁵⁹ because it was the place of the prime-meridian according to ancient Indian astronomers. Even at present the observatory bears the weather-cock at its top.

Many books have been written on the subject of the coins. I have quoted from two or three only which I consider as the most important, and the easiest of access. The names of these three most important books are:—

(1) Coins of Ancient India (C. A. I.) by Sir A. Cunningham.

(2) Coins of Andhra Dynasty. (C. A. R) by J. Rapson.

(3) Coins of Ancient India (C. J. B.) J. Brown.

The evidence deduced from the study of the coins is as trustworthy as that deduced from inscriptions. In the case of inscriptions, much depends on how various scholars interpret the script and the language found upon them; and it is not seldom that the language is found impossible of interpretation, or that there are as many interpretations of a single inscription as there are experts upon it. The study of the coins, though equally difficult, is decidedly more paying. Over and above the interpretation of various letters found upon them, the student has to attend to the various signs enumerated above and also to the progress of sculpture as indicated by them. But who will deny the fact that every single coin contains a mine of information about those centuries of the hoary past? I wish scholars had, and would, pay at least as much attention to coins as they do to inscriptions, and more things will be revealed by them than are dreamt of by us.

Before the oriental kings came into contact with foreigners, Coins never contained any letters upon them. That was in 180 B. C,

(59) C. A. I. pp. 94:—"Much of its importance (cross and balls) was derived from its selection by the Hindu astronomers as their first meridian of starting point for measures of longitude.

when the Bactrian king Demetrius and his successor Menatider came to India. In the previous volume and in the first chapter of this volume, I have, spared no pains to prove that Jainism dominated in all the sixteen main kingdoms, right from very ancient times to 180 B. C, except 41 years of the reign of Asoka and nearly 125 years of the rule of Sungas. As yet, no coins either of Asoka or of the Sungas have been found out. Hence by process of elimination, we can assert that all the coins are connected with Jainism. That the scholars have taken most of these coins to be connected with Buddhism, is neither due to their want of judgement nor want of deep study. The blame solely goes to the Jains themselves, who closed their literature within the four walls of air-tight cells and stores, at the time when the followers of the other two religions put every available piece of literature or legend to the scrutiny of the scholars, who, thus built their conclusions after studying them with due care, caution and attention. As time passed on, however, and as Jains realised the gravity of their mistakes, Jaina literature began to be studied by scholars and many of them had to change time-honoured conclusions due to this. One of them says:—(J. N. I. pp. 247) "The principal sculptures of both the Buddhas and Jains are so nearly identical⁶⁰ that it is not always easy for the casual observer to distinguish what belongs to the one and what to the other, and it requires some experience to do this readily." The same writer continues on p. 248:—"The first thing that strikes are the caves of Orissa⁶¹; though anomalous,⁶² most of them are Jainas...goes without saying on examination, however, no remains are found which could be

(60) Truly speaking they are not identical, but all of them belong to Jainism, and have been mistakenly attributed to Buddhism by scholars. Cf. I. n. no. 71 below.

(61) The caves in questions are small ones like those of Ranigumia, Ganesgumfa etc. The biggest is that of Hathigumfa in Khandagiri and Udayagiri. Details about it will be given in Vol. IV.

(62) Even though the caves are anomalous, yet the writer to whom we have referred has found reasons and evidence to come to a definite conclusion, which, therefore, should be respected all the more#

clearly attributable to Buddhism⁶⁸. No Dagoba,⁶⁴ no Buddha⁶⁵ or Boddhisattva, no scene distinctively traceable to Buddhist legends⁶⁶ ...Tristilas⁶⁷ open or pointed, Stupas⁶⁸,[^] Swastikas⁶⁹, barred railings⁷⁰, railed trees⁷¹, wheels, the goddess Sri are found; but they are common to Jainism as to other religions. Further more, this is a fact generally accepted by competent scholars, antiquarians and archeologists like O' Malley, Monmohan Chakravarty, Bloch, Fergusson, Smith, Coomaraswamy and others⁷² Thus the signs Trisula and others clearly belong to Jainism. Let us quote Mr. Chakravarty in support of this:—"After having examined the caves carefully during my visit I have come to the conclusion,

(63) This quotation gives us reason to believe that according to these writers these signs belong to Buddhism, and that the places which do not have any of them, are non-Buddhist.

(64) Dagoba means the Buddhist temple. Such temples are found in Burma, Sumatra, Java, Ceylon, Japan and other countries. The designs of these temples should be the models with which we can decide whether a particular temple is Buddhist or non-Buddhist.

(65) This clearly leads us to the conclusion that the Buddhists worship the idol of Buddha and not his foot-prints only. The Jains always-nay mostly-worship the foot-prints of their Tirtharikaras (Vol. I. pp. 281).

(66) There are many legends, the chief of which, numbering 500 to 550, are known as Jataka tales. (Vide Bhilsa Topes). Only 12 to 15 out of these tally or agree with the scenes inscribed in the Bharhut Stupa, and that too after much twisting of meanings, as is confessed by a revered preceptor of that religion. The readers may judge for themselves whether this Bharhut Stupa can be called Buddhist in origin.

(67) Trisula is not one of the signs of Jainism. It belongs to the Saiva sect, which came into existence in the 9th century A. D. According to these writers it belonged to Buddhism. It requires further investigation.

(68) For details about such Stupas vide Vol. I. pp. 294 f. n. no. 78, and cf. Dr. Buhler's words below in f. n. no. 77.

(69) Generally this sign is taken to have belonged to the Vedic religion. Further investigation, however, proves it to be connected with Jainism.

(70) Cf. f. n. no. 71 below.

(71) Vide J. N. I. pp. 207, f.n. no. 2; and cf. f. n. nos. 60 and 67 above.

(72) Cf. f. n. no. 69 above.

so far as the present data are available, they should be ascribed to the Jains and not to the Buddhists⁷⁸." Mr. Bloch⁷⁴ says:—"The caves contain nothing Buddhistic, but apparently all belong to the Jains⁷⁵." Mr. Fergusson says⁷⁶:—"Till comparatively recently they were mistaken for Buddhist, but this they clearly never were."

Some one may argue here that the above-given quotations pertain to the caves of Orissa only and prove them to be belonging to Jainism. It is true. Yet I may draw attention to the fact that these scholars, while proving these caves to be connected with Jainism, having clearly mentioned the names of almost all signs and have proved them to be of Jaina origin. My point is, therefore, that wherever we come across these signs, we have to take them to be connected with Jainism.

Dr. Biihler says⁷⁷:—"It would be surprising if the worship of stupas, of sacred trees, of the wheel of the law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representations in sculptures, were due to one sect alone, instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India." This one sect is Jainism.

Over and above these quotations, I request the readers to cast a glance at the list of questions and points raised in the appendix to the first chapter.



A certain writer says about this sign⁷⁸:—"Amongst the Jains also Chakra symbolised the spread of religion⁷⁹. This is confirmed by the representation of the wheel found at the Jaina Stupa of Mathura." (Cf. Hathigumfa Inscription L. 14 to

(73) Though it is stated here, that these signs were common to all religions, yet if we read those books themselves and interpret them in the right spirit, they all unanimously declare that the signs belong to Jainism only.

(74) Vide J. N. I. pp. 248, f. n. no. 3.

(75) He has visited the place and then built his conclusions.

(76) J. N. I. pp. 248, f. n. no. 4.

(77) J. N. I. pp. 248, f. n. no. 5.

(78) J. N. I. pp. 180. f. n. no. 4.

(79) Cf. f. n. no. 44 above and vol, I. pp. 167 f. n. no. 56.

17* VoL III. King Kharvers life). Thus this sign is clearly Jain*.
It was inscribed on the coins of Gandhar as stated previously*

The special feature!
of certain signs This shows that the kings of Gandhar were
all Jains. (See the coins of Taksila and of
Mathura.



This sign means the CJaaitya. Dr. Hornle has given the following details about it⁸⁰:—"Such establishment consists of a park or garden enclosing a temple and rows of cells for the accommodation of monks, sometimes also a StQpa or a sculptural monument. The whole complex is not unusually called a Chaitya". Now the readers can understand why this sign is known as either tree with railing or without railing. Dr. Hornle says further on⁸¹:—"The Chaitya of Naya clan was called Duipalas and it was kept up for the accommodation of the monks of Parsvanath⁸²-order, to whom the Naya clan professed allegiance. In Kollaga, the Naya clan kept up a religious establishment doubtless similar to those, still existing in the present day. There is one near Calcutta in the Manaiktala⁸³ suburb." The Sariskyt word for Naya is Gnat. Mahavir was born of this clan⁸⁴. Thus this sign clearly belongs to Jainism.

The excavations of the famous Mohan-ja-Dero have brought to light certain seals which are bound to prove of much interest and significance to the students of ancient history.
The seal of Mohan-ja-Dero Dr. S. Kysna Swami JLyafigar says⁸⁵:—"Of all the things that have been unearthed from the excavations of Mohan-ja-Dero, the most important is the seal, which bears the figure of a peculiarly shaped animal, which some

(80) "Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" 1898, pp. 40; J. N. I. pp. 106.

(81) Ibid.

(82) Cf. f. n. no. 37, 38 above.

(83) So this place has such antiquarian interest!

(84) Chap. I. Cf. f. n. no. 54.

(85) Jan. No. of "Ganga", 1933, a monthly published in Northern India. Pp. 51 and onwards.

interpret as deer, some as a bull." Another writer⁸⁰ says:—"Udayan (was) the bull of kings of Sauvira." (Vol. I. pp. 210 seq.). The sign on the seal may⁸⁷, (excavated from his kingdom), then be suggestive of the name of any one of the Jaina Tirthankaras⁸⁸, as Udayan was a Jain⁸⁹. I believe that just as the calf was the sign of Vatsa, the Chakra of Taksila,⁹⁰ so this Rhinoceros was the sign of Sindh-Sauvīr.

Referring to the possible time of these excavations, Dr. Ayarigar says:—" (Seven layers have been revealed in the excavations and calculating each to be 250 years old). The time of Mohan-ja-Dero can probably be at least somewhere between 2750 to 3250 B. C." I have come to the same conclusion in Vol. I. The city was destroyed in 534 B. C. and it may have existed for nearly two thousand years before that. The scholars have fixed up this time after studying the implements and other things unearthed from such ancient places. There may be an error of five centuries in such calculations and thus 2534 B. C., as I have fixed up according to my calculations may be right⁹¹, though I have not yet come to a definite conclusion about it.

(86) J. N. I. pp. 92.

(87) At the place where the excavations of Mohan-ja-dero are done, stood the capital of Udayan. (Vol. I. pp. 217).

(88) Chap. III, where signs of different Tirthankaras are given. F. n. no. 2.

(89) Vol. I. pp. 214.

(90) Pp. 50 and 51 in this chap.

(91) I draw the reader's attention to the discussion originated by Mr. P..G. Mehta on pp. 1137 of the "Gujaratl" Weekly (4-8-1935) published from Bombay,



Chapter III

Coins (contd.).

Synopsis'—Nearly 100 coins are illustrated in six plates— These coins are merely selected from a large number in order to serve as illustrations—Numerous coins are found everywhere—Details about the pictures are given in an arranged order—Detailed information about every of them, quotations and opinions of writers about their time and meaning as compared with my opinions, with reasons—Details about letters and signs found on the obverse and the reverse side of the coins—Conclusions about them—Their lime—Other minute details.*

Detailed information about coins

No.	Opinions of other writers	The place from which they are found etc. etc.
1	Two coins are found stuck to each other. They have the elephant and the Chaitya. Found in northern India.	A specimen only is given here. See C. A. I. nos. 24-25.
2	Some have the bull and some have the lion and the sceptre.	Sometimes found in the Punjab. C. A. I. no. 26-27.
3	Pandit Jayaswal interpreted the word 'Samprati' on this coin and fixed the coin to be belonging to the Jaina emperor of that name ¹ (Modern Review, 1933, Oct.).	C.A.T.no.20.;In J.B.O.R.S. no. 3 of 1935, this coin is proved to be that of emperor Samprati.
4-5	On one side there is the lion, while on the other there is the elephant. (C. A. I. pp. 62). These coins are not only found in the Punjab but also in Kabul in large numbers. Coin no. 5 was found from the Stupa of Uskar, near Barah Mul in Kashmir.	Lion is the sign of Mahavir ⁹ , and the elephant is the sign of Samprati or Priyadarsin ³ ; this coin proves that Priyadarsin was a Jain and that his kingdom extended upto Mathura, the Punjab, Kashmir and Kabul in northern India.

(1) Samprati was a staunch Jain. In history he is famous as Priyadarsin.. Vide his account,

(2) There were 24 Tirtharikaras in Jainism. Each had his own distinguishing sign, which is popularly known as "Lafichhan" in Jainism They are as follows;—1. Bull. 2. Elephant. 3. Horse. 4. Monkey. 5. Krauficha bird. 6* Day-Lotus. 7. Swastik. 8- Moon. 9. Alligator. 10. Vatsa. 11, Rhinoceros)

No.	Opinions of other writers	Where found	Books describing them
6-11	There is nothing particular in the pictures on these coins. They seem to be cast coins, and show what religion the kings responsible for them, followed. No. 7 and 8 contain the <i>vfordsi-Aprti-hata chakras Rajubuls</i>, while nos. 6 and 11 have <i>Mahakhratapas Saucfasas</i>, and nos. 9 and 10 have <i>Hagan Hagams</i>. So these coins were struck by Ksatrapas like Rajubul, Saudas, Hagam⁴, and Hagamas.	Mathura	C. A. I. Plate VIII nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7. C. H. I. Plate VII, nos. 24; pp. 589 for coin no. 9.-

Some believe it to be sword also. 12. Male buffalo. 13. Boar. 14. Hawk. 15» Vajra (thunder -bolt). 16. Deer. 17. Male goat. 18. Nandavarta. 19. KalaS (water-pot). 20. Tortoise. 21. Lotus. 21 Conch-shell. 23. Serpent. (24) Lion. For details, vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(3) Priyadarsin was also known as Samprati. His sign is the elephant. Vide his account.

(4) Their names are also spelt as Hagan and Hagamas,

Reasons to prove to whom the coin must have belonged	Their time as calculated by me
As stated in chapter I I ⁵, we can calculate the I date of coins by looking at the type of the coins. Cast coins were generally all "struck during the 5th and the 4th century B. C. It is possible that mints were established after 303 B. C. during the rule of Priyadarsin⁶. But the Ksatrapas mentioned on these coins all lived during the 2nd century to 1st century B. C.⁷. It follows from this that advanced countries like Avanti⁸ must have got the mints in the 3rd century B. C. while backward countries like Mathura, from which these coins are found, must have continued crude methods of coining for a long time after 300 B. C. As regards the religion indicated by them, I have to state that the Swastik⁹ found upon them is a sign of Jainism¹⁰. The queen of Rajubul celebrated the Pratistha¹¹ of the Lion capital pillar in Mathura. Mahaksatrap Bhumak was invited to attend the ceremony, but as he could not attend it personally, he deputed Ksatrap Nahapan as his representative, who, though only a Ksatrap, was asked to occupy the presidential chair. This proves that all these Ksatrapas must have been the followers of the same religion¹⁹ and that Bhumak and Nahapan must have been very intimate or closely	125 to 75 B. C.

(5) For the calculation of time, vide pp. 42-43, chap. II.

(6) Vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(7) Vide their account in vol. III.

(8) See f. n. no. 4 above.

(9) F. n. no. 69, chap. II and the matter connected with it,

12-13	Many are found in the plates of C. A. I. Only two of them have been taken here as specimens. Some of them have Swastika, Tri-ratna, Chakra etc. (nos. 2, 3, 19); while some others have Bull, Chakra, Elephant, Goddess Laksmi, etc. (nos. 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17).	Province of Ayodhya	C A. I. Plate IX, nos. 2. 3.

(10) See f. n. no. 9 above. Details are given at the end of this chapter in an appendix.

(11) For details vide Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII, pp. 39 onwards.

(12) This being a religious occasion, those who are invited to attend, must naturally be of the same religion,

related¹⁸. That Ksatrap Nahapan was asked to preside as a representative of Bhumak, shows that the latter must have held position of highest esteem among all the Ksatrapas^{1*}. Scholars have unanimously accepted this Lion Capital Pillar to be belonging to Jainism¹⁵. This pillar contains the Swastik, which evidently must belong to Jainism. Again all these Ksatrapas, though foreigners¹⁶ were thus Jains¹⁷ and may have belonged to the same clan.

These coins have been introduced here as negative proofs against general beliefs. Scholars have mistakenly taken these signs to have belonged to Buddhism¹⁹; but their belief is ill-founded. Even Sir Cunningham has said on pp. 91 of his book:—"The coins do not themselves present any traces of Buddhism except the Bodhi-tree and the combined symbols of Tri-ratna and Dharma-chakra". Now really speaking even these signs belong to Jainism³⁰. That Sir Cunningham had reasons to doubt their connection with Buddhism, inspite of his belief that these signs denoted Buddhism, is ample proof that neither the signs nor the coins have any connection with Buddhism. Thus Bull²¹ is the sign of Psabha-dev²², the first Jaina Tirthankar. His kingdom was Ayodhya, the capital of which was Vaisakha or Vinita²⁸. All coins of Ayodhya, bear the sign of the Bull. Again all these kings (like Prasenjit²⁴

6th century
B. C.¹⁸

(13) How closely they were related is stated in their **account** in vol. III.

(14) Though Nahapan was only a Ksatrap, he was given this **high honour** **because** he was the representative of Bhumak, a Mahaksatrap.

(15) E. I. vol- VIII.

(16) The very words "Ksatrap and Mahaksatrap" prove that **these kings** **were** foreigners. Vide their account for details about their native **land**.

(17) "Caste" here, is not used in the present sense of the term. It here means one of the four classes. There were no castes in Ancient India.

(18) See f. n. no. 17 above.

(19) Buddhist books do not tell us whether there were any signs in Buddhism. Hence it is doubtful whether it had any signs at all* (See f. n. no. 49, chap. II).

(20) Chap. II, pp. 56.

(21) Scholars have fixed up this sign to be connected with the Saiva sect, because the Bull is considered to be the vehicle of Siva. The readers will now see that the sign belongs to Jainism.

(22) See f. n. no. 2 above.

(23) Vide K. S. S. Com. pp. 117. I draw the reader's attention to the names of various cities of Ancient India in order to avoid confusion. Sometimes their names **are** very similar (cf. vol. I, pp. 177 & 180).

|(A) The capital of Ayodhya had three names:—Visakha. Ayodhya and sometimes Svetambi.

(B) Vaisali is the name of the capital of Videha, over which Chetak ruled, and which was the birth-place of Mahavir. Thus the reader will understand that Visakha and Visala (Vaisali) are names of different cities. (The city, the area of which, was very large, was called Visala. Thus sometimes Ujjaini was also called Visala. Vol. I. pp. 177 & 180).

(C) Kausarpbi was the capital of Vatsa. Its situation was near modern Allahabad. (Thus Swetambi and Kauiami are different).

(D) Sravastl:—It was situated at the mouth of the Ganges at the foot of the Himalayas. This was the place where Gosala, the son of Maukhali was born and was dead. He had harrassed Mahavir, jyesthavan, mentioned in the Buddhist books, was situated in this city. Sravastl is sometimes called Chandrika-puri or Chandrapuri also.

(24) For details about him, vide Vol. I., pp.. 79 & seq. He belonged to the Ikshvaku family,

- 14** Obverse:-A Palm-tree with Ayodhya C. H. I. Plate V,
a peacock on its right. No. 11 (copper coin)
Reverse:-Aryatimis; on the
left, a pillar and bull
opposite to it.
- 15** Obverse:-The figure of a Kausambi C. A. I. Plate V,
warrior and the words: No. 8.
[-] *Sata Mitas*.
Reverse:-Chaityas etc.

(25) Vol. I. pp. 77 & notes. The Buddhist king Pasadi was converted to Jainism by Kesi.

(26) Read details about coins nos. 13 and 14 above. The Bull is the sign

of Kosal etc.) descended from the Ikshvaku line, and followed Jainism²⁵ as the sign on their coins prove, (the Bull thus was the sign of Kosal also. Coin no. 14 below, where it has been stated to be the sign of Vatsa also. Thus the bull was the sign of both Vatsa and Kosal).

For the Bull see details given above. I draw the reader's attention to the fact that though the coin contains the Bull, a sign of Vatsa, yet the author of C. H. I. has accepted it as belonging to Kosal, which proves that the Bull was the sign both of Vatsa and Kosal. (c. f. f. n. no. 21 of coin no. 13 above.)

5th century
B. C.

In the book itself, the horse is stated to be seen on the obverse side. But looking minutely, this does not seem to be a fact. This may be due to the picture not being properly embossed or due to the smallness of its size, making it difficult to recognize it exactly. It is possible that the print may be of a Bull.

B.C. 417 to
415

I believe that the print indicated a warrior. Thus the commonly accepted sign²⁶ of the Bull for Vatsa, is not here. After the rule of the Satavahana dynasty ended on Vatsa, it came under the sway of Nandivardhan (of Magadh) who is seen standing in the uniform of a warrior on these coins. This happened in M. E. 60 or 467 B. C.²⁷ Nandivardhan then became the master of both Kausambi and Ujjain. (It has been found out now, that the letters are interpreted as "Brhatpat Mitas"²⁸.)

,

of Kausambi as well as of Kosal.

(27) Vol. I. pp. 209 & 351,

(28) The letters on the coins support this interpretation".

- 15(A) Obverse>Goddess Laksmi iKaus^imbil C. A. I. Plate V.
 on a lotus, elephants No. 9.
 on one side sprinkling
 water at the coronation
 time.

Reversei-Religious signs.

- 16 N o t h i n g p a r t i c u l a r Kausambi C. A. I. Plate V.
 about these coins except No. 10-18.
 that the names found on
 them, are mistakenly sup-
 posed to have been those
 of Suriga kings, which they
 are certainly not.

(29) For details about this trick vide vol. L pp. 329.

(30) This is not the figure of Goddess but of king Mahanand.

(31) See f. n. no. 27 above and the matter connected with **it**.

(32) Vol, L pp. 116* onwards tor the account of Udayan.

The picture describes how Nand IX came to the throne³⁹. It is not Goddess Laksmi sprinkled with water but the king himself³⁰; both Kausambi and Avanti were under the sway of Magadh long since³¹; hence these pictures on their coins. As the rule of Udayan of Vatsa had ended³⁹, his sign the Bull³³ is not seen here. As the kings of both Magadh and Vatsa were Jains³⁴, the reverse side uniformly bears religious signs³⁵.

B. C 414
to 372

No. 10 has the name Sudev; nos. 11 and 12 have Brhaspatimita; no. 15 has Asvaghos; nos. 15 and 16 have Jethamitra and no. 18 has Dhandev. (Dev means king, just as Chandragupta is addressed as Dev in Mudraraksas). These kings are believed to have belonged to the Sung dvnasty³⁶. I differ from thfc belief; because:—(1) The names of all these kings do not end in "Mitra" as do the names of Suriga kings, (rusyamitra, Agnimitra etc.); (2) The Surras were the followers of the Vedic religion. These coins, on the other hand, contain signs of Jainism, (Chaitya etc). It follows therefore, that these kings were not the followers of the Vedic religion as Sungas were. (3) During the time of the Sungas the mints had already been established, and the coins were embossed; while these coins are all cast. (4) The Suriga coins always have the sign of Ujjain. These coins do not have that sign. I, therefore,

B. C. 427
to 417

(33) Coin no. 3, and f. n. no. 26 above.

(34) Vide Vol. I. and the account of their dynasties to know what religion these kings followed. Thus the conclusions arrived at in Vol. I. are supported by the evidence found on coins.

(36) All these kings belonged to the Nanda dynasty. (Vol. I. pp. 305),

17		Kausambi	C. A. I. Plate V, No. 11
18	Obverse:-Bull, opposite Chaitya on the right side. Reverse :- <i>Bahasimitrasa'</i> , and tree with signs on both the sides.		C. H. I. Plate V, No.2.(pp.538) (Copper coin).
19-20	Obverse:-Humped Bull and dots in a square. Reverse:-Chaitya and'Star and the Crescent, with dots in a square \	Kausambi	C A. R. Plate 12. No. 326-27 (Square copper coins).
21-22	Obverse:-Elephant, with the moon above it. Dots in a circle. Reverse:-Chaitya, and the Sun and the Moon, with a curved line below.		C. A. R. I. Plate XII No. 402 to 420. (Potin coins).

(37) Cf. f. n. no. 36 above.

(38) It appears more like a ram than a calf. (See f. n. no. 60 below).

have come to the conclusion that these names stand for the Nanda kings from 2nd to the 8th; and that Brhaspatimitra was the eighth who was defeated by Kharvel³⁷.

Read details about No. 16 above.

Ibid.

Read details about No. 16 above.

B. C. 417
to 415.

These coins have been mistakenly taken to have belonged to Chastana Ksatrapas, because they contain Star and Crescent, which are commonly found on Chastana coins. These coins, however, bear neither the date nor name or portrait-head of the king as all Chastana coins do. They have the Bull on them³⁸. Thus these coins do not belong to Chastana dynasty. For my conclusion see description of coins Nos. 23 24.

See coins
No. 23-24
below.

These coins also do not bear either date, name or portrait-head. They have been taken to have belonged to Chastana dynasty simply because they have the Sun and the Moon⁸⁹. In Nos. 19 and 20, we find the Bull, while in these we find the Elephant. See coins Nos. 23 and 24 below.

(39) The " Sun and the Moon " is merely a religious sign. It does not indicate any dynasty, as some scholars mistakenly believe. I have proved it See details on coins Nos. 23-24. (Cf. f. n. no. 58 below),

23-24	Obverse:-Bull. Reverse:-Chaitya and Sun and Moon; and some have dates. (No other mecial signs).		C. A. R. Plate 17. Nos. 889 to 903. (Lead co-ins and square in sha-pe.)		
		Metal !	Name	Date	Other details
	Plate X, Nos. 265-269. 5	Copper	Jayadnman Chastan	nil	"Swami Ragno kslrapas", these words are found.
	Plate X, No. 264. 1	»	Doubtful	nil	
	Plate XI, Nos. 293-4 2	Potin	Jivadaman	Doubtful 119	Found near Puskara & Ajmer.
	Plate XI, XII 324-5 2	Potin		114 or 119	Found from Puskar & Ujjain.
	Plate XII Nos. 326-7 2	Copper and Square	nil	nil	Sign of Calf.
	Plate No. XII, 374-6 3	Potin	nil	131 to 133	Sign of Elephant
	Plate No. XIII, 402-420 19	Potin	nil	nil	The same sign of Elephant.
	Plate No. XIII 461-471 11	Potin	nil	nil	-
	Plate No. XVII 889-903 15	Lead and	nil	the date is given.	Sign of Calf.
	' Total 60 Square'				
Selecting only two coins Nos. 19-20, 19 in Nos. 21-22 and 15 in Nos. 23-24; only 36 in all ar2 given here as specimens. In the book itself are given nearly sixty coins.					

(40) For details vide the account of Chasthapa dynasty at the end of Volume III.

(41) For fuller details vide C A. R. The common belief of the scholars is stated there, while I have here stated my conclusions after thoroughly discussing and analysing them.

These coins deserve notice in three ways:—(1) Their metal, (2) Names and years found on them; (3) Other details about signs found upon them. Let us consider them one by one:—(1) Metal:—All the coins of this dynasty which have portrait-heads upon them, are of silver. These sixty coins are an exception. Out of them 38 are round in shape and are made of potin, while the remaining twenty-two are square in shape and are some of lead and some of copper. Thus the latter differ from the silver ones both in shape and metal, while the former in metal only. (2) Name and year:—Only eight, out of sixty⁴¹ have names; out of these eight, four are copper coins, and only four are made of potin. (There is a fifth coin of copper but the name on it, is illegible and is only taken for granted for that of a Chastana king); that these have names may be taken as a strong evidence for considering them to be belonging to Ksatrap dynasty. (3) Other details:—51 do not bear any name or any date upon them. Only three of them seem to have something like date, but that is fixed only by conjecture and hence cannot be called reliable. It is quite logical to argue that the language and the script used by Chastaria kings can have been and may have been used by others as well. Thus the script can be, at the most, used as a pointer to the date⁴³; but we are concerned here with the dynasty of the kings*³;

(42) We will have to admit that the knowledge of language and script on coins helps us a lot in fixing up their time; but it is not completely reliable. (Several instances of such slips on account of depending too much on script and language are given in this volume).

(43) Cf. f. n. no. 42 above, and then try to see whether the evidence goes in favour or against.

(44) The sign Vatsa chiefly belongs to Kausambi, and so his rime is mentioned here. This sign also belongs to Ayodhya. coins nos. 12-13.

(45) For varification vide C. A. R. where nearly 250 coins are given.

(46) Vol. III, about their native place.

(47) Vol. III for details,

(48) See f. n. no. 49 below.

(49) Demetrius was the foreign invader who made India his home. He has **got** his portrait-head embossed. But he was not the ruler of Avanti. **Menander**

and these coins go a long way to prove that the Chastana kings were not responsible for them. The signs found on them also prove the same thing. If these coins can be fixed up as belonging to Chastana dynasty, simply because they have signs like the Sun, the Moon and the Chaitya, we can argue that they also have the Vatsa and the Elephant upon them, and I see no reason why these coins cannot be connected with kings of Kausambi⁴⁴ as well as with Priyadarsin. Secondly, even the signs of Sun and Moon are not similar on all the coins; alterations have been made in them in various ways; how can we, then, take these signs to be denoting dynasty? Moreover, all these Ksatrapas have got their portrait-heads embossed on their coins⁴⁵; why do these coins not have the portrait-head on any one of them? Why did they rest themselves content with the signs of the Sun and the Moon only? The Ksatrapas were foreigners⁴⁶ and all foreigners⁴⁷ (especially the rulers of Avanti⁴⁸ have invariably got their portrait-heads on them⁴⁹). Thus it follows that the portrait-head is the invariable concomitant⁵⁰ of the coins of Ksatrapa dynasty. Let us, for a moment take it for granted that these coins belong to the Ksatrapa dynasty, and that they were

and Bhumak have flourished after him. Even they did not rule Avanti. NahapaQ, Who succeeded Bhumak was the first to become the master of Avanti. This is why I have laid special stress over it here: and all the foreigners, who succeeded Nahapan, irrespective of their being masters of Avanti or not, got their portrait-heads struck on the coins. (See the coins of Chasthaija dynasty for **details**)* The first Indian king to get his portrait-head struck on the coins was Satkarni Gautamiputra. (Coin no. 76). After that time even some kings **got their** portrait-heads struck, while others did not.

(50) All foreigners, as stated above, got their portrait-heads **struck upon the coins**. See the coins of Kusana dynasty,

(51) **For the** greater importance of the obverse side see pp. 43 Chap. II.

(52) This date is given according to scholars, who have tried to fix up **that the rule** of this dynasty began in 78 A. D. This requires change, as I have stated at the end of Vol. III.

(53) This is an instance of the kind of slips mentioned in f. n. nos. 42-**43 above, Though** this refers to the sign only, yet the same **can** be applied

all sub-ordinates of either the king of Vatsa or of Priyadarsiin (because they have either the Vatsa or the Elephant on the obverse side⁵¹). This assumption will necessitate a great change in the period of the whole Chasthana dynasty from the first century A. D.⁵² to the third century B. C. as both Priyadarsiin and the kings of Vatsa ruled during that century. In short, these coins cannot, in any way, be ascribed to the Chasthana dynasty.⁵³

Thus, taking into consideration their metal, names, dates and other signs and details, these coins cannot be proved as belonging to Chasthana kings. Only the four which bear the name of Jayadaman, and the other four which bear the name of Jivadaman and Rudrasinh can be said to have been connected with them. Out of these, four are made of copper and so may be considered as exceptions. The other four of potin deserve some notice. This metal must have been found useless for the purpose of coins in the 1st century A. D.⁵⁴. It is possible that some of the Ksatrapas might have taken into his mind to get coins struck in that metal, in order to advertise it, and to show that they were as valorous as the former kings⁵⁵ who had their coins struck in this metal. They might have given up the idea after some time.

If we accept the conclusion stated above, there will be no necessity to divide Ksatrapa coins into three parts as has been hitherto done⁸⁶. They can

to the script and the language also, because there are possibilities of mis-interpreting letters as well as digits of numbers on them.

(54) See f. n. no. 57 below.

(55) For example see the Sudarsan Inscription, details about which are given in an appendix at the end of this book.

(56) Vide C. A. R. and see coins nos. 33, 34 below.

(57) **This** statement offers scope for some correction. See f. n. **no. 54** **above and the** matter connected with **it**.

(58) See f. n. no. 56 above.

(59) Cf. f. n. **no. 53** above.

(60) See coins nos. 19-20.

all be **put** under one class as having portrait-heads*] **and dates** embossed upon them. (The few which do **not have** dates belong to Chasthan and Ghsamotik. **For** details vide Vol. **III**, about the Kusana dynasty.

We, then, come to the conclusion that all **potin coins were** struck during the centuries before Christ*⁷; **that the** Sun and the Moon are used as religious signs only⁸⁸; and then, these signs do not indicate any family⁵⁹.

Now a question arises about the dates. Out of 60, 9 have names only, so they are out of consideration. **Out** of the remaining 51, 17 have Vatsa (326-7=2 **of copper, and** 889 to 903=15 of lead), and 34 have Elephants and are made of potin. In the case of **Vatsa coins**, Nos. 326-7, the animal on them appears **more** like a Lamb⁵⁰ than like a Bull, and have no date on them. The remaining 15 of lead have the Bull on them, and the date on them is 280 to 294*¹. In the case of Elephant coins, Nos. 374 to 76 have **131** to 139, Nos. 402 to 420 have 147 to 158⁶²; **and** Nos. 460 to 471 have no date on them. Hence the **dates vary** from 131 to 158 in the aggregate.

The Christian era had not yet begun. Hence we have to find out to which era these figures belong. In the chapter on eras⁶³, I have proved that all the kings had adopted the Mahavira era, because they were all Jains (see the Sahasram rock-inscription of Priyadarsin, which contains the year 256⁶⁴.)

(61) See further for explanation.

(62) In C. A. I. pp. 98, the dates given are 147 to 162.

(63) For this, see Vol. III, the chapter on Dating of events.

(64) Scholars are not agreed as to the interpretation of this number. I have stated my opinion about it and stated this conclusion based on it. For details vide the "Life of Priyadarsin" shortly to be published by me.

(65) Vide his account further on in this book for this date.

(66) See f. n. no. 62 above. Cf. f. n. nos. 42, 43, 53 and 62, and the matter connected with them.

(67) This is one more instance of the slips mentioned in f. n. nos. 42, 43; 53 and 62. See f. n. no. 68 below.

(68) Letters and digits written in ancient scripts are so very minutely different from one another that only if a small part is either not properly

Again, signs like Chaitya and 'others, as I have already shown, belong to Jainism. Thus it is possible that these numbers may refer to the Mahavira era. Priyadarsin ruled from M. E. 237 to 290⁶⁵. Thus the Vatsa coins, which have dates varying from 280 to 294, (see p. 81) may well be attributed to him. The other coins bear the Elephant and so undoubtedly belong to Priyadarsin whose sign it was. Then we have to take for granted ; that the numbers: 131 to 158 are wrong i. e.; the numbers on the coins are wrongly read and interpreted. They must really be 231 to 258. Such slips and errors⁶⁶ are not infrequently made by scholars while interpreting these difficult letters and scripts on coins. The digit in the tens-place in Nos. 374-75 must also be 4 instead of 3⁶⁷. All the differences suggested by me are quite possible⁶⁸ because a slight turn in these digits, if missed or taken for granted, makes a difference of centuries. So, I come to the conclusion that all these coins belong to Priyadarsin, and that their date is 239 to 258 M. E. That is, they must have been struck during the first twenty-two⁶⁹ years of his rule.

If, in course of time, all the conclusions stated above, prove true, we can say that the Mahavira era was used not only in the rock-inscriptions⁷⁰ but in coins also. The Mahavira era was given

engraved or is worn away, the whole number might be quite different from the original number, cf. f. n. nos. 42, 43, 53 and 62.

(69) If the number be fixed up as 262, we shall have to take 26 instead of 22,

(70) Cf. f. n. no. 64. The Hathigumpha inscription also substantiates this. It contains the number 103, which also represents the Mahavira era. For details see the account of Kharvel,

- 25 Bears the special sign of Avanti. This sign is called "Cross and Ball" by the experts. At present such figure is commonly found at the top of observatories and is called the weather-cock. Some details are given on previous pages.
- 26 Obverse:-Humped Calf on the left. Warrior on the right. Kausambij C. A. I. Plate V, No. 7. Pp. 73.
Reverse:-Chaitya, Chakra, Swastik etc.

(71) Nandivardhan, Kharvel and Priyadarsin have used this era while describing political events.

historical recognition⁷¹. (In 257 M. E. Priyadarsin had taken eight vows; in 262 M. E. he got the inscriptions ready; so the question arises—were these coins struck in celebration of these events ? Vide his account.)

No Calf is visible on this coin. It is supposed to be there because the coin was found from Kausambi. Minute observation, however, reveals that it has the warrior only. The signs Chaitya, Swastik etc. indicate the king to be a Jain. The Chakra shows that either the coin was struck after Mahavir attained Kaivalya stage⁷², or it was struck in celebration of the occasion⁷³ (B.C. 556).

556 to 467
B. C.
90 years.

No sign of Avanti is seen on the coin. But if the coin, as stated above, was struck in celebration of the occasion of Mahavir's attaining the Kaivalya stage, it must have been so during the rule of Chandpradyot on Avanti. Though Chand was not

(72) The Dharmachakra is one of the eight Pratiharyas which **are** present **at the** time of the attainment of the Kaivalya Giian. Cf. f. n, no, 44 above,

(73) Vol, I. pp. 366, See B. C, 556,

27-30 No special features as coins. They are given here in order to explain the warrior, the sign of Ujjaini and the image of God in a squatting position, with the sign of the serpent below it.

C. A. I. Plate X.
No. 1 to 10.

the master of Kausambi at this time, yet it is possible that the coins must have been taken to Avanti by merchants who travelled from one country to another. The coin may also be ascribed to Mariiprabh (487 to 467 B. C.) of Avanti, who was the sovereign of Kausambi also. But the warrior fit in more with Charidpradyot than with Mariiprabh.

There is another possibility. Nandivardhan had annexed Kausambi with Magadh in 467 B. C.⁷⁴. The coin may thus belong to him, who was very fond of militarism, and must have got himself imprinted as a warrior on the coins.

These are all cast-coins and thus belong to the 5th or the 6th century B. C. The warrior has a sword and a shield in his hand, and so I take him to be Charidpradyot. The image in a squatting position with the serpent below it, signifies Parsvanath. The Chaitya, Swastik and the Ratna-traya contained by same, prove that the kings were Jains.

B. C. 600
500

Another interpretation is possible:—

The warrior with Sun-standard in hand may be Nandivardhan. The sign of Ujjaini signifies that Ujjaini was under the sway of Magadh. So its date must be 467 to 454 B. C. If, on the other hand, the image in the squatting position may be taken as Goddess Laksmi and the serpent may be taken as the sign of the Sisunaga dynasty, all these coins go to the credit of Nand IX. The sign of Ujjain signifies the same thing as it does in the former

31-32 Obverse:-standing Calf and Nandipadma over it. C. A. R. Plate VIII. Nos. 221-227. Pp. 55.
Reverse:-Sign of Ujjain and tree.

33-34 They all belong to Ujjaini. (C A. I. no. 21 contains the number 147, and no. 22 contains the number 162.) One side has the elephants showing that they belong to Priyadarsin, yet they are considered to belong to kings of Ksatrapa dynasty. The same is stated in C. A. R.

35-36| Obverse :-pointed Bow and Arrow, Vajra; and the words "Chhahardas Chhatrapas Bhumakas" (Kharosthi script). Near Ajmer C. A. R. Plate IX. Nos. 237-38. Pp. 63.
Reverse:-Lion at the top of the pillar, with a raised paw and the

(75) C. A. R.; see the **description of the coins of Ksatrapas.**

(76) Vol. I. pp. 332-33.

contention. Then the time of the coins would be 414 to 372 B. C.

Vatsa means the king of Kausambi, and Nandipadma and the tree indicate Jainism. The sign of Ujjain stands to show that the king ruled over Avanti. Thus the coin belongs to Maniprabh who succeeded Udayan of Vatsa, and under whose sway both Kausambi and Avanti were.

Before , 460
B. C. or 460
to 490 B. C.

Coin-experts have come to the conclusion that there are three kinds of coins struck by Ksatrapas⁷⁶. One kind has the portrait-head and the year; the coin of the second kind are made of potin and have no portrait-head, but have the sign of the Vatsa and the year; those of the third kind neither contain any names nor any dates. All these coins are taken to have belonged to Ksatrapas because on one side they have the sign of Sun and Moon, (which is considered the sign of this dynasty,) and that of the Chaitya on the other. This assertion is open to correction as I have already stated above. Readers are requested to refer to the arguments stated in the description of coins nos. 23 and 24.

The name is clearly given. The Dharmachakra and the Vajra signify Jainism. Their place is Gandhar and Kamboj Rastra. (The grammarian Pariini and others of his company, being natives of this place⁷⁶, used the Kharosthi script,⁷⁷ which also shows that the native place may be the Punjab and Afghanistan). It also proves that the Ksaharat clan⁷⁸ came from these places. The Lion capital

B. C. 154
to 114.

(77) Vol. I. pp. 36 and pp. 332.

(78) Details will be given in the account of the Kfaharatas to be given in vol. III.

	Dharmachakra opposite to it; some inscription in the Brahmi language.		
37	Obverse:-Portrait-head of the king; <i>Raja Ksahata-Nahapanas</i>. Reverse:-Arrow, with the pointed side downwards and Vajra; the above-given inscription in Brahmi.	Jogalthambi collection, also Ajmer District.	C. A. R. Plate IX. 243. Pp. 65.

(79) See details about coins Nos. 6 to 11 above.

(80) Vol. I. pp. 36.

proves that the king was a follower of Mahavir and that he belonged* to the same clan to which Rajuvul and Bhtimak belongedTM. This explains why Bhumak was invited when the Pratistha ceremony of the pillar was inaugurated by the queen of Rajuvul, showing that Bhumak wielded more authority than he. The Brahmi script indicates the admixture of Indians with foreigners, and established the contention that Kamboj was the original place of Brahmi⁸⁰. The absence of the portrait-head is a pointer to the fact that Bhumak had not come much under the influence of foreign rulers like Demetrius and Menander⁸¹. The presence of his name on the obverse defines him as an independent king⁸².

The portrait-head shows the influence of foreign rulers. Vajra and arrow and other things indicate the dynasty of Bhumak and the Ksaharata clan. Contact with India is pointed by the Brahmi script. The absence of the word Ksatrap testifies that he was an independent king. The word "Raja"⁸³ establishes him as the master of Avanti, and that Avanti-Ujjain were considered places of importance in those times. The absence of religious signs, which had hitherto found their place duly on the coins, shows that religious influence was waning slowly and slowly, though his son-in-law ?sabhadev was devoutly religious (Nahapan, unlike Bhumak, is always called a Raja=Avantipati.

B. C. 75
to 115

(81) Pp. 44 above.

(82) Pp. 44 above.

(83) Pp. 44 above.

(84) Vide their account in vol. III.

- 39** Obverset-Lion in a jumping posture; the Swastik above it; the border dotted.
- Reverse:-Ujjain sign and the border dotted.
- C. A. R. Plate VIII;
Nos. 209-10. P. 54.

- 40**
- C A. I. Plate V;
No. 11.

- 41**
- C. H. I.

- 42** Obverse.'-Letters in Greek language; unintelligible; king's portrait-head on the right side.
- C A. R. Plate X,
J. B. (Silver)

Reverse:-C h a i t y a with
Moon above it, with a

The appearance of the animal resembles the horse more than it does the lion. It cannot be positively called a horse too, as its tail is peculiar. It represents the donkey neither, because a donkey has a short tail and cannot jump as is shown in the picture. It is possible that the picture may have been printed in order to represent the bravery of the king who was responsible for the coin. If we take the animal as a donkey, it indicates the Gardabhila dynasty⁸⁵—its bravery and progress. The Swastika denotes Jainism and the Ujjain sign shows that the king was the lord of Avanti, and was independent. According to my opinion Vikramaditya Sakari⁸⁶ or his father Darpan must have been responsible for these coins, (c. f. C. A. R. Plate I. Nos. 9-11, details about which are given in Nos. , 82 and 83).

B. C. 70 to
A. D. 3 =
75 years

See the illustration of No. 18. That picture is taken from C. H. I. ; while this one is taken from C. A. I. They are the same. For details about them read the description of coins Nos. 16-17.

It belongs to Ksaharat Menander⁸⁷. Nothing particular about it.

B. C. 155.

It belongs to Chasthan, the son of Ghsamotic; as this is clearly stated on the coin, it required no further explanation.

A. D. 125.

(86) Vide his account in vol. III.

(67) Vide his account in vol, III,

~	curved line on the left. Sun on the right. " <i>Ragno Mhahsatra- pas Gkshmatigputra</i> [sa] <i>Chasthans</i> writ- tten⁸⁸ in Brahml.		
43	Obverse:-Portrait-head of the king with face on the right and having a helmet on the head. Reverse:-Cock on the right and the word 'Sophuton' (Caduceus) by its side.		C A.B.PlateII.No. 1. (Silver) P. 23.
44 and 46	Obverse:-A standing lion in one, and Nandi- padma in the other. Reverse:-T w o l a r g e serpents.	Andhra	C. A. R. Plate VIII; G. P. I. and No. 207. P. 53.
45	Obverse:-Chaitya with six arches. Reverse:-T w o l a r g e serpents.	Andhra	C. A. R. Plate VIII; 208; P. 53.

(88) Vide vol. IV for details,

This coin belongs to Sophitis (Saubhuli), who is also known as Ambhi⁸⁹.

C. 327 to
320

There is no name; neither is there any other sign. Hence the coin belongs to the time before the establishment of the sovereignty of Srimukh over Sndhra. The two serpents may incline us to take them as belonging to the Sisunaga dynasty.⁹⁰ No Sisunaga king upto Kunik had his sway over Andhra. Hence the time of the coin can be after the reign of Kunik. It may thus have been struck during the time of either Udayasva or Anuruddha-Munda.

B. C. 496 to
472

Like Nos. 44 and 46, this coin also belongs to Udayan or to Anuruddha Munda. Coins Nos. 44, 45, 46 may have been struck by the same king.

B. C. 496 to
472

(89) Vol. I pp. 98.

(90) Pp. 57 above.

- 47-48** Obverse:-Standing Calf; Chittal- C. A. R. Plate VIII;
and the words: ' *Sadtu-* durga 233-34; P. 57.
kan Kalaya Makarat- Province
h~s' (Mysore)

Reverse:-Tree, Chaitya
with two arcs and one
large more above; a
curved line below and
the Moon at the top.

The explanation
given here also refers
to Nos. 49, 50, 51 & 52.

(91) Cf. pp. 21 and f. n. nos. 94, 95 above.

(92) Vol. I. pp. 353 and f. n. no. 39.

(93) Vol. I. pp. 153, 157, 325, 355 etc.

All the signs indicate Jainism⁹¹. The calf proves that the king must have been a subordinate of Vatsa. The coins must have been of old times because they are cast. The name Maharathis reminds us of the time of the father of queen Naganika⁹⁸. These coins resemble in many ways the coins of the first two Andhra kings. The curved line, on the other hand, points towards the Nanda dynasty. To make all these varied details agree with one another, we have to fix up the time of the coins to be the year when the rule of Nand II ended, with misrule and anarchy speedily following it⁹³, during which many small and subordinate kings asserted their independence and flouted the authority of Magadh. At this time Srimukh founded his own dynasty in Andhra⁹⁴; in the same way, these Maharathis (like the father of queen Naganika), may have been natives of Vatsa, which was under the sway of Magadh since the rule of Nand I. These Maharathis, like Srimukh, may have founded their independent kingdoms in further south in Mysore, during the weak rule of the six succeeding Nandas. The second Andhra king must have married (Queen Naganika), the daughter of Maharathi at this time. We find Ujjain-sign on the coins of Andhra kings, but we do not find it on the coins of Maharathi or of Mula-nand. These show that the Andhra kings were not independent. Ujjain symbol is the distinctive emblem of Satavshanas—the Andhras proper, as opposed to Andhrabrtyas⁹⁶. (C. A. R. Intro, clxviii. para 140).

About
B. C. 420

(94) Vol. I. pp. 32\$.

(95) For difference between Andhra and Andhrabrtya, vide vol. IV, and vol. I* pp. 151, and 356.

49-50	Obverse:-Chaitya, with four arches : they again having three more over them; one big arch over all these; the words on it are:— <i>" Ragno Dhutukala* nandas KaTanandas "</i>. Reverse:-Tree, Nandipadma and Swastik.	Karvar district	C. A. R. Plate No. VIII. G. P. 2; 235 Pp. 49.
51-52	Same as Nos. 49 and 50; the name, however, is <i>" Rajo Mulanand "</i>.	Karvar district	C. A. R. Plate VIII. G. P. 4. and 236. Pp. 60.

(96) Cf. vol. I pp. 352-3 and f. n. nos. 37, 38; again pp. 218 and f. n. no. 55.

(97) See f. n. no. 96 above.

(98) See f. n. no. 102 below and the matter connected with it; vol. I pp. 356, art (4). "Andhrapati grimukh was Mahananda's brother", vol. I. pp. 321-2*

(99) Vol. I. pp. 347 and 353 and f. n. no. 96 above.

• (100) The Rastra dynasty that was established in the south, descended from this Maharathl.

(101) These Pallavas ruled over the region encompassed by the Belari

For more details, read the description of coins Nos. 49 & 50 below.

These coins indicate the same origin as that of No. 37. Their place, however, is the west portion of Chittaladurga district. The dynasties of Andhra, Maharathi and Dhutukadanand began at the same time⁹⁶. They were independent of one another. All the three were off-shoots of the Nanda dynasty⁹⁷. The Vriji Ksatriyas⁹⁸ also established independent kingdoms in south India at this time and established Jainism there. They have emigrated there in the time of Anuruddha and Munda⁹⁹. Jaina kings like the king of Kadamba, Maharathi of Rastrakuta dynasty¹⁰⁰ and Pallava kings¹⁰¹ descended from these Vrijjis who were themselves a branch of the Sarriivriji-Lichchhavl clan¹⁰³. That was why they helped Chandragupta Maurya, who belonged to the same clan, when he invaded south India¹⁰³. See description about Nos. 51 and 52.

About
420 B. C.

The same details as given in nos. 49 and 50. Mulanand may be a successor of Dhutukadanand, or they may have been kings of neighbouring countries. The word "Rajno" indicates that he was an independent king. Neither the obverse nor the reverse side contains any sign which shows that he was subordinate to any other king.

About
420 B. C.

and Kadappa districts; the scholars have made a confusion about the Pallavaa and the Palhavas by using one for the other, the result of which mistake will be given in vol. III, while writing a chapter on foreign invaders. See the appendix at the end of this volume about the inscription of the Sudarsan lake; see pp. 28 above and its f. n. no. 134.

(102) Pp. 28 above and f. n. no. 134.

(103) Vide the account of Chandragupta for his birth and his relation with the Ninth Nand king. Cf, f. n. no. 102 above.

53-54	Obverset-Standing Horse with a "peculiar sign" above it; there is another round figure together with some words; but they are unintelligible. Reverse:-Ujjain sign; a dot in the centre.	Kadappa district	C. A. R. Plate V. 101 to 105. Pp. 25; and C. A. I. Plate XII, No. 10.
55	Obverset-Uncertain. Reverse:-Standing Lion; some words on the right side but unreadable.	Godavari district.	C A. R. Plate I. No. 14. Pp. 5.

(104) This may stand for either the sovereignty of the Mauryas; or this may be to show that the Pallavas were an off-shoot of the Maurya family. The details about a Pallava governor in the inscription of the Sudarsan lake may be helpful. Cf. f. n. no. 101 above.

(105) Cf. f. n. no. 101 above; hitherto I was of the opinion that the Pallavas were an off-shoot of the Nandas; but now it seems to me more probable that they might have descended from the Mauryas.

1106) For details vide the account of Binduaar,

Scholars believe that the word "Riti" in the coin shdws that the coin was struck by Visnukand, son of Hariti. My opinion is that the horse with the crescent above it, denotes the sovereignty^{10*} of a Maurya king. Again the place from where it was obtained is Madras¹⁰⁵ which means that the kingdom of Chandragupta or Bindusar had extended upto that. The coin certainly does not belong to Priyadarsin, because it does not contain the Elephant sign. If we fix up the coin as belonging to Bindusar, it must have been struck during the first thirteen years¹⁰⁶ of his rule, because after that (i. e. after the death of Chanakya) anarchy and misrule prevailed, and most of the provinces became independent. *i(Ci. coins 67-68 below)*. Sir Cunningham has come to the conclusion that the sign* denotes the Indo-Parthian king Aivavarman¹⁰⁷; but the coin has been found from Madras and the Indo-Parthian kingdom never extended upto that. (It may belong to a Pallava king, because it has been found from:the Kadappa district).

B. C. 358 to
B. C 344.
(14 years).

It is possible that the coin may belong to I'Gautamiputra Sri Yagna Satakarni (second Andhra king). The lion shows that he was a follower of Mahavir. There is no sign indicating his vassalage to anyjking. At^least at the time of striking these coins, hel'must have been quite independent.

B. C 403 to
390¹⁰⁸
(13 years).

(107) Sir Cunningham has advanced no reasons for this belief; but his views strengthen our belief. The historians have declared that the Pallavaa were Indo-Parthians; I have suggested that Palhavas should be considered the same as Pallavas (pp. 28 above and its f. n. no. 134); hence the people who are called the Palhavas by Sir Cunningham, are called the Pallavas by-me* and thus these coins belong to the Pallava chiefs. Henceforth we will call the Pallavas to be a branch of the Mauryas (Cf. f. n. no. 105 above)*

(108) For details vide vol. IV,

56	Obverse:-Chaitya with four arches and a Swastik above it with tree & dots. Reverse:-Bow with arrow pointing upwards. The words are : " <i>Rajita Gatamiya putas Vilivayakuras</i> ".	Maharashtra (Kolhapur)	C. A. R. Plate 3. No. 47; Pp. 13.
57	Obverse:-Bow with arrow ¹¹⁹ pointing upwards; the words are :—" <i>Rajno Vasidhiputas Vidivakuras</i> " TM . Reverse:-a large Chaitya and a tree. (The side which is taken as obverse by Sir Cunningham is fixed up as reverse by Mr. Rapson).	Sindhra, Krsna and Godavari district.	C. A. I. Plate X 11 No. 1, 2. Pp. 109. and C. A. R. Plate II, Nos. 17, 18.

(109) See f. n. no. 111 below.

(110) See vol. I. pp.357.

(111) The absence of the Serpent shows that he was not under the power of the Nanda dynasty: and that is why we find the title "Vilivayakuraa" prefixed to his name. See f. n. no. 109 above.

(112) This sign may denote the origin of the Andhras, in the account of Stimkh. (vol» IV) it is stated that his mother belonged to a hunter's family; hence we find the bow with the arrow pointing upwards.

(113) For its meaning see details about coin no* 58,

There is no sign denoting his vassalage to any other king. The word "Vi ivayakuras" suggests that the king must have been brave¹⁰⁹. (See no. 58 below). This Gautamiputra is none other than the second Andhra king, the son of Srimukh and the husband of Naganika. For the last six years of his rule he was a vassal of the Mahanand of Magadh¹¹⁰; so this coin must have been struck before that time. Also the Serpent, the sign of the Nanda dynasty is seen nowhere¹¹¹.

B. C. 403 to 390 (13 years).

Like coins nos. 67, 68 and 70, this has also the word "Vidivayakuras", which means that it belongs to the fourth Sndhra king. But it neither contains the Horse^{11*} with the Crescent like no. 67 nor does it contain the Serpent sign¹¹⁵ like no. 70. This means that the king must have been independent¹¹⁶. His reign lasted from 372 B. C.¹¹⁷ to 316 B. C. During that time, after the death of Chandragupta, Bindusar ruled from 358 to 330 B. C, and he was succeeded by Asoka. We know that Aioka's sway had declined in southern India¹¹⁸; the representatives from Ceylon had to return to Ceylon (under the leadership of prince Mahendra¹³⁰) by sea, leaving the shores of Magadh near the source of

B. C. 346 to 316-30 years.^j

(114) The Horse with the Crescent is the symbol of the Maurya dynasty. (See the appendix—"More Details"—at the end of this chapter).

(115) It means the Sisunaga dynasty. (The great serpent means the great Sisunaga dynasty and the small means the small Sisunaga dynasty).

(116) Vol. IV, for his life.

(117) The date of this coin strengthens our conclusion that the reign of Chandragupta began in B. C. 372.

(118) See the life of Asoka further on.

(119) See f. n. no. 126 below for the date.

(120) Vide the account of Asoka.

58	Obverse^A Chaitya with four arches; moon and tree above it, covered with dots; a Swastik above all these. Reverse :-Bow and arrow with the arrow pointing upwards; the words:- " <i>Rajna Vasithiputa Savilivayakuras</i> ".	C. A. R. Plate I. No. 14. (Pp. 5),

(121) Vide the account of Asoka.

(122) Vide the account of the fourth Andhra king.

(123) Vide the account of the spread of the empire of Chandragupta.

(124) Vide the account of the extent of Chandragupta's reign, Vol. I. pp. 353.

(125) Vide the account of Bindusar.

(126) Vide the account of Bindusar for the end of Chanakya's power.

(127) For the date of his retirement, vide the account of Bindusar,

River Godavari¹³⁰. Had south India been under his¹³¹ sway, the deputies must have taken the land route. Clearly, south India was under the absolute sway of Andhra kings¹³². We know that as long as Chandragupta was on the throne of Magadh, the whole of southern India was under the power of Magadh¹³³, and that he could go upto Belgol on account of this¹³⁴. His successor, Bindusar, being a weak king, was not match enough for this unwieldy empire and had to face many risings and rebellions¹³⁵; but as long as Charnkya was alive, he maintained the strong position of Magadh¹³⁶. Hence this coin must belong to the time which followed Chiiriakya's retirement¹³⁷, when Andhra kings must have asserted their independence.

It belongs to Vasisthaputra Vilivayakuras, the fourth Andhra king. The word Vilivay (Viravalay=» one who has put on a bracelet of valour) means that he was independent. (The Swastik, on the other hand, may mean his vassalage to Kharvel¹³⁸, cf. f. n. no. 56). Vilivay means Srimukh, the first Andhra king, and Vidivay-Vadasatsri means the fourth Andhra king, the son of Queen Naganika. Srimukh may have established¹³⁹ his kingdom in Kolhapur at first. (See coins Nos. 67-68). B. C. 426 to 403.

(128) His kingdom extended upto this. (Vide the account of the fourth Andhra king).

(129) We find the Swastik in the rock-inscription of king Kharvel. It may have the same significance as the Elephant, which is given place by Priyadarsin in his inscriptions. Swastik is also a sign of Jainism.

(130) Vide his account, vol. IV, if Chutukanand and Mulanand are related to Srimukh by blood. (Cf. coins Nos. 49, 50.)

59	Obverse:-Same as No. 58. Reverse:-Same as No. 58; but the words are:- <i>"Rajno M'adhariputas Sivalakuras"</i>	Maha- rastra, (Kolhapur)	C. A. R. Plate I I . No. 22, pp. 7. C. A. I. Plate X I I , No. 1; the only difference is that what one has named the reverse side the other has named the obverse.
60	Obverse:-Lion with its tail curling upwards; the Tree; words illegible. Reverse:-C h a i t y a with three arches, with dou- ble border on all sides; Moon and Dots above.	Krsna and Godavari districts.	C. A. R. Plate I I I , No. 33, pp. 10.
61	Obverse:-Not distinct. Reverse:-Standing Ele- phant, with the sign	Malva and Andhra	C. A. R. Plate I . No. 1. Pp. 1.

(131) Vide the account of Asoka and cf. f.n. nos. 118, 120, 121, 122 and the matter connected with them.

(132) Cf. this time with the time of Asoka's rule; the dynastic table of the Andhras (Vol. IV) has been based on such irrefutable evidence of coins.

(133) Vol. IV, see the dynastic table of the Andhras.

(134) The inscription of Nanaghat belongs to Queen Naganika who conducted the affairs of the kingdom on behalf of her son, who was a minor. Again, she was a daughter of a Maharathi. All these details agree with the third

It belongs to Madhariputra Satakarni Sivalakurnas, the fifth Andhra king, who was independent during the reign of Asoka. Maurya history declares that while Asoka was in Patliputra, his son Kunala had become blind in Ujjain; Priyadarsin was not yet born ever. (M. E. 223=B. C 304). This king must have asserted his independence taking advantage of the weak rule in Ujjain¹³². B. C. 318 to 299¹³¹ (M.E. 209 to 228) 19 years.

It may belong to Sakasas or Sakasen, or to Madhariputa Sakasen. That it contains the Lion only shows it belongs to Jainism and that the king was independent. The coins appear to be very ancient; it may belong to Madhariputra, the fifth Andhra king¹³³. B. C. 318 to 299¹⁸⁸=19 years.

It is supposed to be belonging to Sri Satakarni¹³⁴; | B. C. 236 to who is connected with the rock-inscription of | 225, or more Nanaghat. According to my conclusions, it belongs | 229 to 225 B.C.

Andhra king, when Priyadarsin was not even born. The Elephant on the coin shows that it does not belong to the third or the fourth Andhra king but to the seventh. During the reign of Priyadarsin, Kaling was under the power of Satakarni Andhra, who was not molested in any way though he was defeated twice over. I do not dwell upon them in details here because students of history know them well. Vide the accounts of the fourth, the sixth and the Seventh Andhra kings. The reader will, I think, feel convinced that all these theories are based on hard facts.

	denoting a River below it and a Fish floating in it. The words are " <i>Rajna srsts</i> "\		
62	Obverse:-Standing Elephant. Tree and the Chaitya with three arches; the River below, with fishing floating in it. Reverse :-Standing Man and the Ujjain sign on the left; the words are: " <i>Rajno Siri Satas</i> "	Malva	C. A. R. Plate I. No. 2. Pp. 1.
63	Obverse:-The Elephant with the trunk raised upwards; the words <i>zrei-Sirikanha Satakanis</i> " ¹³⁸ . Reverse:-The sign of Ujjain with a dot in every circle.	Chanda district and Central India	C. A. R. Plate VII; No. 180, Pp. 48.

(135) Details are stated in the inscription of Dhauli and Jagauda. Vide **the** account of seventh Andhra and f. n. no. 134- above.

(136) It belongs to the time which followed immediately the conquest of Kaling by Priyadarśin—the conquest which made him the emperor of India. **The** date of this conquest is 280 B, C,

to Satakarni the seventh. The reverse side contains the Elephant and the obverse side shows nothing (at least it does not show the Elephant). This means that he was independent, and his account shows that he asserted his independence after the death of Priyadarsin.

The Elephant on the obverse side shows the vassalage of Sri Satakarni¹³⁵ to Priyadarsin¹³⁶, while his sway prevailed over Malava. Calculations show that the king was the seventh Andhra king (before the death of Priyadarsin; this coin belongs to the time previous to that of No. 61).

B. C. 281
to¹³⁷ 236=45
years.

The Elephant on the obverse side denotes the sovereignty of Priyadarsin. The Dhauli Jagauda rock-inscription tells us that the king was not punished twice over¹³⁹ because he was a relative of Priyadarsiin, to whom the inscription belongs. This coin illustrates one of these two occasions, and thus belongs to the sixth Andhra king. Though Krsrta was also the name of the second Andhra king, yet king Priyadarsin having been not even born at that time, the king is taken to be the sixth Andhra king; his name must also have been Krsna¹⁴⁰.

B. C. 285 to
281=4 years.

(137) See f. n. no. 136 above.

(138) This name has been found on the coin only, and no Where else

(139) See f. n. no. 135 above.

(140) See f. n. no. 138 above,

64	Obverse:-Standing Elephant; the words are:- "Rajno Gauiamiputas Siriyaajna Satakanis". Reverse:-Ujjain sign.		C. A. R. Plate VII, No. 164, Pp. 41.
65	Obverse:-The Elephant with the raised trunk; a Couch shell above it (perhaps TrI-ratna) and the Ujjain sign; the words are illegible. Reverse:-Tree methodically divided by a line drawn from the opposite corner. Every part has dots.	Western India	C. A. R. Plate IV; No. 59. Pp. 17.
66	Obverse:-The Elephant with a raised trunk; words are illegible. Reverse:-Ujjain sign with a dot in the circle.	Andhra, Krsria and Godavarl districts	C. A. R. Plate VII; No. 183; Pp. 49. *
67-68	Obverse:-The Standing Horse; the words are said to be "Rajno Siri Chada satis" on the strength of C. A. I, Plate XII, No. 14. But the words actually found in that book are:- "Vadasatas".	Andhra, Krsna and Godavarl districts	C. A. R. Plate VI; No. 127; Pp. 32. C. A* I. Plate XII; No. 14.

(141) See f. n. no. 134 above.

(142) For his date, vide vol. 11L

The name is clearly given, -Gautamiputra Yajfia Sri Satakarni. The Elephant, however, shows that he was a vassal to Priyadarsin, and that the coin belongs to the sixth Andhra king¹⁴¹.

B. C. 285 to 281=4 years.

Comparing with other similar coins, the words may be construed as: -* *Rajno Siri Sa [takanis]*". The Elephant on the obverse denotes the sovereignty of Priyadarsin. That it has been found from Aparant district shows that Satakarni's power had spread upto that. The king may possible be the seventh Satakarni.

B.C. 281 to 236.

[It may also have belonged to Gautamiputra Satakarni. It is certain that the coin is more ancient than the time of Nahapan¹⁴²].

The same as No. 63.

B.C. 285 to 281.

The inscription of Queen Naganika tells us that she managed the affairs of the kingdom on behalf of her son Vadasatsri¹⁴⁸. The Horse with the Crescent in the coin shows that it must have been struck during the reign of Chandragupta, while he was the ruler of Avanti¹⁴⁴. (Or it may belong to the time of Bindusar). The king was the fourth Andhra. (We understand from this that Vidivayakuras must have been the title of the fourth Andhra

B. C. 376 to 346.

(143) Vide his account and the dynastic list of the Andhras.

(144) Vide his account.

69	Reverse: -Ujjain sign and a dot in the circle. Obverser-Chaitya and the Serpent; the words are illegible; we can construe them as, [<i>Rajrio i Go-tamlputas Si] ri yajna Satakanis</i>^ Reverse:-Ujjain sign.		C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 12. (copper coin).
70	Obverse:-Chaitya and the Serpent below; the words are the same as in Nos. 67-68.	Same as Nos. 67-68.	C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 13. Pp. 110.
71	Obverse:-Standing Horse with its face on the right • side; the words are:- " <i>Rajn° Gotamiputas Siriyajna Satakanis</i> ". Reverse:-Ujjain sign and a dot in the circle.	Same as above.	C. A. R. Plate VI; 148; G. P. 6. Pp. 38.

(145) Now, I think, the readers will clearly understand the implications of the term "Andhrabhrtya". Whenever the Andhra kings were under the vassalage of either the Nandas or the Mauryas, they were called J* Andhrabhrtyas", and whenever they were independent, they were called " Andhras ". The scholars have interpreted the term as " tha servants of the Andhras",

king and that Vilivayakuras, that of the first; cf. coin No. 58. (For time cf. Nos. 70, and 67 to 72).

Chaitya stands for Jainism, and the Serpent on the obverse for the supremacy of the Nanda dynasty over Gautamiputra Yajfiasri Satakarni, whose name is found on the reverse. He was the husband of Queen Naganika. He was the subordinate king under Ninth Nand (cf. coins No. 71-72 below).

before B. C.
372*
372 to '386
B C
(cf. No.' 72
below).

This coin also belongs to the fourth Andhra king, but the Serpent on the obverse shows that he was under the power of the Nandas; Nos. 67 and 68, on the other hand, contain the Horse with the Crescent, showing the supremacy of the Mauryas. We know these latter kings as Andhrabhrtyas¹⁴⁵. Thus the coin belongs to the time when Sri Krsna Vasisthaputra¹⁴⁶ wrested the reins of the kingdom from the hands of Queen Naganika. At this time Mahanand was on the throne of Magadh. Thus this coin was struck within the compass of one year¹⁴⁷ (cf. coin No. 73).

B. C. 370,
M. E. 157.

All other details same as No. 69, except that the standing Horse here denotes the supremacy of Chandragupta Maurya, while the Serpent in No. 69, denotes supremacy of the Nandas. Thus No. 69 was struck before 372 B. C. and Nos. 71, 72, after 372 B. C. (cf. No. 69). Thus Nos. 70, 67, 68, in order of their time, belong to the same king,

B. C. 317
definitely.

which is not correct. Vide vol. I. pp. 151, f. n. no. 13, and vol. I. pp. 356. f. n. no. 47.

(146) Vide his account.

(147) Vide his account.

73	Obverse:-The Elephant with its trunk raised above; the words are:- "<i>Siri Pulumavis</i>"¹⁴⁸. Reverse:-Ujjain sign; the Moon above it, and a dot in every circle.	Central India and Chanda district.	C. A. R. Plate V. No. 90; Pp. 21.
74	Obverse:-The Chaitya with three arches, with curved lines below; the words are:—" <i>Rajna [Vasithiputas Siri] Ptdumavis</i>". Reverse:-Ujjain sign with a dot in every circle, and double bracelets.	Andhra, Krsna and Godavrl districts.	C. A. R. Plate V. Nos. 88,89. Pp. 20.
75	Obverse :-Chaitya with three arches having a dot in each of them, and a curved line below	Nasik district; the collection of Jugal-thambhl	C. A. R. Plate IX; No. 253. Pp. 68.

(148) Like the terms "Gautamiputra" and "Vasisthaputra" "Pulumavi" has also been frequently used, which makes it difficult to distinguish these kings. It is "good sign that sometimes we get a Pulumavi I or I I" in order to distinguish one from the other.

and Nos. 69 and 71, struck before the former, belong to the same king. Thus their order, as far as their time is concerned, is:-69,71,72,70,67 68).

Before the time of Nahapan; the Elephant denotes the supremacy of Priyadarsin. The king was thus Seventh Andhra, Vasisthaputra Satakarm, like coin No. 65 above; only the place is different.

B. C. 281 to 236.

It is the same as No. 65 above, only its place is different; while No. 65 belongs to western India, this belongs to eastern India, which must not have been under the power of Priyadarsin at that time. Otherwise the elephant would have been on the coin. It is more plausible to fix it up as belonging to the time of the seventeenth Andhra king. The dots in the bracelets¹⁴⁰ show that it belonged to the time after that of Nahapan.

B. C. 281 to 236 but more probably B. C. 113 to 91.

It belongs to Gautamiputra Satakarni; it proves his conquest over Nahapan. or over his descendant.

B. C. 1,

(149) These dots are as far as I think, a later development, like the introduction of the portrait-head by Nahapan,

	each with the words:- " <i>Rafio Gotamiputas siri satakanis</i>" 1 Reverse.-Ujjain sign and the Moon above it [Words are again printed on the portrait-head of Nahapan, making it difficult to recognise it¹⁵⁰.]		
76	Obverse:-Portrait-head; the words are:-<i>Rajno Gotamiputas siri yajna Satakanis</i>". Reverse:-Ujjain sign, with the Moon above it, and a Chaitya with six arches etc.; the same words but written in the Brahmi script of the Deccan.	Surastra	C.A.R. Plate VII; No.E.L. and J. B. Pp. 45; C. A. I. Plate XII, No. 4.

(150) This is the first instance of striking again an already struck coin* It may have been done so, in order to show the superiority of the succeeding kklg over the former one; or to show internal hatred towards him*

(151) Jaina Literature contains the words "King Bala °ri" in place of " Queen Bala Sri". For details vide vol. IV.

(152) I believe that he never conquered Avanti. The coin originally belonged to Nahapan who must have got it struck after he achieved conquest over Avanti. Gautamiputra must have got his name stamped on the side containing the portrait-head of Nahapan, in order to commemorate his conquest, (or, according to the inscription of queen Bala Sri, in order to wipe off the stais

(See the rock-inscription of Queen Balasri¹⁵¹ at Nasik); the name on the obverse side denotes his independence; the Ujjain sign on the reverse shows his paramountcy (?) over Avantf*⁵³. Now the question is whether the king was the 18th or the 26th Andhra king. The Chaitya and other things show that he was a Jain. From the 26th Andhra onwards, Vedic religion had become the state religion, as the legends say¹⁵³. (This requires to be supported by the evidence of coins or rock-inscription). For details vide the account of Andhra xviii, in vol. IV.

The portrait-head shows that the king was a contemporary of Nahapan. The absence of the Elephant shows that it does not belong to the time of Priyadarsin. Its place, Surastra, fixes the king to be the 18th Andhra king, Gautamlputra¹⁵⁴. (The reverse side is struck again in such a way in J. B. that its letters are not quite legible). It may be a reprint of No. 26 Andhra king, as he is supposed to have made the coins current by restriking the coins of Nahapan.

62 to 84
A. D.

More
probably as
in No. 75

to his family). He left the other side intact, because he found *that, not only there* was nothing objectionable on it, but that it would increase **his fame**. **These coins are** found from places which were first under **the power of Nahapan, and then under the rule** of Gautamiputra. If these coins **were, or may be found** from Avanti or any other region, he must **be considered as the¹ Lord of Avanti**. See **no*** 76 for the coins of Gautamiputra found **in other** places. They contain only one print.

(153) Vide his account.

(154) See f. n. no. 152 above, for the difference between Nos. 75 and 76#

77	See the details about Nos. 58, 59.		C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 1; and C. A. R. Plate II; No. 23 E.
78	See no. 56 above.		C. A. I. Plate XII; No. 6. C A. R. Plate III; No. 47 E.
79	Obverses-Standing Lion. The words are illegible; but the beginning words are " <i>Siri</i> " and the ending are " <i>Sank</i> ". Reverse:-Ujjain sign and a dot in the circle.	[Andhra, Krsna and Godavari districts	C. A. R. Plate V. No. G. P. 2. Pp. 24.
80	Obverse:-Chaitya with the Moon above it, and the Lotus and the Conch-shell with a curved line below. The words are " <i>Raj no Gautatni-put as Siri yajna Satakanis</i> ". Reverse:-Ujjain sign.		C A. R. Plate VI; No. 13; Pp. 34. C. A. I. Plate XII; N. 9.
81	Obverse:-A ship with two sails ¹⁸⁵ ; the words are not legible; they may be, " <i>Siri Pulumavis</i> ". Reversc:-Ujjain sign.	Coro-mandal coast	C. A. R. Plate V. No. 95; Pp. 22.

(155) Like some signs showing regional peculiarity, (see above pp. 50) this sign also signifies marine relations.

The side which is called reverse in C. A. R.; is called the obverse in C. A. I. Everything else is all right.

It may belong to Vasisthaputra Pulumavi, the 17th Andhra king. It belongs to the time that preceded the assumption of the title " Raja " by Nahapan, when Bhumak was a Mahaksatrap, but not the lord of Avanti. At this time the Andhras were independent.

B. C.
117 to 110

The name of the king on the obverse side shows that he was independent. If he can be fixed up as the second Andhra king, its time was 403 B. C. to 390; and if he can be fixed up as the 6th Andhra, its time was 299 to 285 B. C. (14 years).

B. C.
299 to 285
14 years.

Mr. Eliot is of the opinion that it belongs to the Kurumbaras and the Pallavas, who ruled over the Coromandal coast at this time. My calculations lead me to believe that it belongs to the Andhras, whose power extended upto this coast. The king to be decided is, whether it belongs to the seventh; or 17th or 27th Andhra. Had there been an Elephant it would have been fixed up as belonging to the seventh. Now we have to decide whether it is an old or a new coin. It is more probable that it belongs to the 27th.

100 A. D.

Obverse:-A Lion in a jumping posture on the right side; a Swastik above it; square dots, indistinct letters in a reverse order in the Brahmi script (<i>Rajno Satakanis</i>).		C. A. R. Plate I; Nos. 9 and Plate 11; Pp.4. (Potin)
Reverse:-Ujjain sign with the foot-print of the Bull over it; Tree on the right side and square dots.		
Obverse'-.Chaitya with three arches, a curved line below; the words " <i>Rajia Vasithiputas Sivasiri Satakanis</i> ".	Andhra, Krsna and Godavari districts	C. A. R- Plate V; No. 115; Pp. 29.
Reverse:Ujjain sign; each circle has a double lining with dots in them.		
Obverse:-The crowned portrait-head of the king on the right. The words in incorrect Greek are:-" <i>Khoranon Zaoou Kozola</i> ".		C. J. B. Plate No. 2; fig. No. I. (Copper)
Reverse:-The king is sitting on the chair; the words are in the Kharosthl script " <i>Kaphasasa Sacha-dhrana Thitasa Kei-shanasa yiasa</i> (coin) of <i>Kapsha</i> , chief of the <i>Kushanas</i> , <i>stead fast in the true law!</i> " ⁷		

Cf. coing Nos. 38, 39; they are round, while these two are square; they do not bear any name, these do. So the former may have belonged to the Gardabhils, and the latter may belong to Satakarm or to the Andhras when they were all cemented with the friendship of the Gardabhllas, who were then the lords of Avantl.

B. C. 60 to
A. D. 3.

The dot in the circle shows that it was struck before the time of Nahapari, and the word Vasistha-putra fixes the king as the 17th Andhra, or the 25th. But by the latter's time, federal system of government had disappeared, which fixes the coin to be belonging to the 17th.

According
to Z D M G
1902, 170
A- D.

According
to my con-
clusion B. C.
127 to 110

Details are clear, and require no explanation. It belongs to Kadaphasis I.

For its time
see his
account in
Vol. IV.

- 86 ,Obverse:-The king is sitting in a squatting posture; with crescented crown on his head and a club in the right hand. There are letters on the left *sidei-Basileus Ooemo Kadaphises*". , (Gold .coin)

Reverse:-Siva in front of the Bull (?) with Trisula in the right hand. The words are written in the Kharosthi script:-
*Maharajasa Rajadhi-
 rajasa sarvaloga isva-
 rasa Mahisvarasa
 Vima Kathphisasa
 tradara (coin) of the
 great king, the king
 of kings lord of the
 world, the Mahesvara
 Wima Kathaphisis,
 the defender**

- 87 | Obverse¹ :-Lustrous figure of the king with his face turned to the left, he has a spear in the left hand; the letters are written in the Greek language:—" *Shaonao-shas Kaneshki Koshano (coin) of the king of kings Kanishka the Kushan*".

C. J. B. Plate II, fig. 4.
 (Gold coin)

Reverse:-Figure of a Buddhist monk with a bag in his hand; some sign on the right; the

It belongs to Wima Kadaphasis or Kadaphasis as above
the Second.

It belongs to Kaniska I. as above

	word "<i>Buddha</i>" is written on the left in Greek. 88 Obverse:-The same as No. 87, but the king has put on an armour. The name is "<i>Bosodeo</i>". Reverse:-Many faced Siva standing with the Bull, with Trisula in the left hand. Some letters on the right and the letters "<i>oesho</i>" on the left. 89 Obverse:-Same as No. 87, but the words are:- "<i>Shao Kaneshki</i>". 1 ReversoThe God of Wind, running to the left, naked and lustrous; the letters "<i>oado</i>" on the right. 90 Obverse;-The king in a squatting posture, with a stick in the left hand, and the sceptre in the right hand; the words are the same as in No. 87 with the change in one word "<i>Oeshki</i>". Reverse:-Warrior with a beard, with the skin of the lion and a long staff in the left hand, and some kind of fruit, in the right hand;* the words "<i>Herakelo</i>" Ion! the right.		C. J. B. Plate I I ; fig. No. 9. (Gold coin) C J. B; Plate I I ; fig. No. 6. (Copper coin) C J. B. Plate I I ; fig. No. 8. (Gold coin)

It belongs to Vasudev.

as above

It belongs to Kaniska I I .

as above

It belongs to Huviska*

as above

More Details

While this chapter was being hurried to the press, I happened to read an article on "Early signed coins of India" by Pandit Jayaswal, which was printed in No. 3-4 (1934, September-October) Vol. XX, of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. The article contains interesting, and hitherto unpublished, facts on the coins of the Maurya and the Sunga dynasties. I felt great delight when I found that the conclusions at which I had independently arrived three or four years ago were thus supported by such a reputed scholar. Below I have given some interesting facts from the article:—

(1) About coin No. 93, the Pandit says¹. "I take the head to be that of the king, not of Demon (Cunningham and Smith). I find no protruding tongue but a toothless mouth and a smiling face on the C. A. I. coin. The face there is of an old man⁸ of about 70 years or above." Another coin of the same type has been found to be containing the word "Subhagsen" on it. So these two coins are fixed up as belonging to Subhagsen³. The Pandit again writes on Pp. 284:—"He is to be identified with a Maurya prince in the neighbourhood of Gandhar. This Maurya prince was probably the ruler of Kasamir, who is named Jaloka in the history of Kasamir." I have quoted this sentence here in order to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the Pandit also believed that Subhagsen was a Maurya prince. Details about Jaloka (Jalauka) and Kasamir are given later on⁴.

(2) In the description of coins Nos. 91 and 92, the Pandit has repeatedly emphasized upon the "Moon on the hill" as "the

(1) Ibid Pp. 283.

(2) The similarity between the conclusions arrived at by me and by the Pandit will be clearly seen in the account of Subhagsen at the end of this Vol.

(3) See f. n. no. 2 above*

(4) For details on Subhagsen vide at the end of this Vol. If the size of this volume allows, details about Jalauka will be given in an appendix.

most prominent Maurya symbol⁵". This statement is proved very often by me while describing Maurya coins in this chapter. Again these signs* are proved to be belonging to Jainism, because all the Maurya kings, except Asoka⁷. (who was also at first a Jain⁸) were Jains. The Mauryas have selected this sign with a particular motive. They were staunch Jains, and loved their religion and respected their preceptors. Chandragupta, the founder of this dynasty, was inspired to select this sign⁹ by his preceptor Bhadrabahu, the famous Jaina monk¹⁰

Every Jain understands the significance of this sign. Such questions are minutely discussed in journals like the Indian Antiquary.

Every Jain generally goes to a temple of his religion once a day. After entering it, he depicts a Swastik with unbroken grains of rice on a low square stool; then he arranges three small heaps over it and lastly over them the grains of rice in such a way as to present the sign of the Moon¹⁹. I have already explained the meaning of the Swastika. The three heaps mean the Ratna-traya-knowledge, realization of true insight and character.

(5) The sign denoting the dynasty is "the Horse with the Crescent"; "the Moon on the Hill" indicates the religion. (Cf. the religious sign of the Chasthana K?atrapas).

(6) These signs will provide solutions to the riddles, e. g. Questions and points raised at the end of the first chapter.

(7-8) Details will be given in the account of Asoka.

(9) It is well-known that he had become a Jaina monk during the retiring period of his life. Vide his account.

(10) The gigantic idol at firavana Belgol in the south is of Bhadrabahu* More details are given in the account of Chandragupta. For his number in the rank of monks from the time of Mahavir, see f. n no. 126. Pp. 26. He is, famous as "Sruta Kevali" among the Jains. All the three sections of Jainism respect him highly.

(11) Ak?ata—These grains are taken unbroken with the desire that the worshipper may attain salvation which is faultless. This custom is now observed "more ini breach", because it is very difficult to get unbroken grains of rice every day. (Aksata is now taken in the sense of "rice" in place of the original meaning "unbroken.")

(12) For details see pp. 46 and seq..

The symbol of the moon at the top stands for the salvation-slab¹⁸. The whole sign thus means:—"May I attain salvation with the help of Ratna-traya, by freeing myself from the eternal cycle of the world"

(3) The Pandit states on Pp. 285:—"The occurrence of Elephant which is almost a constant emblem on Maurya coins etc." But the Elephant is the sign of one Maurya king only, namely Priyadarsin. It is not the family sign, like the "Moon on the Hill." I have been emphasizing upon, and giving publicity to, this fact for last ten years¹⁴.

91	J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX, No. 34, Plate I, fig. Nos. 5 and 6.	Coin No. 3 above. C. A. I. Plate II, No. 20.

No. 5:

Obverse:-[Ra]jno *Sampra*,
Reverse:-*Maurya*

J. B. O. R. S.
Plate I. No. 56.

No. 6:

Obverse:-Safiatis

Reverse:-*Maurya*

Both these coins bear
the Swastika, the Chaitya
and Moon also.

(13) Those persons who have attained salvation are called "Siddhas" in the Jaina literature. The Jains believe that all such persons reside on a broad slab of stone, which is known as "Siddha-sila".

(14) See my article "Emperor Asoka dislodged" which I had written at the time of the Fifth session of the All India Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1929; shortly after this a Gujarat! translation of this article was submitted by me at the "Ninth Sahitya Pari?ad" at Nadiad. The same article was contributed by me in the Silver Jubilee number of the "Jain", (Bhavnagar). A certain Suryanarayan Vyas of Ujjain has written a Hindi rendering of the same (without my permission) in the "Srava" number, 1919, of "Nagar Prachar Sabha", (Kasl).

(4) The Pandit states on Pp. 285:—"Hollow cross (probably meaning all-India empire) the moon-on-the hill and Swastika." (see coins Nos. 91-92 below). I have to add that the Swastika on the Maurya coins, be it hollow, half-stamped or incomplete, is a sign of Jainism.

Now we turn to the coins again.

The letters are clearly given; the coin bears the Swastika, the Chaitya and the Moon on it. The coin evidently belongs to Samprati¹⁵, who being a Jain¹⁹ got these Jaina signs struck on the coins.¹⁷.

B. C. 289 to
236 and
specially
282 to 266
B. C.

Coin No. 6 (No. 91 here), has a hollow Swastika which Pandit Jayaswalji¹⁸ interprets as "All-India empire." According to Jaina books¹⁹ it means three oceans⁸⁰ and the Hymalayas, over which the king had established his power²¹. Jaina books thus give the sign a wider meaning of the term, and show the extent of the king's empire.

(15) For the other name of Samprati, vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(16) For his religion vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(17) All these are Jaina signs. See pp. 46 and "More Details" above.

(18) See "More Details" above.

(19) The coin belongs to Samprati, who was a Jain; he must have got these signs inscribed after understanding their meaning. (See f. n. no. 16).

(20) Vide K. S. S. Com. pp. 18.

(21) This subject is geographical and the Jaina belief about it. Details about it would be a digression here.

92	Obverse:~The Elephant between the Chaitya and the Bodhi tree, with its ears spreading on both the sides; with the trunk and the protruding tusks; hollow Swastik, Chaitya and Moon. Reverse:-Horse with the Crescent;Chaitya etc. the word is ' <i>Dasara[tha]</i> '.		C A. I. Plate III No. 5. Pp. 62. J. B. O. R. S. Plate I, No. i.
93	Obverse:-A portrait-head with ears,nose and eyes; it may be the head of a demon* ⁰ , because the tongue is protruding out of the mouth; it may be an adversary of Buddhism; there are some letters on its head, but they are illegible. Reverse:-Bodhi Tree and Chaitya on both the sides.		C. A. I. Plate No. 7. Pp. 63. J. B. O. R. S. Plate I. No. 7.

i22t) The -coin suggests his supremacy, which he established in the ninth year of his reign. Or it may have been struck in commemoration of his rock and pillar inscriptions,--the work which continued for the first twenty-
sue years of his rule.

(23) It contains a reference to the charitable help rendered by Dasarath to the monks of the Ajivika sect.

(24) See "More Details" above, for the thoughts of Pandit Jayaswal on the Elephant.

(25) For relations between Dasarath and Priyadarsin, vide the account of Priyadarsin, and the appendix at the end of this book.

The religious signs show, that king Dasarath was a Jain, as is also shown by the rock-inscription of the Nag&rjun caves²³. The Elephant on the obverse³⁴ shows its connection with Priyadarsin³⁵; but the Elephant on its coin, unlike its figure on other coins, has tusks⁹⁶. So Dasarath, and Priyadarsin might have been equals and contemporaries⁹⁷.

B,:C. 289
onwards ²²

For the meaning of the horse with the crecent see coins Nos. 67, 68, 71 and 72 etc.

Pandit Jayaswalji says that the head is not of a demon, but of a human being. The tongue is not protruding out, but it looks like that because the jaw is that of a toothless old man". The face is smiling. I agree with the Pandit.

B. C 236 to
226²⁸.

Another similar coin is seen by the Pandit in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. On its reverse are the words "*Sttbhagaseri*". So these two coins are fixed up as belonging to Subhagasen³¹.

The signs which are interpreted as the Tree and the Chaitya by Sir Cunningham, appears to be that of a Trisula to me. Such Trisulas are found in the Jaina caves of Orissa. (See pp. 56 above).

(26) In the coins of kings who were under the vassalage of Priyadarsin, the Elephant is stamped without its tusks. Their presence in the coins of Dasarath shows that he was independent.

(27) See f. n. no. 26 above.

(28) For its time see the appendix on Dasarath at the end of this booki

(29) Pp. 126 above, for these coins.

(30) See f. n. no. 29 above.

(31) For details about Subhagasen, vide his account.

94-	Obverse:-Bodhi Tree and Chaitya; the words are: "<i>[A]gimitas</i>". Reverse:-Bull with the face to the left, and the Chaitya; this coin has not been reprinted here; see Nos. 18 & 40.	Panchal	C A. I. Plate VIII, No. 16, Pp. 83. Nos. 18 and 40 in this book.
95	These three coins are similar to one another. As the prints on them are not very distinct, they are not produced here. The details given below are on the authority of Sir Cunningham. No. 10: Obverse:-Elephant on the left; Chaitya; "<i>Sivadattas</i>". Reverse'.-Chaitya. No. 11: Obverse:-as above. Reverse:~Ujjain sign.t	Ayodhya	C. A. I. Plate IX, Nos. 10, 11. Pp. 93. C. A. I. Plate III, No. 6. Pp. 63. C. H. I. Plate 23; No. 36.

J

All scholar? have, as if, conspired to fix up Agnimitra as belonging to Sunga dynasty³², and then have tabulated this and other similar coins as belonging to this dynasty³³. But the signs on the coin prove it to be belonging to Jainism. Again all the Sungas were the followers of the Vedic religion. (Vol. I11, for details). For the dynasty and the time of this Agnimitra vide vol. I. Pp. 305 and pp. 325 to 328; and coin No. 16 above. Agnimitra must have been just another name of Sudev, Dhanadev or Asvaghosa, just as Brhaspatimitra's another name was Jet-hamitra. (Cf. details of coins Nos. 18 and 40).

B. C. 427 to 417.

Pandit JayaswaTs interpretation is as follows:-
 "These two coins belong to Maurya Deva series. They are intimately connected. The legend was read by Sir Cunningham as Sivadatasa, but the reading was doubted by Vincent Smith. (C. I. M. 144).

From 1 B.C. to 230 A. D. approximately!

No. 10	<i>Salisuka</i> [s]	These words prove that the coins belonged to Salisuka. For details about them see the appendix at the end of this book.
No. 11	<i>Sa[li]suka</i> [.]	

(33) J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XX, Plate II, No. 1,2 and 3; and details about it. Pp. 291 and so on.

N6te:~The readers will find that the following are the main points of these chapters on coins:—

(1) Coins of all dynasties and kings coming within the time-limit of this book, are described here.

(2) Religious signs on them are fully discussed and explained.

(3) I have arrived at definite conclusions on those points where the evidence was convincing. Other points I have left open to discussion and research.

(4) These chapters are an eloquent testimony to the fact that almost all the ancient kings were Jains, which was the all' pervading religion in ancient India, Some critics have charged me with a blind passion to show the supremacy of Jainism over all things, but the readers will see that the book contains no definite conclusion which is not well warranted by facts and convincing pieces of evidence based on coins and inscriptions.

Supplement to the chapters on coins

A detail or two remain to be stated in regard to coins before we declare quits with them.

It is a common belief that the place, from where a particular coin was found, was ruled by the king whose name or likeness; was borne by the coin. We will prove (vide Vol III) in the account of Bhumak that this contention is not true in all cases. Coins of Menander were found in Broach though he never ruled over it This will also be explained in his account Queen Balasri had engraved the description of the victory of her grandson Gautami-putra katakarni over the Ksaharatas and the Sakas in the rock* inscription at Nasik; I intend to give details about this in the account of the kingdom of Nahapan as it is inopportune to speak anything here. Hitherto my belief was that he was the 26th king of the Satavahan dynasty. Later evidence, however, has made me correct this contention. His was the 20th number in the dynasty. Hence several changes in his date and other details will have to be stated here¹. Coins of this king have been found from Surastra (vide Plate V, No. 76); yet his sovereignty was never established over that region. He had, however, invaded Saurastra at the behest of Sakari Vikramaditya of Avanti, and had slaughtered the Sakas and the Ksaharatas (Vide account of Rsabhadev and Devanak, B. C. 52 in Vol. III). Hence the coins bear the sign of Avanti—permitted by the king of Avanti as a mark of grace—and hence they were found from Saurastra with the portrait-head of Nahapan superimposed with the likeness of this king⁹.

As regards script, the common convention is that the obverse side bore the script of the sovereign power, while the reverse had that of the province where the coins were circulated. This rule will make it easy to understand over what provinces foreign people like the Greeks, the Yons, the Bactrians, the Parthians, the Palhavas, the Ksaharatas, the Sakas and the Scythians ruled.

(1) Details of his account in this vol. will have to be changed. For more details vide vol. IV—the account of the Andhra dynasty,

(2) .Details about this will be given in vol. IV.

Let us explain this by examples. We take the Greeks first. They never had any sort of established power over any part of India (Vol. II. Chap. 7). Hence their coins (either of Alexander or of his governors) bear only the Greek script and no Indian script. Hardly any coin will be found in India bearing the portrait^ head of the first three or four Yon kings; the presence of any stray coin of these kings can be explained on the ground that when these kings invaded and plundered India, some coins must have been dropped by them. Demetrius was the first to settle in India, and so plenty of coins bearing his likeness and that of his successor Menander are found. These coins have the Kharosthi³ script—their mother-tongue—on one side, and the Brahmi script on the other. Same is the case with the Parthians and the Sakas. The Pahlavi script resembles the Kharosthi* very much⁵; and there is much similarity between the Greek script and the Kharosthu. Hence some scholars have erred into the belief that some Parthian emperors were Yons and that some Yons were Sakas and so on—there is no end to confusion. This rule also applies to the Indian currency by the Britons.

One more detail and we shall finish.

I will state in the account of Demetrius and Menander that when they came to India, they brought with them Bhumak and Rajuvul. Later researches go to prove that Rajuvul⁰ never accompanied them to India. Hagamas might have probably accompanied them. Rajuvul never came to India as a Ksatrap. After the death of Menander, he defeated Bhfinumitra of the Sunga dynasty, and conquered Mathura, declaring himself directly as a Mahaksatrap. Hence we do not find coins of Rajuvul in his capacity as a Ksatrap—because he never was one. He was thus superior to Bhumak.

(3) Demetrius was a Yon—Bactrian by birth; his settling for good in India may be taken to call him an Indian. Menander was a Ksaharat by birth, but he has been called a Yon because he served under one. These people may be called Indo-bactrians and so on like Indo-parthians.

(4) The present Persian script must have come into existence later.

(5) I hope that this contention of mine will be collaborated by other experts.

(6) More details about this will be given in the account of ^Rajuvul.

Appendix

This is an addition to the account of the coins already given.

No.	Details given by other writers	Books containing their accounts	Evidence to determine to whom the coin belongs; final conclusion	Date
96	Obverse:- The right side of an Elephant's head with a bell round its neck. Reverse:- "Rajati- rajas Mahatas Moas" and a sort of staff.	C. H. I. Plate No. 6. fig. No. 2.	The Indo-parthian emperor "Moses" got two kinds of coins imprinted. Both have the head of the elephant; but one has a staff and the other has the bull. Their likenesses are given in Nos. 96, 97. He has assumed the title "Rajadhiraj", which means that he considered himself to be not inferior to an emperor. He states that he was related to the emperor of Persia. While the title of Ayas in No. 98, suggests that he was a kith and kin of the Persian emperor. For more details read No. 98 below.	B.C. 85 to 75
97	Obverse:- Elephanton the right, with some words. Reverse:- "Rajati- rajas Mahatas Moas ". Bull's face showing its right side.	C. H. I. Plate No. 6. fig. No. 9.	Ibid.	Ibid.

98 Obverse:- King riding a horse on the right side. Reverse:- " <i>Maha- rajas Raja- rajas Mahatas Ayas</i>"; a stand- ing idol of a God.	C.H.I Plate No. 7. fig. No. 30.	In this figure and in No. 8 of C. H. 1. both the coins are stated to have belonged to Ayas I. But looking to the words "Rajati- rajas" in the coin of Moses above, in that of Ayas here, and to "Maharaj Rajatiras" in the coin of Gondofarnes (No. 99), it becomes clear that Moses must have been a distant member of the Persian royal family. Similarly, Ayas I and Aziliz were also related to the same family. (See f. n. below for reasons). Hence they could not assume the title of "Maharajadhiraj", though they could make themselves known as "R&jadhiraj" because they were independent Indo-parthian rulers. Ayas II and Gondofarnes, on the other hand, were direct members of the royal family, and thus could assume the title of "Maharajadhiraj". In short, this coin seems to belong to Ayas II and not to Ayas I.	B.C. 30 to A.D. 19= 49 yrs.

[Foot-note:-C H. I. Pp. 586 to 592; coins of Moses are in Plate No. 8 (fig. No. 48) and in plate No. 6 (fig. Nos. 9 and 12). Also see the catalogue of coins in the British Museum; No. 26 and 8. For Ayas 1. B. M. C. coins No. 160, 137, 56 and 187; for Aziliz, ibid coins Nos. 40, 23 and 39; and in J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 788, Plate No. 3. In all these coins,

the word "Maharajatiras" is stamped for these three kings. While in case of Ayas II (C. H. I. Plate VIII, fig. Nos. 45, 46, and 49) the word is "Maharaja Rajatiras". Hence we come to the conclusion that the first three Indo-parthian kings were distantly connected with the royal family, while the last two were closely related with it.]

- 99 Obverse:- C.H.I. This coin belongs to the fifth
The king Plate Indo-parthian emperor Gondofar-
riding a horse No. 8, nes. (Table pp. 144 and 405).
on the right fig. Being a close relative of the royal
and a sort No. 32, family he assumed the title of
of sign. "Maharajadhiraj". Readf. n. above
Reverse:- for details.
"Maharaja
Rajatiras Tra-
tar Devavrata
Gudafaras"; a
standing idol
of God.
- 100 Obverse:- C.H.I. It belongs to the fourth Indo-
A king rid- Plate parthian king Ayas II. Being a
ing a horss. No. 8, close relative of the Persian royal
Reverse:- fig. family., he has also assumed the
" Mahara- No. 45, title of "Maharajadhiraj".
jas Rajarajas
Mah at as
Ayas"; a man
standing in a
particular pose.

101	Obverse:- Portrait-head of the king showing the right side of the face. Reverse:- "M aha- rajas Trataras Menander'", a certain sign showing a face on the left side.	C. H. I. Plate No. 7 fig. No. 18.	It belongs to Menander. It seems that he had also got two kinds of coins stamped. One kind is illustrated in No. 41 above and the second is given here. The sign is known as "Athene Promachos."	B.C. 182 to 159
102	Obverse:- Portrait-head of the king showing the right side of the face. Reverse:- "Aprati- hataś Chakras Chatrapatas Rajwvulas"; the same sign as in No. 101.	C. H. I. Plate No. 7; fig. j No. 24.	The coin is already illustrated above (Plate No. I, fig. 7-8). The coin here, however, contains the king's account. So it is given here again to acquaint the reader with the titles and the script of the Ksatrapas of those times. The title may be compared with those of Indo-parthian emperors. The coin belongs to Ksatrapa Rajuvul of Mathura. The same sign as in No. 101 shows that he was under the power of Menander. (vide VoL III for his account)	B.C. 160 to 159 =2 yrs.
103	Obverse:- The por- trait-head of the king with a military head-dress; showing the right side of the face.	C. H. I. Plate No. 8. fig- No. 42.	It indicates that the kingdom of Liak extended over the Taksila region. His name is found in the pillar-inscriptions of Mathura; the names on the pillar were inscribed at the time of founding the Lion-pillar. He has been thus supposed to be the king of Mathura; however he has never ruled over that region, (vide, Vol. III)	B.C. 114 to 78

Reverse:-

Sign of
Taksila showing a heap of things.

Obverse:-

"R'aj no
Maha teatra*
pas Ghsamotik
Putta [sa]
Chastharx"; in
Greek.

C. A.R,

Plate
No. 10,

J.B.
Silver
coin.

Thus Chasthan was the son of Ksatrapa Ghsamotik. The Moon and the Sun indicate the desire to be as permanent as those heavenly bodies. The Chaitya is a Jain^aign showing the three peaks of the monnt Meru. (Pp. 47) The situation of Meru has been fixed up near the city of Murve in Asian Turkey, showing its origin in this way. The curved line below the Chaitya indicates River Ksipra in Avanti. (Pp. 46 and onwards for the explanation of signs). Thus Chasthan was under the power of the ruler of Avanti.

Reverse :-

Chaitya
with three arches, with moon above it; mooa on the left side and the sun on the right side; words in Brahm and Kharosthi scripts.

Obverse:-

Portrait-
head of the
king showing
right side of
the face; some
faint words in
Greek; the date
is given behind
the portrait-
head*

C. A. R.

Plate
No. 13.

fig.
No.479
Silver
coin.

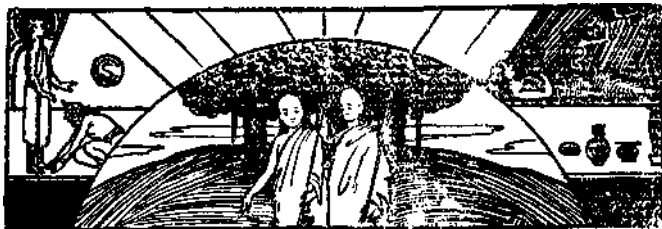
The name is plainly given. He was a Mahaksatrapa. All other signs are the same as in No. 104 indicating that he was connected with the Chasthana dynasty; but the date shows that he belonged to another dynasty. We cannot say what Era the date represents. In C. A. R. pp. 124, it is stated, "Date of reign between the years 158 and 161". The writer, cal-

Reverse:-

Chaitya with three arches, with the moon, above it; the sun and the moon on either side and a curved line below. The words are:—" *Rajno-Mahakstrapas Isvaradattasa Prathamavarse.*

culating the Era to have begun in 78 A. D., says that 158 to 161= 236 to 239 A.D. The Era, however, began in 103 A. D.; the dates 158 to 161 will be equal to 261 to 264 A. D. It has been found that he got coins struck "in the first year", "in the second year" and so on of his reign.

- 106** Obverse:- C.A.R.I. The signs show that he was A.D.
 Portrait- Plate a Jain. 456
 head of the No. 18. Dharasen was the son of
 king showing fig. Indradatta. The words "Parama
 the right side No. 935 Vaisijtava", however show that he
 of the face. Silver must have turned to Vedic reli-
 Reverse:- coin. gion. The signs are the same as
 Chaitya in the coin of Isvaradatta, showing
 with the moon him to be a descendant of that
 above; sun & dynasty. He has, therefore, descri-
 moon; words bed himself as Traikutak in the
 are:- "Mtffeam- rock-inscription which he got
*jendra Datta** inscribed. (vide Vol. III) His
puira Parama date can be calculated to 456
Vaisnava Sri A. D.
Maharaja
Dharsen".



Chapter IV

Maurya dynasty

Synopsis—The duration of the dynasty—A chronological and correct list of the names of kings after a proper consideration of the various names given by various writers—The number of kings in the dynasty and the duration of the reign of each—*

*Some believe that the Mauryas were Sudras and some believe that they were Ksatriyas—Discussion on the arguments advanced by both and then their true origin—Possible relation between Chandragupta and Nand—Duration of the reign of Chandragupta (the time when he assumed the title of the "king", and the time when he assumed the title of the "emperor")—The duration of his life—Various theories about the duration of his life—Refutation of the theory that Chandragupta and Sandrecoetus **are** the same individual—Perversion: of ancient Indian history **due to this theory.***

The founder of this dynasty is Chandragupta about whose caste¹, there is a difference of opinion. Before he defeated Mahanand and established his power in Magadh, he had his rule upon a certain territory. In a way, Chandragupta really founded his dynasty from the year in which he began to rule this territory—the year which we have to find out³. He established his power over Magadh in 372 B. C, or 155 M. E. At this time Avanti was under the power of Magadh.

The list of the names of Maurya kings given in Parisistha-parva-a Jaina book-refers to only those of them who had paramouncy over Avanti³. Their duration was only 168 years⁴; from M. E. 155+168=323 or 372 B. C. to 204. The writers of Puranas have fixed up this time to be only 137 years, taking which for granted a certain writer⁵ has constructed the following chronological list:—

(1) Chandragupta B. C. 322 to 298=24

(2) Bindusar „ 298 to 272=26

(3) Asokavardhan „ 272 to 232=40

(4) Kunal (Suyas) „ 232 to 224=8

(5) Dafeurath (Bandhupalit⁶) (6) Samprati

B. C 224 to 216=8 (Indrapalit) B. C. 216 to 207=9

(7) Salisuka⁶ „ 207 to 206=1

(8) Devavarma „ 206 to 199=7

(9) Satadhanusa 199 to 191=8 (10) Brhadhrath „ 191 to 184=7

(1) "Caste" here means one of the four "Classes". It is not used in its modern sense.

(2) Vide his account for my final opinion about this.

(3) Vol. I. pp. 199. f. n. no". 39.

(4) Vol. I. pp. 202.

(5) " Maurya Samrajya Ka Itihas " pp. 161.

(6) See further.

When Mah&nanda's daughter and Chandragupta met for the first time, the eight spokes of her chariot were almost broken⁷, and it was predicted that Chandragupta's line will have eight kings. The Puranas seem to have tried to adjust this prediction with their time-limit. These Puranas differ widely from the Jaina books in this matter. According to the latter, Chandragupta established his power in Magadh in 372 B. C. or 155 M. E. and not in 322 B. C. as the Puranas say. The Jaina books, being supported by other facts and figures, are more correct in this matter than the Puranas. The duration of Chandragupta's reign according to Jaina books is 15 years, while, according to the Puranas it is 24 years. This interval of 9 years can be explained if we take that the Puranas must have included the years of his rule over the small territory also. Thus the duration of the Maurya dynasty was $168+9=177$ years, M- E. 146 to 323 or 381 B. C. 204⁸.

The first four kings are famous in history, and their time is discussed in their accounts. So we shall try
 Their number to fix up the time of the remaining five below.

The names of the first four are:—(1) Chandragupta, (2) Bindus&r, (3) Asokavardhan¹⁰, (4) Priyadarsiin. The last died in M. E. 290*237 B. C. The dynasty ended in 323 M. E. or 204 B. C.

(7) See further.

(8) I do not see my way to arrive at any compromise by my calculations and the calculation of the Puranas. In the same way, the Puranas have fixed up 122 years for the fiuriga dynasty, while the Jaina books have fixed up 90. Even if we may try to adjust this difference by saying that these 22 years were the time during which PuSyamitra was the commander of the forces of Magadh, yet the end of the Maurya dynasty would be $184-22=162$ B. C. while according to Jaina books it is 203 B. C.

There is only one way in which this difference can be made up. Some of the ancient copy-writers of these manuscripts must have written 137, while the real number must have been 177, either by slip of pen or by not being able to decipher the manuscript properly.

(9) 5, if we take up the total number to be 9, and 6 if we take it up to be 10.

(10) I have proved elsewhere that Asoka and Friyadarsin wore different individual*.

This means that the remaining five kings ruled for the intervening 33 years only. Pusyamitra killed the last king Brhadrath and founded his own dynasty¹¹. Thus we gather the name of the last king¹⁹. The name of Pnyadarsin's son and successor was Vrsseu or Esabhasen¹³. Thus we fix up the name of the fifth king. For the sixth, seventh and eighth, we shall have to fix their names depending upon various ancient books. The most accepted names are Brhaspatimitra, Devvarman, Pusyadharma. Their order is not of much importance. If we accept them as 10, we have to make it up by saying that the last king was preceded by his brother Satadhanva¹⁴.

Below is given the least, then, which, I hope, will be agreeable and acceptable to all:—

(1) Chandra gupta--M.E.	to	M. E. ¹⁶	B. C	to	B. C.~years
king	146	»	154	381	
Emperor	154	„	169	373	„ 358=15]***
(2) Bindusar	-169	„	197	358	„ 330=28*
(3) Asokavardhan--	197	„	207	330	„ 289=41*
(4) Priyadarsin ¹⁶ --	237	»	291	289	„ 235*54*
(5) Vrsabhsen ¹⁷ --	291	»	300	235	„ 226=9

(11) The Puranas have fixed up that the Sunga dynasty began from the year in which Pusyamitra became the commander. Taking thi9 into consideration, Brhadrath cannot be taken as the last king. (See further).

(12) See f. n. no. 11 above.

(13) Vide his account in vol. III.

(14) See the chronological list above.

(15) The New Year's day in M. E. is generally in October. Hence, when we refer the same event to these two eras, in the M. E. the number of the year will be the current one, which in the Christian Era, the number will be that of the past year.

(16) The names of the last five kings are a matter of much discussion; so is the question of the order of their succession; I have not yet arrived at quite definite conclusions. I intend to devote a special chapter to the subject of "The causes of the decline of the Mauryan Empire" at the end of this vol. where I will discuss this in details.

(17) Cf. f. n. no. 11 above. The name of Brhaspatimitra as no. 9 is practically useless, It has been introduced here in order to make it agree

(6) Devvarma	—300	„	307	226	„	219=7
(7) Pueyadharma	—307	„	314	219	„	213=7
(8) Satadhanva	—314	„	321	213	„	206=7
(9) Brhaspatimitra ¹⁸	321	„	323	206	„	<u>204=2</u>
years 177						

* The durations of the reigns of these kings are $23\frac{1}{2}$, $27\frac{1}{2}$, $40\frac{1}{2}$ and $53\frac{1}{2}$ years respectively, and so the sum is 177 and not 179.

Maurya dynasty

Some writers are of the opinion that the Maurya dynasty derived its name from "Muru" which was the name of the mother of Chandragupta. This does not seem plausible

Caste to me, not only because it is grammatically incorrect, but because the dynastic name of a king is seldom derived from his mother's side¹⁹. The other and the more probable theory is that Maurya³⁰ was the name of the

with what is given in the Hathigumpha inscription—that PuSyamitra Suriga was a contemporary of Kharvel, who had defeated Brhaspatimitra of Magadh. But this all is not possible. (For details, vide the account of Kharvel). So it is proper to drop the name altogether. So the king who was killed by PuSyamitra was the son of Priyadarsiu, Rsabhasen by name. Thus the number will be reduced to nine, which will be in agreement with the prophecy uttered at the time of breaking down of eight spokes of the chariot of the queen of Chandragupta and the daughter of Mahanand. If we get an evidence to prove that PuSyamitra killed Brhaspatimitra, we shall have to change our conclusions. But it is not possible*

(18) In the chapter on "The causes of the decline of the Mauryan Empire", at the end of this vol., I have¹ proved that Brhaspatimitra was either a brother or a son or a close relative of Subhagasen. There has been no Maurya king named Brhaspatimitra. The name Brhaspatimitra of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharvel, is confused with Pusyamitra and then his time is fixed up. But the very foundation is ill-founded. (Vide the accounts of Kharvel and PuSyamitra).

(19) A king may personally make himself known by affixing to his name the family name of his mother, as is the case with many Andhra kings. But even Andhras have not fixed up their dynastic name on the family name of a mother.

(20) C A. I. Plate XII: there are coins of Chandragupta and Bindusara (Nos. 71, 72 in this book). They bear the Horse with the Crescent. Had they not been ksatriyas there would have been no Horse in their coins. The Horse is almost the invariable concomitant of a ksatriya,

Ksatriya clan of that name which was an off-shoot of the Samvrijji family,⁹¹ who emigrated to various places from Videha (Mithila), the capital of Chetak, who is said to have belonged to that family in Mahaparinivvansutta.

One theory about the origin of the Mauryas is as follows—
Mura⁸⁹ the mother of Chandragupta was the daughter of a
bird-tamer (peacock tamer) of the Ninth Nand;
Its origin his father's name is unknown²⁸. When Chan*
dragupta's mother was pregnant, she felt an
intense desire to swallow the moon. As none could fulfill her

(21) J. N. I. Pp. 132:—"The Mahavamsa called him a scion off the Moriya clan* In the Diwavadan, Bindusar, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be a Ksatriya Murdhabhisikta. In the same work, Asoka, the son of Bindusar calls himself a Ksatriya. (Cowell & Neil, Ctoftjodan pp. 37C).

Vide the account of Priyadarsin for details about the conquest of Khotan.

Dr. Roy Chaudharl observes that Chandragupta belonged to a ksatriya community-viz. The Moriya (Maurya) clan. The Maukharf ksatriyas who conquered and ruled Gwalior, and in which line there were kings like Yasovardhan, Ama, (Chakrayuddha), were possibly connected with the Maurya clan. Cf. Vol. I. Pp. 98 details about Ambhi of the Punjab.

(22) The play Mudraraksas tells us that Mahapadma had two queens : (1) Ratnavati and (2) Mura. The second was a Sudra, and her son was Chandragupta. But, really speaking, Mahapadma, and not Chandragupta, was his son (vide his account) by Mura. Now Mahanand ruled for 43 years; how can Chandragupta be the son of Mahapadma.

In the Vedic Purapas the names Mahapadma and Mahanand are so much confused that all these difficulties are the result (see f. n. no. 23 below).

If we substitute Mahananda for Mahapadma in the above play, Chandragupta will have to be taken as the son of Mahananda. But in Vol. I. Pp. 340, we have proved that there could not have existed the relation of father and son between them.

(23) His father's name was Mohapal. (Jaina Tattvadarsa Pp. 315* Vidya-prasaraka Varga). Had he been the son of Mahanand, the dynastic name of Mahanand would have been continued. (See further).

His father's name may more probably and more significantly have been Morapal, which means, "tamer of peacocks." In those times kings were specially fond of the flesh of peacocks. He may not have been a ksatriya. It

desire, she began to become weaker and weaker. At last, a brahman named Chanakya fulfilled her desire on condition that if she gave birth to a son, and if that son was willing, he should be given over to him after he attained his majority. Fortunately a son was born, and he was given the significant name of Chandragupta^{3*}.

Some writers advanced the theory that Chandragupta was of a low i. e. Sudra family, because his mother was the daughter of a bird-tamer⁸⁸, and because his father was unknown. Then they go further and say that as the Ninth Nand himself was a Sudra he had to marry this Mura, who gave birth to Chandragupta²⁶. Thus Chandragupta was the son of Mura. When, however, the reader, sees that the Mauryas were ksatriyas, all these theories will have no appeal for him.

My reasons for not believing Chandragupta to be the son²⁷ of the Ninth Nand³⁸ are as under:—

(1) When Chandragupta entered Patliputra, after having

is possible that he may have had a beautiful daughter named Afura, whom Mahanand might have married, and who might have given birth to Chandragupta. If we take this theory for granted he is rightly called "Vrsala" in Mudrarak?asa. Even this theory has no foundation in fact.

C. H. I. Pp. 70:—"Chandragupta is represented as a lowborn connection of family of Nand/'

(24) One in whose case the moon was concealed.

(25) Kings of those times had a special liking for the flesh of peacocks. See the rock inscription of Priyadarsin.

(26) I. C. I. Intro. Pp. 34. f. n. no. 1. and on pp. 29, f. n. no. 3. Prof. Hultsch says:—"According to Mudrarak?as, Chandragupta was a Vrsala i. e. member of the Sudra caste."

The same word has been used in connection with 6nmukh of Andhra. Vide his account in Vol. IV, where the words are "Vrsalobali."

(27) Vol. I. Pp. 340; M. S. K. I. Pp. 94:—"Chandragupta was the grandson of the last Nand (Dhundhiraj); Chandragupta was the son of Nand (Sridhar)"; according to KaLhasarit-sagar he was the sou of Mahapadma. M. S. K. I. Pp. 560:—"I believe that Chandra was another name for Samprati."

(28) See f. n. no. 27 and 19 above,

defeated the Ninth Nand, Nanda's daughter fell in love with him and married him⁸⁰. This could not have been possible if Chandragupta had been the son of Nand, even by a different wife from the one who was the mother of the girl⁸⁰.

(2) The dynastic name of the Nanda king is Nag and that of Chandragupta is Maurya.

(3) Nand's family name is Malla⁸¹, which Chandragupta's is Maurya. Both are branches of the Samvrijji stock, a high ksatriya clan³⁹; we will prove this in the account of Priyadarshan.

(4) That Chandragupta married Nand's daughter proves they belong to two different branches of the Samvrijji stock, among which it was the rule that the girls could not be given in marriage out the clan, and that children of the same branch could not marry one another⁸⁸.

Nowhere are found the dates of the beginning and the end of the rule of Chandragupta. I have stated below theories advanced by various ancient literatures:—

(1) The Brahmin Puranas³⁴ state;—" Chandragupta became king emperor of Magadh one hundred years after the accession of Nand I to the throne. " We have proved in vol. I that Nand I came to the throne in 472 B. C or M. E. 55. We have to remember one thing here; the Puranas say that he became the emperor of Magadh in 472-100=372 B. C. But we know that

(29) See further.

(30) Children of the same father cannot intermarry. Children of the same mother can, if they are born by different fathers, (though rarely).

(31) The Nandas were cousins of Srenik, whom we have proved to have belonged to the Malla clan.

(32) See coins nos. 49, 50 and comments* R. W. W. Vol. II Pp. 13.

(33) Siddharth, the father of Mahavir, belonged to the Gnat clan and Chetak belonged to the Lichchhavi clan.' Both are the branches of the Samvrijji stock. So Chetak's sister Trisala was given in marriage to Siddharth*

(34) I. A. Vol. 32, p, 231:—The Brahmin's Puranas state that, Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadh 100 years after the accession of Nand I."

he had already established his rule over a small territory⁸⁸ 9 years before he achieved this victory with the help of Chanakya and Vakragrlva. So B. C. 372 is the year in which he became the emperor of M gadh⁸⁹.

x he Sirrihalese Chronicles say that Chandragupta became king in Buddha Era 162³⁷⁻³⁸; we have proved in chapter I, that the Sirrihalese calculate the beginning of this era from 543 B. C. Hence 162 B. E. means 381 B. C, which is the year in which Chandragupta established his power over a small territory.

(3) According to the calculations of General Cunningham³⁹ B. E. 162 is not equal to 316 B. C. but equal to 382 B. C; i. e. there is an error of 66 years⁴⁰. His calculations agree with mine⁴¹.

(4) The Maurya dynasty was established in 162 B. E.⁴², from the year whence Chandragupta assumed the title of king over a small territory⁴³.

(5) According to Jaina Literature⁴⁴ Chandragupta exterminated the Nandas 155 years after the death of Mahavir, i.e. 527-155= 372 B. C.

(6) We can deduce from the inscription of Sravan Belgol

(35) He became emperor of Magadh nearly nine years after he established his power as a chieftain-

(36) The reader will see by and by that this is the correct date.

(37) The actual word in the book is "accession/" meaning his becoming- a chieftain. Read further.

(38) I. A. Vol. 37, p. 345.

(39) I. C I. C. Preface. Pp. 4.

(40) Read argument No. 2. above.

(41) A. B. 162=381 B. C. Thus Buddha Era. began in 381+162=543 B.C.

(42) I. A. Vol. 32. p. 227.

(43) Read arguments No. 2 and 5.

(44) Parisista Parva, Canto VIU, 339; Vol. I. p. 200; C. H. I. p. 156: (Hemachandra states that at this time 155 years had elapsed since the death of Mahavir) I. H. quarterly, Vol V. Sep. 1929, p.400: "Evam Ca Sri Mahavir mukter versa gate gats paficapaicaradadhike Chandragupto bhavan nfpah,"

that the name of Chandragupta's⁴⁵ religious preceptor was Bhadrabahu. (Both according to the Digambar as well as Svetambar sects). His priesthood dates from A. M. 156 to A.M. 170 (B. C. 371 to 357)*⁶. This means that Chandragupta must have been on the throne of Magadh during the same period⁴⁷. Thus Chandragupta could not have been the same as Sandracottus who is said to have been on the throne of Magadh when Alexander invaded India in 327 R. C.

(7) We have stated in Vol. I. that Nand IX had a prime-minister named Sakdal who had two sons named Sthtilibhadra and Sriyak. Sakdal had caused his son Sriyak to kill him as he was accused of treason by the king. This took place in about 377 B. C. Then Sthulibhadra was offered prime-ministership by the king. But he refused the offer, and entered Jaina priesthood under Bhadrabahu⁴⁸, at the age of thirty⁴⁹.

(45) There was another Bhadrabahu in the Digambar sect and the name of his disciple was Guptichandra. A confusion has arisen due to this similarity of names—which we shall discuss later on.

(46) He was the sixth in the line of disciples of Mahavir and is famous as Srutakevali in both the sects. His priesthood lasted from A. M. 156 to 170=14 years.

(47) We have stated in vol. I. that Avanti was under the Magadh Empire since the time of Nand I. When the Maurya rule began Avanti was still under the suzerainty of Magadh. One of the many changes instituted by Chapakya and Chandragupta was to appoint a member of the royal family as the governor of the province. His son Bindusar might have been intended for this post: but the appointment might have been postponed due to his delicate health. Chandragupta got places built there and visited the city frequently. During one of his stays he had those sixteen dreams which he recounted to his preceptor Bhadrabahu who happened to be in Avanti at that time*

Mumsri Kalyanvijayji is of the opinion that Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta were not contemporaries. Chandragupta's date, according to him, is A. M. 210.

(48) This took place in A. M. 150»B. C. 377. This means that Sthulibhadra was born in A. M. 120.

(49) Studies of Jainism in South India, pt. II, p. 3:—* Brahmkatha kosh by Harisena dtd. A. V. 931. says that Bhadrabahu had the king Chandra

Now this Bhadrabahu, as we have stated above, was a preceptor of Chandragupta. Thus we gather that Sakdal, Sthulibhadra, Bhadrabahu, Nand IX and Chandragupta were contemporaries. Hence Chandragupta must have been on the throne before 350 B. C. but not after that.

(8) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I, Pp. 104: f. n. no. 137³⁰:—"The Svetambaras count 110 or 109 years, between the accession of Chandragupta and death of Suhastin. (Vide Parisisthaparva by H. Jacobi pref. 95). The date for Suhastin, who was a contemporary of Samprati is given by the Svetambaras as 265 A. M."

Now Suhastin was a preceptor of Samprati. If he died in 265⁵¹ then Chandragupta ascended the throne in 265-110=155 A. M.

The data given above lead us to the following conclusions;—

(1) Chandragupta established himself as a chieftain in 381 B. C.

(2) Chandragupta came to the throne of Magadh in 372 B. C.

The Buddhist books and the Puranas agree in stating that Chandragupta's reign lasted for 24 years.⁵²⁻⁵³ The Jaina books,

gupta as his disciple. So also Bhadrabahu Charita by Ratnanandi of about 1450 A. V., repeated in Rajavali katha by Devchanda about 1800). "

I. A. Vol. 21; p. 156-60. Dr. Fleet has tried to prove that Bhadrabahu the preceptor of Chandragupta was some other individual than Bhadrabahu who is famous as grutakevli."

According to the Digambaras, their sect was established by Guptichandra or Kundkundacharya whose date has been fixed as 609 A. M. or 82-3 A. D. The name of his preceptor's preceptor was Bhadrabahu whose date might then be fixed up as 31 B. C., in order to agree with 82-3 A. D. of Guptichandra. Then this Guptichandra has been confused with Chandragupta, and his preceptor's preceptor (not the preceptor) with Bhadrabahu famous as Srutakevli. Really speaking, however, these four are different individuals with different dates. Dr. Fleet has erred due to the similarity in names.

(Read further; see f. n. 45).

(50) J. O. B. R. S. vol. I. p. 104; f. n. 137.

(51) Some Svetambar writers state that Suhastin died in 290 A. M.; while others and all Digambar writers state that he died in 265 A. M.; the latter theory seems to me more plausible of the two.

(52) I. C. C. Preface p. 32. "Dipwamsa. Mahavamsa and Samant Praiadika by Buddhaghosh all allot 24 to Chandragupta and 28 years to Bindusar."

(53) Asoka p. 206, f. n. 1. "Turmore and Wijesimha, both assign him 34 years' reign. The figure seems to be a copyist's blunder, "

on the other **hand**, declare that **he** ruled for **16 years**. This divergence can be easily, explained. The Buddhist books⁵⁴ state that Chandragupta ascended the throne in A. B. 362, which, according to the Simhalese method of calculation, comes to 381 B. C. and which according to the other method, comes to 358 B. G; (543 B. C. being the date of Buddha's Nirvana and 520 B. G of his death). Now 381 B. C. is the date when Chandragupta began his rule over a small territory, while 358 B. C is the date when his reign ended. The exact words in the book are;—" Chandragupta flourished " which means that Chandragupta was the reigning monarch in 358 B. C.⁵⁵ and might have, shortly after, abdicated his throne. Thus the Buddhist books and the Puranas calculate 24 years, in which period are included the first eight years of his chieftaincy, while the Jaina books⁵⁶ state only 16 years i. e. the exact period for which he was on the throne of Magadh⁵⁷.

We now turn to the date of his death. A certain writer says;—⁵⁸ " Chandragupta, grand father of Asoka, and first paramount sovereign of India, according to Jaina tradition, abdicated the throne in 297 B. G (?), became a Jaina ascetic in Sravana Belagol in Mysore." Another writer says:—⁵⁹ " That Chandragupta died 12 years after doing penance on the Chandragiri hill, may be taken as a historical fact. " The same writer⁶⁰ states on the

(54) I. A. V. 32, p. 231; f. n. 34, 37, 88 above.

(55) I have sometimes stated 358 B. C. and sometimes 357 B. C as the date of Chandragupta's abdication. In fact his reign lasted for 23 years and 6 to 8 months including his period of chieftaincy and for 15 years and 4 months, omitting it. When we calculate backwards, it comes to some month in 357 B. C, or nearly 358 B. C; Cf. f. n. 72 bellow.

(56) The author of Parisistparva has stated only 16 years, because he has stated in his book names and periods of those kings whose power extended over Avanti.

(57) We have proved this just above; Cf. f. n. 72 below and 56 above.

(58) A certain writer.

(59) J. S. I. Vol. I. p. 21.

(60) *Ibid.* Vol I. p. 22.

authority of Epi. Indi. VIII p. 171 (by Dr. Fleet) and of Ind. Ant. XXI p. 156. " This is strongly supported by eminent scholars like Mr. Thomas and Lewis Rice. (That Chandragupta was a Jain J. He abdicated his throne in favour of his son; very soon the Srutakevali⁶¹ died." It is also stated in *Blpigraphica Kernatica*⁶³ " Tradition says that he lived for 12 years after the decease of Bhadrabahu. His death then occurred when he was about sixty two years of age, which seems more natural." Mr. Vincent-Smith says:—⁶⁵ " In the second edition I rejected the theory of Chandragupta's abdication of the throne; but now at the time of the compilation of this third edition, I am disposed to believe that the tradition probably is true in its main outline, and that Chandragupta really abdicated and became a Jaina ascetic. Epigraphical support (Mr. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg, from the Inscription) is far from conclusive. Nevertheless my present impresston is that the tradition has a solid foundation on foot. " The legend as described in a book is, that Bhadrabahu uttered a strange prophecy in reply to the narration of his dreams by Chandragupta i. e. famine for 12 years. " As a result of this prophecy, a large body of Jains (numbering about 12000) came to south, where several of them (including Bhadrabahu ?) died by the holy vow of Sarhlekha⁶ Masting to death. Chandragupta who followed the Sangh, renouncing everything remained for twelve years at Belagol and finally himself died by the same rite."⁶⁵

Thus we come to the conclusion that after abdicating his throne in 357 B. C, he led the life of a Jaina ascetic for twelve years and died in 345 B. C.^{6e}

(61) Ibid Vol. L p. 20.

(62) I. C, Vol II. p. 41.

(63) E. H. I. p. 146.

(64) J. N. I. P. 135.

(65) i. e. he abdicated his throne and renounced the world.

(66) f. n. 73 below.

A writer in the Annual number of "The Bombay **Samachar**" for 1923, has stated:-"Chandragupta abdicated his throne at **the** age of fifty and became a Jaina monk. Chandragupta was with Bhadrabahu when the latter gave up his life by fasting to death. Chandragupta died in the same way twelve years later." This means **that** Chandragupta died at the age of 62.

The duration of his life

There are several points which falsify this theory:—

(1) Chandragupta was a Jain⁶⁷. After he came to the **throne** of Magadh, he got a palace built in Avanti and used to stay there for some period every year⁶⁸. Once he had several dreams⁶⁹; the explanation of which he sought from Srutakevali Bhadrabahu⁷⁰. After deep meditation, the preceptor told him that there would be famine lasting for 12 years over Magadh, and that the supreme knowledge would not henceforth be in existence⁷¹. He advised all around him to migrate towards the south, and he himself accompanied them with Chandragupta, who had joined him as his disciple^{7a}. Near Mt. Chandragiri near Sravana Belgol in Mysore Bhadrabahu gave up his life in about A. M. 170 or 357 B. C.

(67) R. A. S. B. Vol. VII. Pp. 411:—"He was Jain".

(68) Read further; Vol. I. Pp. 177.

(69) There were 16 dreams according to the Digambara books.

(70) A Srutakevli is one whose study is deep enough to make him a Kevali, but on whom the actual prescience is not bestowed.

(71) Line 17 of Hathigumfa inscription is eloquent about the truth of the prophecy.

(72) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. Pp. 100:—"The Jaina chronology places the accession of Chandragupta in Nov. 326-25". We have-already proved that this date is incorrect.

Epi. Kar. II. Pp. 37-38:—"Bhadrabahu sent all his disciples except Chandragupta to Chola and Pandiya countries", where, consequently, Jainism began to spread.

Jaina monks do not travel during the rainy season. Bhadrabahu reached Chandragiri on the eve of the monsoons (June)• He must have taken at least two months to travel on foot from Avanti to Chandragiri, i. e. He started

If Bhadrabthi died in 357 B. C, Chandragupta must have entered the Jaina holy orders in 358 B. C. On the authority of *Epigraphica Karnatika*⁷³ we can say that he lived the life of an ascetic for 12 years. This means that he died in 358-12=346 B. C.= A. M. 182, Thus he must have been born in 119 A. M. i. e. only seven years after Nand IX ascended the throne in 112 A. M.

(2) Chanakya was insulted by the third son of Nand IX, as a result of which he left Pataliputra. Chandragupta, as we have seen, was born only some months after this took place. This means that Chanakya left Pataliputra in about 118 A.M. or B.C. 408.

(3) Nand IX had brought the famous learned trio from the Punjab, after he had invaded and conquered it. They were entrusted with educational propaganda in Magadh, and they rose to eminence by their wealth of knowledge. Then took place the incident stated above. If we assign the date 118 A. M. to the incident, we have to face the unpleasant improbability of the occurrence of all these events within the short span of six years (112 to 118) Now Nand IX directed his attention towards conquering foreign countries, several years after he came to the throne, because he had first to consolidate the empire which became his by virtue of his accession, and in which there had prevailed misrule during the rule of his predecessors⁷⁴. These things do not lead us to accepting A. M. 119 as the date of the birth of Chandragupta.

(4) The third and the youngest prince of Nand IX had insulted Chanakya. When the incident took place, the eldest prince

from Avanti in April 357 B. C, when Chandragupta entered the Jaina holy order under him.

Counting back 23 years and six months, the date of his accession to the throne comes to Nov. 391 B. C. As the period of his emperorship was 15 years and 4 months, he came to the throne of Magadh in January, 370 B. C.

(73) Pp. 155. above; *Studies in Jainism in S. India*. Pp. 23:—"If he (Chandragupta) had died in the battlefield or in the prime of life, the fact would have been mentioned." This proves that he had entered the Jaina holy orders.

(74) This took place in A. M, 122sB. C, 405; i. e. several years after this incident of insult took place*

was 14 years old, the middle, 10 years, and the youngest 7 years⁷⁵ Nand IX was not married till he came to the throne, and was an ordinary prince. An astrologer, knowing his bright future, offered him his daughter in marriage in A. M. 112. This means that the king could not have three sons, aged 14, 10 and 7 respective by 119 A: M.

(5) It is stated that when Chandragupta came to age (i. e. became 14 years old)⁷⁶ Chanakya took charge of him and established him as a chieftain over a small territory. This must have taken place in 381 B. C. or 146 A. M.⁷⁷. Counting back we come to 132 A. M. as date of his birth.

(6) Chanakya is stated to have died at the age of 82⁷⁸. The date of his death is B. C. 344=A. M. 183 or the mid-years of Bindusar's reign⁷⁹. Thus he must have been born in 100 A. M. If the incident of his insult took place in 119 A. M., we have to accept the improbable hypothesis that he was only nineteen when he had achieved renown throughout the Magadha empire and that when Nand IX recognised his brilliance and brought him to Magadh, he must have accompanied him as a trolling imp of five.

These six points are convincing enough to prove that the date of Chandragupta's birth was not 119 A. M.—the date with which most events of his life agree admirably.⁸⁰ This means that he died at the age of 52 and not of 62.

The principal dates in his life are*.—

(1) Birth;—A. M. 130-B. C. 397.

(2) Death;—A. M. 182=B. C. 345 at the age of 52,

(75) Vol. I. Pp. 357.

(76) Cf. the examples of Priyadarsin, of Kharvel, of Mahavir* and of many others.

(77) See f. n. no. 72 above.

(78) Vide the account of Bindusar.

(79) Vide his account.

(80) Vide the account of Bindusar, in which the duration of Chanakya's life is discussed,

IV Were Chandragupta & Sandrecottus the name of the same person 159

(3) He abdicated his throne at the age of 40, and led the life of an escetic for next 12 years.

(4) His reign lasted for 24 years in the aggregate, while his rule over Magadh extented over a period of 16 years.

(5) He became the emperor of Magadh at the age of 25.

The Greek emperor, Alexander the Great, invaded India in 327 B. C. The Indian emperor who was the most powerful at that time is known as Sandrecottus in the Greek history. Western scholars have identified this Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, and have built the edifice of subsequent Indian history on this hypothesis. The following points will convince the reader that the hypothesis is wrong:—

Were Chandragupta and Sandrecottus the name of the same person

(1) We have proved just above, that Chandragupta died in 345 B.C.; nearly twenty years before Alexander's invasion over India.

(2) A writer says—⁸¹ "Between the fall of the Nandis and the accession of Chandragupta, the Jaina works are absolutely silent on Alexander's invasion." Here is a negative proof⁸³ to the effect that the Greek emperor and Chandragupta were not contemporaries.

(3) Another writer says:—⁸³ "No mention is made of the invasion of Alexander in the Buddhist books as well as in the Puranas." Here is proof positive. Sandrecottus really was Asoka.

Thus the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Puranik books agree in this matter.

Sandrecottus was the name given to the sovereign of eastern India at the time of the invasion. Alexander died in 323 B, C, leaving no heir behind him. His most powerful general Seleucus Necator, assumed the reins of the government. Within eighteen years he invaded India twelve times, and was unsuccessful every time. At last in 304 B. C. he had to make a treaty with

(81) I. H. Qu. Vol. V. 1929, pp. 7.

(82) See further for more "Negative evidences."

(83) M. S. K. I. Vol. XXXV.

Sandrecottus who was in the twenty-sixth year of his reign at that time⁸⁴. One of the treaty terms was that Seleucus had to give his daughter in marriage to Sandrecottus⁸⁵. Together with his daughter, Seleucus sent Megasthenes as his ambassador at the court of the Indian emperor. He stayed in India for 14 years, B. C. 302 to 288 (p. 4. Mag. Hind.) Megasthenes wrote a diary⁸⁶ of his experiences in India. A subsequent writer-Strabo—took notes of his diary. (He had, curiously enough, never seen the actual diary⁸⁷). Five centuries later, Ptolemy wrote a book based on this circumstantial evidence⁸⁸. Western scholars have taken this book to be an authoritative account, and have translated it into various languages. It is necessary to quote the full text of the English translation; it will be given in the account of Asoka, because it is connected with him.

(4) Sir Cunningham says—⁸⁹ "The happy identification of Chandragupta with the Sandrecottus of the Greeks by Sir William James⁹⁰ depends fully as much upon the similarity of their personal histories as upon positive identity of their names." Sir Cunningham has not stated events which would show their lives to be similar. (We shall discuss this point in details in the account of Asoka). As to the similarity of their names, the two names might be similar either in their meanings or in their pronunciations. As to the meaning, the Greek dictionary has no room for Sandrecottus or for Sandracypus. If those words may be taken as

(84) This means that he came to the throne of Magadh in 330 B. C.

(85) Other terms of the treaty will be stated in the account of Asoka.

(86) The original manuscript is not found, but only the Greek accounts of it.

(87) C H. I. Pp. 191:—"The work of Megasthenes, written during **the** life time of Sandrecottus is lost."

(88) The reader will thus see that Ptolemy's account is not based on first-hand evidence. Other discrepancies in the account will be stated later on.

(89) See his "Bhilsa Topes", pp. 75.

(90) Chronology by Mrs. Duff: Pp. 1:—"To Sir William James we owe **the** identification of Sandrocottus of the Greek writers with Chandragupta whose date is B. C. 315". She has, however, not stated **on** what **grounds the** identification was **based** by Sir William James,

compounds- (Sandras+cottus or Sandrus+Cyptus), the Greek dictionary has place only for " Cottus, " which means " cerebellum " ! Several experts were consulted on the point but they could not throw any light upon it. As to similarity in pronunciation, there is nothing much to encourage us. A scholar says:—⁹¹ " Sandrecottus may be the Greek pronunciation for " Chandragupta," which means, " a descendant of Chandragupta. " Again a negative evidence against the identity of Chandragupta and Sandrecottus.

(5) Mr. Vincent Smith:—⁹² " When Alexander stopped at the Hyphasis he was informed by a native chieftain that the king of the Gangaridse and Prasii nations, on the banks of the Ganges was named, as nearly as Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes.⁹³ In as much as the capital of the Prasii nation undoubtedly was Patliputra, the reports made to Alexander, can have referred only to the king of Magadh, who must have been one of the Nandas, mentioned in a native tradition.⁹⁴ The reigning king was alleged to be⁹⁵ extremely unpopular⁹⁶ owing to his wickedness and base origin. He was, it is said⁹⁷ the son of a barber,⁹⁸ who having become the paramour of the queen of the last legitimate sovereign, contrived the king's death and under pretence of acting as guardian to his

(91) Mr. Hiralal Amftlal Shah, B. A., a learned, retiring and wealthy student of such problems.

(92) E. H. I. 3rd. ed. pp. 40.

(93) The reader will see that no mention is made of Sandrecottus in the passage.

(94) The writer does not say on what grounds he says that Nand IX ruled Magadh at the time of the invasion.

(95) Merely "alleged", not definitely.

(96) What were the reasons of his being "extremely unpopular" ? This description does not fit with Nand IX, but with Bindusar, during the last years of his rule.

(97) The writer merely says:—"It is said" i. e. he is not certain about it.

(98) The original does not contain any statement which can be translated to this effect. What reason have we to identify "Xandrames" in the original with Nand IX?

sons, got them into his power and exterminated the royal family^{9*}. After their extermination, he begot the son, who was reigning at the time of Alexander's campaign,¹⁰⁰ and who was worthy of his father's condition than his own, was odious and contemptible to his subjects "¹⁰¹.

The passage will convince the reader that most of the conclusions are based on haphazard evidence and legendary lore. Even if we take the whole account to be true " " Xandrames " cannot reasonably be taken to mean " Sandrecottus " or " Chandragupta."

(6) Sandrecottus married the daughter of Seleucus during the twenty-sixth year of his reign. Chandragupta's rule lasted for twenty-four years according to the opinion of the same writers. We leave it to them to explain this discrepancy.

(7) A certain writer says;-"The account of Nand IX, given by Purana and the Jains is not quite identical with that given by Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius of the monarch, who ruled at Patliputra, when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab. The king was the predecessor of Chandragupta or Sandrecottus of the Greeks."

The writer thus differs from the other scholars in that Sandrecottus was the predecessor of Chandragupta, i. e. Nand IX. How far he is correct is another question, but his theory lends support to our view that Sandrecottus cannot be identified with Chandragupta. The reader, however, will feel convinced that the author's view is not correct.

(8) Megasthenes was ambassador at the court of Sandrecottus. If we identify him with Chandragupta, Megasthenes must have been a contemporary of Chariakya, the prime-minister of

(99) This means that this "son of a barber" killed all the heirs to the throne and usurped the throne.

(100) This means that the "son of the barber" was not living at the time of Alexander's campaign. The reader can easily see the inconsistency of identifying Sandrecottus with the "son of the barber" and his "son."

(101) The reader will feel the improbability of the whole account.

Chandragupta. The political and social conditions existing at the time have been described by Chanakya in his *Arthashastra* and by Megasthenes in his diary. There must have been some similarity between their accounts which differ widely from each other. Chanakya for instance, recognized the existence of only four classes of society and has not even alluded to the caste-system, while Megasthenes says:—¹⁰² " The prosperity of India is divided among the seven castes."

(9) Another writer¹⁰³ has clearly stated that Sandrecottus cannot be identified with Chandragupta, because the latter never went to the Punjab. He says:—" European scholars without sufficient reasons, from a so-called Greek synchronism, as recorded by Justin, Strabo and other Greek authors, who, quoting the fragmentary and somewhat fabulous accounts of Megasthenes record of Sandrecyptus or Sandrecottus, as once visiting Alexander the Great, in his camp and then defeating Seleucus Nicator in about B. C. 310; and expelling the Greeks from the Punjab, which Chandragupta is never proved to have visited. "

These points lead us to the conclusion that Chandragupta cannot be identified with Sandrecottus, because Alexander invaded India nearly thirty years after his death.

(102) Vide poste Pp. 352 in quotations.

(103) I. A. Vol. 32, pp. 232:—Mr. P. C. Muckerjee, the Director General of Archeology.



Chapter V

Chandragupta (contd.)

SgnopBisi— Chanakya's birth and the peculiar circumstances that attended it—Historic events in his life—Occasion for composing " Arthasastra "—Reasons why Chandragupta has been called " Vrsala " in Hindu scriptures—the origin of the the name Kautilya and the events connected with 'it—Details about the trio of Chhnakya, Pacini and Vararuchi—Subjects comprising " Arthasastra; its importance—events attending the birth of Bindusar—Certain phases of the life of Chandragupta—Details about his religion—His devotedness to religion, his initiating a pilgrimage; why he got the lake Sudarsan dug **near** the holy place—that holy place is known to be " eternal"; yet the changes wrought by Time in it; instances of how quite novel conclusions can be arrived at from it—Scholars have held the opinion, based on the inscription on the lake, that Chandra-gupta was the first to marry a non-Indian princess; true explanation about it—Chandragupta's contribution to the religion he followed—his intention to change the seat of his capital—His unsuccessful attempts to realize that intention—How his successors fulfilled his desire—Chanakya's creed and certain important events— Extent of the territory of Chandragupta—The reason why Chandragupta abdicated the throne—Details about the last **phase of his life***

The names of Chanakya and Chandragupta are so closely associated with each other—as were their lives—that no sooner is one of them mentioned than the other springs to memory. Let us first decide the religion Chanakya followed.¹

Historians hitherto held the opinion that he followed the Vecjic religion. Some research-workers have, however, found out that he was a Jain—I agree with them. Had he been a non-Jain, his influence was powerful enough to convert Chandragupta to his religion. Several Jaina books contain referances to support this theory. Several events in the life of Chandragupta lend countenance to it.¹ Chanakya's ArthaSastra itself contains unmistakable allusions to this effect.³

Details about his birth are given as follows in a Jaina book.⁴

(1) Details as to what religion he followed will be given later on.

(2) Read further; details about Sudarsan lake.

(3) Ind. Ant. 1914, Pp. 176, f. n. no. 2:—"Arthasastra contains absolutely nothing of sectarian or Jaina influence except perhaps the passage (pp. 55) where Aparajit, Jayant and Vijayant are spoken of amongst other gods. However, this is in my opinion of no great importance/ Whatever his views, Prof. Carpentier admits that the "Arthasastra does contain references to Jainism. He has further stated:—"The Tirthankar mentioned on pp. 199 etc. may denote a Jaina saint, but we must remember that Tirthika, Anyatlrthika is a title given to ascetics of various schools in the Pali canon." The reader should note that Prof. Carpentier has wrongly interpreted the word Tirthankar, which is a specific Jaina term, while the words Tirthika and "Anya-tlrthika" mean "pilgrims travelling from one holy place to another."

Vayupuran V. 37, 324.

J. O. B. R. 5. Vol. I. Pp. 88, (f. n. no. 81):—"Chandragupta was helped by the Arattas and Kautilya; the latter probably and Aratta Brahmin". Aratta means "Arhant", which is also a specific Jaina term.

J. N. I. Pp. 130:—"The Sam'skrt play Mudrarak?as which dramatise9 the story of Chandragupta's accession, and tells us that Chanakya who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jain as one of his chief emis-saries." (Cf. Narsimhachar E. C. II. Int. Pp. 41; Smith, Oxford History of India pp. 75; Rice Lewis, Mysore and Kurg pp. 8).

(4) Parisiftha Parva by Hemachandra, canto VIII, No. 194:—**Changky*

His father's name was Chanak and his mother's name was Chanesvarl. He was born with the two incisor teeth in his mouth. Though an astrologer himself, his father failed to understand the significance of this peculiarity. He, therefore, sought explanation from a Jaina monk, who said that the child would be a great king in future⁵. Thinking that a king's life is full of sins, the father rubbed the teeth off, and informed the monk of his action, upon which he received the reply that though the child would not actually be a king, he would be as powerful as a king. We know how this prediction was fulfilled.

Once upon a time Chanakya was rudely insulted by the youngest son of Nand IX. Burning with anger, he left the royal court for ever, and took a vow to exterminate the Nandas⁶. On his way he came across the pregnant mother of Chandragupta who had the strange longing to swallow the moon. Chanakya agreed to fulfil her desire on condition that her issue was to be handed over to him when he came to age. He got a small hut with a tiny hole at the top. The woman was seated within it with a dish full of water, in her hands. The disc of the moon was reflected in the water of the dish through the hole, and she was asked to drink it off, together with the reflection of the moon. Thus she was satisfied. Later on she gave birth to a son, who was named Chandragupta⁷ after the strange longing of his mother. When he came to age, Chanakya took him away.

Chanakya now began to take steps to fulfil his vow. He began to roam in and out of dense forest, over hill and down dale, passing through many dangers and difficulties. Plunder and robbery were the activities he indulged in. He could not, however, chalk

had all his teeth complete on being born". About this incident Jacobi makes the following note:—"The same circumstance is told of Richard III. "

"Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born"

To signify thou comst to bite the world/'

(5) Parisistha Parva, canto VIII, for his life*

(6) He kept his hair uncombed as long as he did not fulfil his vow.

(7) Pp. 149 f, n. no. 24.

out a definite plan for the campaign. Once upon a time he and Chandragupta took shelter in a hut in which lived an old dame and her son. The son was trying to drink hot porridge directly from the middle of the bowl, instead of sipping at the edge. The dame rebuked him by saying, "Don't try to drink at a draught like Chanakya; sip at the edge".⁸ Chanakya asked the explanation of the remark. The dame not knowing him, said that Chanakya should begin his campaign on frontiers instead of plunging into the heart of the Magadha territory." Chanakya grasped the wisdom of the criticism and successfully adopted it.

In the meanwhile⁹ he had already declared Chandragupta as the king of a small territory. We do not know where his old capital was¹⁰, though it is certain that he had founded one. It is possible that it might have been in the western woody region of modern Bihar.

The neighbouring region, scattered with hills and woods¹¹, was under the power of Vakragriv¹² of Kalirig, a descendant of Kharvel (Vol. I. P. 357). Since generations there had existed a feud between the kings of Kaling and of Magadh. After agreeing to a fifty-fifty division of the spoils of victory¹³, they invaded

(8) Mahavamsa, pp. 127, Columbo edition; A similar anecdote is given there:—"In one of the villages a woman (by whose hearth Chandragupta had taken refuge) baked a Chupathy and gave it to her child. He, leaving the edges, took a bite at the centre, and throwing the edges away, asked for another. Then she remarked that the boy's behaviour was like that of Chandragupta's efforts to conquer the Magadha empire. Upon the boy asking the meaning of the remark, she explained that Chandragupta, ambitious to become an emperor, had invaded the heart of the country, with the result that his army was surrounded and destroyed."

(9) The interval was B. C. 381 to 372.

(10) Read further; after further research I have arrived at a sort of conclusion.

(11) It was situated in the "Vamsadesa". Vol. I. pp. 137.

(12) Vide Vol. IV; also Vol. I. Pp. 357. f. n. 50.

(13) J. N. I. Pp. 131:—"Proposing him half of Nanda's country, if he would aid him to subdue Nand."

Magadh, and defeated¹⁴ Nand IX in 372 B. C., Chandragupta was declared as the emperor of Magadh.

In the royal palace at Patliputra the two kings met to divide the booty. There was an extremely beautiful girl at the court of Nand IX- Vakragriv declared that he would be satisfied with that girl as his share in the spoils.¹⁵ Charukya knew the peculiarity of her physical condition, which was that there was such keen poison in her body that whoever touched her, died instantaneously. Thus, though Chandragupta, overpowered by her beauty, at first hesitated to agree to this demand, he gave up the idea of having her, upon looking at certain signs made by Chatiakya¹⁶. When the hand of the girl was placed in the hand of Vakragriv, he died.¹⁷ (B. C 372),, facilitating thus Chandragupta's way to the conquest of the Kalingas.

Chariakya's vow was fulfilled. Nand IX was released alive and was ordered to quit Magadh with as much wealth as he could carry in a chariot¹⁸. Chandragupta at first stayed outside the capital as he was to enter it in procession on a fixed day. On the same day was the exit of Nand IX, who started in his chariot, with his family and as much wealth as he could carry. On the way the two chariots encountered each other. Nanda's daughter fell madly in love with Chandragupta at seeing him, and expressed her determination to marry him. Chandragupta looked at Chanakya for advice, upon which the latter signed to him to accept the proposal. The princess was on the point of

(14) J. B. B. R. A. S. IX, pp. 145:—"Chanakya having expelled them (Nand and his men) established Chandragupta."

(15) Parisistha Parva, canto VIII:—The same girl was desired by Parvataka, who was enamoured of her beauty. During the marriage ceremony, due to the heat of fire, the girl "perspired, and when Parvataka came into contact with her, he died. Thus Chandragupta got mastery over the territory of Parvataka.

(16) Chanakya's singlemindedness of purpose.

(17) F. n, above; account of Vakragriv in the Kalingas.

(18) Kautilya was not a miser hoarding money at all costs, as he is imagined to have been by certain writers.

climbing Chandragupta's chariot, when eight spokes¹⁹ of the wheel broke down, much to the dismay of Chandragupta who was on the point of rejecting the princess. Chanakya prevailed over him to accept her, and explained that the omen was good prophesying that his dynasty would last upto eight kings⁹⁰.

Chanakya now turned his attention to introducing reforms in the system of administration. Chandragupta's treasury was almost empty, on account of warfare, and of allowing Nand IX to take away as much wealth as he could. Moreover Magadh had recently been under the clutches of a twelve-year famine⁹¹, which worked havoc in deteriorating the people both physically and mentally⁹². Hence Chanakya's first and difficult task was to fill the coffers of the state. He devised various ingenious systems and machinations of collecting wealth, and wrote a marvellous treatise-

the four cardinal methods of Government-namely-FiEirsuasioh-Bribery-Dissehsion and-Punishment by fines⁹⁴. Heferought^the wealthy class under his thumb and exacted money from them by various ingenious methods of which he was a master. It

(19) Some say that nine spokes broke. The number of spokes to a wheel is generally even. The whole episode seems to me to be a myth.

(20) See above.

(21) Jaina books state twelve years. It may have had less duration* Its date must have been A. M. 150 to 160. (B. C 377 to 367). The next famine lasted for full 12 years.

(22) At the behest of Sambhutivijay and of the community, Sthulibhadra had gone to Nepal to study the fourteen Purvas from Bhadrabahu. After this time last four Purvas were lost and certain changes were wrought in the frame of human body. (Bhadrabahu was conversant with all the fourteen Purvas. Sthulibhadra had mastered only ten, and knew the last four only in out line.

(23) The original compiler of all sciences was Mahavir.

(24) Siyaji Series 139, "Chandragupta Maurya" Pp. 30:—"It is possible that Cbanakya might have advised Chandragupta to adopt the methods of persuasion, bribery, dissension and punishment, one by one."

(25) Chanakya is famous both for his love of justice and his crooked ways. The truth remains to be found out. (Read further).

is **.not** an exaggeration to describe him as one -of- **the greatest** politicians of all ages⁹⁶.

The rest of his life, we shall describe while writing the account of Bindusara. Some writers are of the opinion that he was the prime-minister of Chandragupta. Truly speaking, however he acted as a royal preceptor²⁷. His system of administration was to appoint departmental heads, who had to meet one another at regular intervals for the discussion of the general policy of the state²⁸. He kept himself neutral, and presided over the meetings with a view to guiding these ministers. Even Chandragupta had partly to remain under his restraint, and was sometimes satirically addressed as "Vrsal" by him. This word, however, does not mean that Chandragupta was a Sudra by birth, as is believed by certain writers.²⁹

The author of Arthashastra is referred to by a variety of names in various books:-Vatsyayan, Mallanaga, Kautilya, Dramila, Paksilswami, Visnugupta, Angula, Chanakya, etc.³⁰. Of these three are important from the view point of history:—Chanakya, Kautilya and Visnugupta.

Dr. Rajendralal says:—^{*1} Those Hindus who migrated from Java to Bali islands took with them a treatise on political

(26) His treatise on political economy deals with a wide variety of subjects. The date of its compilation must have been A. M. 160=367 B. C, at least **Dot** before that.

(27) Something like the modern system of federal government.- He initiated the system of appointing governors to various provinces—the system was successfully adopted by, Priyadarshin.

(28) He has never written in favour of the absolute autocracy of the king. He conceived the king's duty to protect his people. He was bound to pay thrice the cost of property stolen and not recovered by the police. He wanted the king to govern his actions according to the consensus of public opinion. (Arthashastra Vol. I. Chap. 19. Pp. 54).

(29) Vrsal does not mean a Sudra as is wrongly taken by certain writers. It meant "a king with limited powers".

(30) Sayaji Publication Series:—"Arthashastra" by Mr. Jayasukharam Josipura. No.-187, -preface pp. 18,

(31) Ibid, pp. V.

economy, namely, "Nitisar" by Kamandak. This book contains some details about Chanakya. The name given to him in it is Visnugupta, who is said to have come of a noble brahman; family who had the vow of not receiving alms from any one.³⁹. The inscription on the Sudarsana seems to support this theory of his original name being Visnugupta³³.

Let IUS turn to the origin of Chanakya. In Parisistha Parva it is stated (P. 165) that the name of the village where he was born was Chanak; the name of his father was Chani³⁴ and that of his mother Chanesvar. Had he derived his name from his father,¹ he would have been called Chanai or Chanaya, but by no means Chanakya. Dhundhiraj, in his introduction to Mudraraksas,³⁵ says that his father's name was Chanak; even then he should have been called Chanak. "Chanakya" can only be explained by saying that he derived the name from the name of his native village-Chanak.

Now we come to Kautilya:—It is a bit difficult to explain this name. The general opinion is that Chanakya was a cunning politician, and his politics might be called "Kutila", from which was derived the word "Kautilya"—an abstract noun. In his preface to Mudraraksas, Dewan Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruv; seems to support this theory on the authority of Bana. This view, however, is not correct.

We shall show later on that Chanakya was a shrewd politician no doubt, but it would be grave injustice to describe his political

(32) He observed this vow because though a brahman, he was a follower of Jainism.

(13) Bhavanagar State Inscriptions : Samkrt and Prakrt by Prof. Peterson; Epigraphica Indica, vol. VIII, pp. 32; appendix "B" at the end of this vol.

(34) Pp. 166 above; J. N. I. pp. 132, f. n. no. 8:—"Chanakya was a native of Chanak, a village of the Golla district." Avasyaka 6utra"i pp. 133*

(35) K. A. J. Preface pp. 133.

(36) K. A. J. Preface pp. 21:—

"Kimva te?ahi Sampratam yesamatinsarrisaprayopadesa nighniam Kautaya-saetra pramanam*"

behaviour as "low or; cunning". A writer says:-" Kautilya is merely an abstract noun in the neuter. As an epithet for Chanakya, an adjective is necessary; hence Kautilya is out of place."³⁷.

What must have been the real word—" Kautilya " or "Kautalya" The above writer continues:-³⁸ " In Abhidhan Chintamani the word used is " Kautalya ". Hemchandra has given its etymological origin as follows;—" Kuto⁴⁰ Ghatah " tarn lanti Kutalaha tesam Apatya Kautalyah ". In " Nirapeksa " a commentary on Kamandaka's " Nitisar " it is stated:—" Kuto Ghatah tarn dhanyapuranam lanti sa grhananti iti Kutalah. Kurhbhi dhanyastesam Apatyarri Kautalyo Visnuguptah." Kesavasvami, the author of " Nanartharnava," has said that Kautalya is the right derivation from Kotal "⁴¹. Mahamahopadhyay, Ganpati Sastri has dubbed " Kautilya " as a scribe's error in place of the correct word " Kautalya". Dr. Bhandarkar, too, is in favour of this theory. Hence we come to the conclusion that " Kautalya " is the right word. This name, as we have seen, is not derived from his gotra-descent. The same writer, Mr. Joshipura, continues (P. 24):—" River Sarasvati in the Punjab is also known as "Kutila"; the region about it may be called " Kutila " and an inhabitant of it may be called " Kautilya"⁴³. " Jayamangla",

(37) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 21.

(38) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 22.

(39) Hemachandra is the author both of "Abhidhan Chintamani" and of "Parisistha Parva". He was the preceptor of Kumarapal, the king of Gujarat*

(40) Kuta=a jar; lanti=those who take; Apatyam=issue; i. e. one who stores corn=a farmer merchant.

(41) His Gotra, as we shall show later on, was Vatsyayan. K. A. J. pp. 24:—"The Gotra known as Kautilya was a branch of Bhrgu, and a sub-branch of Yaska. Hence "Kautalya" need not be substituted for "Kaufrlya" We shall see later on that this view is not correct.

(42) This is grammatically correct. Magadh for the native of Magadh, Vaisaliya for that of Vaisali, Gangeya for that of the region around the Ganges; so Kautiliya or Kautileya for the native of the region surrounding the Kutila (f. n. no. 43 below)*

a commentary, supports this view.⁴³ Thus " Kaufcalya is derived from the profession of Chanakya's family⁴⁴, and "Kautilya" is derived from the name of his native place.

The Hindu Sastras declare that the SarasvatI was one of the several rivers which merged into the flow of the Indus from the eastern region⁴⁶. The river is at present found in fragments and its source is still unknown. We have proved in Vol. I. (P. 217 and seq.) that the famous ruins known as Mohan-Ja-dero in the desert of Jesalmir, was a large flourishing city named Vittabhayapaftan, which was the capital of Sindhu-Sauvir. We can thus draw the conclusion that some region in the desert of Jesalmir must have been known as " Kutali" in those times, when the river SarasvatI flowed across it.

The famous Chinese traveller, Hu-en-Tsang, has described a region named " Atali" in his book. I have traced its situation in the desert of Jesalmir. (Vol. I. p. 64, Map II, No. 63, 64... p. 64). It is possible that this "Atali" may be only another name of "Kutali"; or "Atali" in place of "Kutali" may have been due to a scribe's error. Two pieces of evidence support this conclusion: (1) "Atali" is located to have been the region consisting of modern states of Jodhpur and Shirohi in Rajputana. A part of it is known as " Golvad" or " Gollavad". In Parisistha Parva, VIII, 14 Hemachandra says that Chanakya's native village was Chanak, his native country was Golla, his father's name Chani and his mother's Chartesvarl. Thus the same region was known as "Kutali" in very ancient times, as "Atali*" in the seventh century A. D. when Hu-en-Tsang visited India, and as "Golla" in the twelfth century when

(43) Surnames can be given based on profession and on the native place; the former is called Karmajanya Gotra and the latter, Janmabhumi Gotra.

(44) F. n. n. 43 above.

(45) Seven rivers merged into the Indus from its eastern region and seven from the western. That is why it is sometimes called Saptasiridhu. At present only five rivers flow into it from each direction. It may be concluded that one of the rivers that disappeared was the SarasvatI. (Vol. I. Pp, 218 and f. n. no. 112-113).

Hemchandra flourished⁴⁶. (2) It is stated in Jaina books that Ratnaprabhasuri, the sixth disciple of Parsvanath, the 23rd Tirthankar, flourished eighty years after the death of MahSvIr. He converted people to Jainism by lacs. These newly converted Jains gathered together and settled at a place named by them as the city of Osia-a sect of Jains is still known as Osvals. This city went to ruins later on, and on its ruins was built Bhinnamal, the situation of which can be located in Sirohi district. This region was also called Gurjar. There is not an interval even of a century between the date of the foundation of this city (B. C. 477) and the date of Chanakya (372 B. C). Chanakya's father is said to have been a wealthy farmer or merchant of the flourishing city* Not only was Chanakya a devout Jain but his father also. (Parisistha Parva, VIII).

In short, Chanakya's father was a wealthy farmer-merchant of Golla, and hence he was called Kautilya or Kautalya.

We stated in Vol I. p. 334 that all the three men were of non-Aryan origin because they were born in Kamboj. Now we have proved that at least Chanakya was not born there; the other two, or Panini alone may have been born there. Let us arrange some details about them.

Trio of Chanakya
Panini and
Vararuchi

Name	Birthplace	Gotra (Lineage)	Arya or Non-Arya
Panini	Gonarda or Gandhar (Afghanistan) Kutali-Golla	(Not known)	Non-Aryan
Chanakya	Gurjar. (Marwar)	Vatsyayan	Arya
Vararuchi	(Not known)	Katyayan	Probably Arya

This comprehensive treatise is more than what comprises Political Economy. It has learned chapters on the evolution of Political institutions. It includes " chapters on Arthaftastra the definition, the sources, the production, the distribution and the accumulation of wealth."⁴⁷

(46) The borderland of Golla may have been known as Gollavad, Vad=Fence.

(47) K, A. J. Pref. pp. 9.

It is stated in "Bhakti Rasayan " a Vedic book":—Arthta (wealth) earned or accumulated by, and for means and purposes other than religious and not for the benefit of others, is harmful and sinful. " Honesty and straight-forwardness are its sheet-anchor and wealth gathered in this way is known as "Nyftyasampanna Vaibhava" in Jaina books. It is thus clear that⁴⁹ 'individuals as well as nations should accumulate wealth by honesty and straight forward course of conduct. A treatise propounding principles of the production, the distribution and the accumulation of wealth is ArthaSastra " Chartakya himself has called it "An introduction to Politics"⁵⁰, which he has sometimes called the science of punishment of crimes⁸¹. Such punishment, according to him, should neither be too severe nor too mild, but just proper to the crime committed. It was meant as a sort of restraint on the evil-doers in society.⁸⁷ Most of the principles and doctrines established by him are so closely woven into the fabric of modern life that we are hardly aware of their existence⁵³.

He himself states:— "This book is compiled after a thorough study of all previous treatises on the subject by ancient sages."^{8*}. This means that most of the doctrines stated in the book owe their origin to those ancient treatises compiled by religious prophets⁶⁵. The book eloquently lays it bare, that the author was a thorough believer in the ultimate judgement of human reason⁸⁶. Low politics and tricks have no place in the book⁸⁷.

(48) *ibid.* Pp. 10

(49) *Ibid.* Pp. 11.

(50) *Ibid.* Pp. 13.

(51) *Ibid.* Pp. 28.

(52) *Ibid.* Pp. 32.

(53) *Ibid.* Pp. 15.

(54) *Ibid.* Pp. 12.

(55) Those who believe that Chanakya himself was the originator of all the politic-economic-social doctrines he propounded, will thus see that- he himself acknowledges his profound debt to previous great writers.

, (56) K. A. J. Pp. 30.

(57) *Ibid.* Pp. 28. "Kautilya never preached low and tricky politics."

On the contrary he preaches the doctrine of "Sins **come home to roost**" in the chapter on how to deal with enemies.⁵⁸. Thus "Kautalya never advocated cunning or inconstancy and never transgressed the bounds of justice"⁸⁹. His book is properly called "Akarah sarvasastranam " by Visakhadev "⁶⁰. Whether he was inspired to write such a marvellous treatise after a study of the rules framed by Srenik for the government of guilds⁶¹ or whether he derived his deep knowledge from Sakadal, the prime-minister of Nand IX, under whom he served as an apprentice⁶² and studied these sciences⁶³, one thing is clear, and that is, "Artha-sastra" is one of the greatest classics of all ages.

The daughter of Nand IX, now chief queen of Chandragupta became pregnant in about A. M. 157=370 B. C. The people of Magadh were suffering from the pangs of famine which had settled on the land since several years. Jaina monks began to find it difficult to get enough food to keep their bodies and" souls together. Two of them, who knew the art of making themselves invisible by applying some ointment to their eyes, decided to partake of the dish of Chandragupta everyday.⁶⁴. Thus, though the king was served with double the amount of his former quantity of food, yet, because of the trick of these monks, he

The Birth of Bindusar

(58) Ibid. Pp. 33.

(59) Cf. f. n. no. 56.

(60) Ibid. Pp. 20.

(61) Vol. I. Pp. 255 f. n. no. 21.

(62) K. A. J. Pp. 18; a sentence from Brhatkatha is quoted there:—

"Chapakyanamna tenaya Sakatal grhe rahah."

(64) Samprati Katha, pp. 50*.—"A monk chanced to come there. **Being very** old, he could not travel. Knowing that the famine was imminent, he sent his disciples away out of the likely-to-be-affected region. Two disciples, **however**, stayed with him in Pataliputra due to their love for their **preceptor**. **These** were the monks who practised the trick of making themselves invisible **and** then partake of the dishes of the king." Bharatesvar **Bahubali Vrti**, Trans, pp. 245-46.

began to grow weaker and weaker as days passed on. No one could understand this riddle. At last the cook informed Chariakya of this, who quickly understood the cause. He ordered the cook to fill the dining-room of the king with smoke at the time of the next meal, with the result that when the king sat to the next meal together with those two invisible monks, the smoke turned into liquid the ointment which began to flow down in form of tears. No sooner did the ointment totally disappear than they became visible to all. Chariakya mildly rebuked them and sent them away.

To meet all such tricks effectively in future Chariakya began to mix poison with the king's dishes⁶⁵. As time went on, the king's constitution became so accustomed to poison, the amount of which was gradually increased, that any one else who tasted of his food would instantaneously die. Once upon a time, the chief queen sat to meals with the king and began to partake of his dish. The king, who did not know that his dish was poisoned, did not stop her. Hardly had she swallowed some mouthfuls, when Chariakya chanced to come there; seeing that the queen had already swallowed too much to save her life, he instantly seized a sharp weapon, opened the womb of the queen⁶⁶ and took the child out, on whom poison had just begun to work⁶⁷, and on whose forehead was a large drop of poison. Hence he was named Bindu-sar. This took place in 157 A. M.=370 B. C.

The queen, who instantly died, was during the eighth month of pregnancy. A child born during the eighth month remains a weakling throughout his life, in case it does not die as do majority of them. So was Bindusar a valetudinarian throughout his life.

Chariakya saw the chief monk in connection with the mis-

(65) Ibid. Pp. 65:—"Then Chariakya began to gradually mix poison with king's food."

(66) The name of Bindusar's mother was Durdhara (Parisista Parva viii Trans. Pp. 148). It follows therefore that she must be Mahanand's daughter and Chandragupta's chief queen.

(67) Ibid. Pp. 67:—"That portion of the head where the poison drop had fallen, remained bald."

behaviour of his two disciples. The chief monk replied that the*\$ would have been no occasion for his disciples to resort to that kind of trick⁶⁸, had he or the king seen to it that the monks got the necessary amount of food⁶⁹ in times of

His religion scarcity. Chanakya realized his mistake and thenceforth made the necessary arrangements.

When the famine was over and Chandragupta's kingdom began to prosper, he directed his energies to work out rules and regulations for the proper conduct of society-ultimately culminating into Arthasastra⁷⁰.

Whenever Chandragupta and Chanakya discussed religious matters, the former many a time showed his inclination towards Brhthminism, and the latter towards Jainism. At last once the king asked him to convince him of the superiority of Jaihismi Ch&nakya invited many non-Jaina sages to the palace of the king under the pretext of religious discussion. Several windows of the discussion-hall overlooked the harem; the passage to them was

(68) Sattprati Katha, pp. 58:—"The chief monk said to him:—"Oh Chanakya, you are Jain; your father Chani was a Jain; so look to the facility of Jaina monks (f.n. no. 64 above)". This took place in 370 B. C. or 157 A. M. The famine was the severest at the time, i. e. it must have commenced at least three to four years previous to that, A. M. 153 or B. C. 374.

Jaina books say, that due to famine the retentive power of the monks had begun to be adversely affected. Requested by the Jaina community of Pataliputra, Sambhutivijay sent his disciple Sthulfbhadra to Nepal where Bhadrabahu resided, for further study. This Sambhutivijav died in A. M. 156. If the incident took place in 154 A. M., then the famine can be said to have begun in A. M. 150 or B. C. 377. Cf. f. n. no. 21.

(69) The set of rules to be observed by the Jaina monks is called Achar, and the treatise pertaining to that is called Acharang-sutra. A slight mistake in the observance of these rules is called "Ati-char", and the penance undergone for purification of the same is called "Alochana\' "Ana-char", on the other hand, means total disregard of the rule or rules, and it is almost unpardonable or can be mitigated by the severest possible punishment only.

(70) Truly speaking all rules and regulations were effectively framed and introduced by Srenik; Chanakya must have made only necessary changes to suit the conditions of his own time. (Read chap. I. beginning, of the art of writing).

ordered to be strewn with soft sand by Chanaekya⁷¹. The invited sages, while awaiting the king's arrival, could not restrain themselves from going over to these windows in order to satisfy their curiosity of looking into the harem. After their departure Chartakya showed Chandragupta the imprints of their foot-prints on the sand, thus convincing him of their lack of control over their minds. After some days several Jaina monks were invited under the same pretext, and the same arrangement of dust was ordered by Chunakya; The monks however, while awaiting the king, did not budge an inch from their seats, and were supremely indifferent to the windows. After their departure Chanakya showed the king that the sand was intact, and convinced him that the Jaina raotks were always absorbed in the betterment of their souls and had no interest in affairs terrestrial⁷².

Satrunjay-Siddhachal was the greatest holy place of Jains as it is even to-day. It is called the eternal holy place⁷³. Its area was not so restricted as it is now. It stretched over the whole of southern Saurashtra and its circumference was not merely 24 miles as it is now, but was eight yojans. The present Girnar was merely one of the many peaks, and was then called Raivatachal⁷⁴, and ascent on it began near the rock-inscription! of Priyadarsin, near which are found the ruins of Sudarsan lake⁷⁵. Chandragupta used to visit this holy place with Chartakya and with a host of pilgrims⁷⁶, and he ordered the lake to be dug

(71) "Mahan Samprati" pp. 66; Samprati Katha, pp. 60 to 64.

(72) Parisistha Parva, VIII, (Trans.). " Chanakya convinced Chandragupta that the monks of any other order than Jainism were devoid of the strength of character, and that the Jaina monks were wholly engrossed in spiritual affairs".

(73) That which is not affected by physical changes; minor changes may be wrought by nature, but the place itself is not entirely wiped out of existence* (Vol. I. Pp. 218).

(74) See paragraph:—"Though eternal yet under the clutches of time/'

(75) Ibid.

(76) In Jainism it was, and is a common custom to start such pilgrimages (Saoghas) in which ope man pays the expenses of the whole journey. This is the first historic pilgrimage.

with a view that the pilgrims there might never be hard-pressed for water⁷⁷. Some writers are of the opinion that the lake was built for irrigational and agricultural purposes⁷³. This opinion, however, is ill-founded, because had Chandragupta had this purpose in mind, he would have got such lakes and dams dug in every corner of his empire. This proves that he had got it dug, inspired with the lordly ideal⁷⁹ of facilitating the necessities of his co-religionists⁸⁰.

The foot of the Satrunjay has receded from the region near Junagadh to the region near Palitana. Due to our contact with western methods of thinking, we, in the beginning accepted only those things as true which had their concrete manifestation⁸¹; later on, concrete or abstract, we began to accept the existence of those things which appealed to and convinced our reason⁸⁹; the progress of science has taught us to credit

(77) The date of Sudarsan lake inscription may be taken as A. M. 160 to 165=B. C. 367 to 362. Means of travel being very difficult in those times, people joined these pilgrimages in large numbers, but they were ensured of their safety. The longer the course of the journey, the greater the number of people that joined such pilgrimage. They took with them beasts of burden and carts in order to carry their luggage. Such a large number of people and animals naturally requires plenty of water, and hence the Sudarsan lake at the place of pilgrimage—holiest and the terminus. Thus the Sudarsan lake was dug with the purpose of providing enough water-supply to these pilgrims—an eloquent tribute to the devout nature of both Chandragupta and Chaijakya*

(78) E. H. I. 3rd. edi. Smith, pp. 133:—"The fact (Sudarsan lake) that so much pains and expense were lavished upon the irrigation work in a remote dependency of the empire is conclusive evidence that the provision of water for the fields was recognized as an imperative duty by the great Mauryan emperor."

(79) Priyadarsin's life is full of such incidents of extending all possible facilities to co-religionists. The Jaina term for this is "Svamivatsalyata."

(80) Coins of Chandragupta and of Priyadarsin. (C. A. I. Plate XII, nos* 10 and 14: in this book nos. 67, 71 etc.).

(81) We refused to believe in the possibility of life in plants*

(82) We have already changed our ideas about the origin and the beginning of the world—thanks to the Egyptian mummies. We have begun to believe In

those things with truth upon which we looked with eyes of incredulity only a few years ago.⁸³ A sort of psychology has taken root in us to trust those things which are sanctioned as true by western scholars, and discredit every conclusion of an Indian scholar, though he has given cart-loads of evidence to support his view. We should get rid of this mentality as soon as possible.

Nature has its own immutable laws (Vol. I. P. 5); great men come and go in adherence to certain laws; (Vol. I. P. 6, Vol. II. P. 2 & seq.). Time stretches his mighty hand over everything (Vol. I. P. 217 & seq. Mohan-ja-dero and the desert of Jesalmir); Nature, in short, governs the universe, by certain laws, and only • revolutionary changes draw our attention to their mighty force. At the time when Sudarsan lake was dug, three mighty changes took place. Let us state them to-gether with one that immediately preceded them:—

(1) B. C. 569 (Vol. I. P. 364)—the date when Mahavir renounced the world and became a Jaina monk.

(2) B. C. 523 (Vol. I. P. 368), the next Ara of Avasarpini, began (three years and eight and half months after the Nirvan of Mahavir).

(3) B. C. 463—the date of the Nirvan of Srijambu, the second disciple of Mahavir (64 years after him); there was a terrible famine in Magadh, and the canal, mentioned in Hathigumpha inscription was dug.

(4) B. C. O. (zero) or A. M. 470

the actual existence in ancient times of vast-sized animals and human beings—thanks to the excavations of their skeletons.

(83) Flying in the air was thought to be an impossibility only some years ago. People still disbelieve in the existence of heavens, oceans, and many Other worlds and phenomena described in scriptures, though modern science is rapidly narrowing this gulf of incredulity. It is only just to either to prove or to disprove the existence or otherwise of a particular thing, instead of **only denouncing or hailing** it as false or true.

Many other important changes took place during these years⁸⁴
The last three have some connection with the Sudarsan lake.

No. I:—The fourth Ara of Avasarpini had not yet ended at this time. The circumference of the Satrunjay was more⁸⁵ than 12 yojans⁸⁶. It had 108 peaks; many of them had already disappeared. The chief of those existing at that time⁸⁷ were Dharik-giri in the west and Anandgiri in the north; the former was near the modern village named Dhank, and the latter was near Anandpur near Chotila. Its southern and eastern boundaries were as they are now, with certain minor changes. The ascent began near Anandpur, and the boundary of the kingdom under whose authority it was, also included from Asthikgram. When Mahavir, becoming a Jaina monk, spent his first monsoon at this place, its name was changed to Varddhamanpur, because the real name of Mahavir was Varddhaman.⁸⁸ This city ultimately became the capital of the kingdom, the last independent king of which⁸⁹ was conquered and subdued by Mulraj Solanki, the founder of the Solanki dynasty in Gujrat. As the time went on, this peak was separated from the main mountain (at the time when changes No 2 & 3 took place⁹⁰) and its importance began to decrease.

(84) These changes are concerned with Jainism and hence are not stated here. One of the changes however was the deterioration in the retentive faculty of men (A. M. 64=B. C. 463; Hathigurnfa inscriptions); the other was the advent of Jesus Christ.

(85) According to Jainism the circumference of this mountain in very ancient times was 80 yojans.

(86) 1 Yojan=4 Gau.

1 Gau=2 Miles.

(87) There were other peaks, but of less importance.

(88) I have written an article on "Varddhamanpuri" in "Jaina Dharma Prakas", Samvat 1985, vol. 45, the Sravana number, pp. 161 to 174: see the copper-inscription found from Hadala.

(89) There were two or three cities named Anandapur; this one was near Varddhamanpur.

(90) For details see J. D, P. Vol. 45, Samvat 1985, Vaisakh number, pp. 58 to 73.

During the time when changes No. 2 and 3 took place, though the circumference of the mountain had decreased, yet it was 12 yojans. During this time Dharikgiri separated itself from the main body.

During the interval of time that elapsed between changes No. 3 & 4 (460 years) only two major peaks remained united; namely, Raivatgiri⁹¹ and Vimalgiri⁹². At the time when the Mahabharat wars were fought, Lord Krsna's kingdom extended over the territory surrounding Raivatgiri. It is interesting to know why the seat of his capital was changed from Dwarka to Kusasthali and from thence to Anartapura⁹³ but that does not concern us here. At this time the ascent to the holy mount was from Raivatgiri (Girnar), just at the place where there is situated to-day Damodar Kund. Chandragupta ascended the mount from this place where he got the lake Sudarsan dug, in order to facilitate water-supply to the pilgrims. He got, on the bank of the lake⁹⁴ a rock-inscription erected⁹⁵. The pilgrims who wanted to go* to Vimalgiri, pressed eastwards and passing near a village, known as Ghefi at present⁹⁶, they ascended the peak. The peak named Kadambgiri, on the south of Satrunjay seems to have separated itself from the main mount at this time⁹⁷.

When the change No. 4 took place, Raivatgiri and Vimalgiri separated themselves from each other, thus giving rise to the necessity of fixing the main ascent. A deputation of Jama laymen

(91) The modern Girnar.

(92) The original name of Satrunjay.

(93) For details see my article in "Buddhiprakas", 1934, pp. 318 to 323.

(94) See the account of Priyadarsin for the causes why he got inscriptions—both rock and pillar—erected.

(95) Vide the account of Priyadarsin for details as to whether he contributed anything to the repairs of the lake. For more details vide the appendix* on the Sudarsan lake at the end of this volume.

(96) At present this village is within the territory of the Palitana State. People believe that the ascent to the mount Satrunjay began here*

(97) Reparations are being made here with a view to establishing it as a separate place for pilgrimage.

under the Jaina monks named, Padaliptasfiri, Xryya-khaput and Nagarjun (?) waited upon Sakari Vikramaditya, king of Avanti and king Hal-Salivahan of the south; and requested them to found a new town in the territory of the latter⁹⁸. The request was granted and the new town was named Padalipta-sthan, after Padaliptasuri. It is now known Palitana.

The present area has narrowed down to 24 miles. It will now be clear to the reader the meaning of an eternal holy place" (cf. P. 179 f. n 73), and how the prophecies foretold in Jaina books have been, and are proving true as time goes on.

The rock-inscription of Sudarsan was erected during the time of Priyadarsin¹⁰⁰. It is stated therein that the lake was dug

Had foreigners any thing to do with the Sudarsan lake inscription ? during the time of Chandragupta¹⁰¹ under the supervision of Suvisakh, the governor of the province under Chandragupta. It is also stated that this Suvisakh belongs to the Pallava family.

Scholars have confused the Pallavas with Pahlavas a race of foreigners—and have committed the error of concluding that Suvisakh must have been sent to the court of Chandragupta with a Persian princess, who must have been married with Chandragupta. Now these two families¹⁰² are quite separate from each other, the former are Indians, and the latter are foreigners. We shall discuss this in details in vol. III.

(98) For details vide their accounts in vol. IV.

(99) This clarification of the meaning of an "eternal" place has simplified some of my problems. (Vol. I, details about Cutch and Kathiawar and foot-notes in connection with them; f. n. no. 90 and 95 above.)

(100) The rock-edict which contains the inscription of Priyadarsin, also contains this Sudarsan-edicts; scholars at present are of the opinion that the Sudarsan inscription was erected by Mahaksatrap Rudradaman of Chasthana dynasty.

(101) *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. VIII p. 32.; E. H. I. 3rd ed. p. 133, by Vincent Smith.

(102) The Pallavas, the Pandyas, the Cholas were branches of Samvriji Licchavi Clan (Vol. I. p. 347 etc)

We **are** not certain what religion Chandragupta followed at first; many pieces of evidence, however, can be forwarded to prove that shortly after his accession to the throne, he put himself under the banner of Jainism.

Proof! to the effort that Chandragupta was a Jain

The rock-inscriptions at Sravan-Belgol, at Sudarfcana lake and at Sanchi Topes, prove the unquestionability of Chandragupta having been a staunch Jain.

At Sravan Belgol he ended his days by penance, after the death of Bhadrabahu. He had got a palace built at Vidisanagari and used to stay there at intervals, because it facilitated his pilgrimage to Satrunjay, towards which he had started with a large host of pilgrims. The mount is the holiest of the holy places for Jains who visit it as often as they can.

The region about Sanchi Topes was also a Jaina place of pilgrimage (Vol. I. pp. 189). One of the Topes contains the name of v Chandragupta. General Cunningham says:—¹⁰³ "His gift to the Sanchi Tope for its regular illumination and for the perpetual service of the sramanas or ascetics was no less a sum than twenty-five thousand dinnars. (£. 25000 is equal to two lacs and a half rupees)." This shows his devoutness to religion. The donation of the king is connected with a unique occasion in Jainism: "When Mahavir died¹⁰⁴, the Jaina community at the disappearance of the spiritual lamp lighted physical lamps, and henceforth that day was celebrated¹⁰⁵ as the illumination day." An undeniable proof of his having been a devout Jain.¹⁰⁶ The coins of Chandragupta and of Bindusara supply another incontrovertible proof.¹⁰⁷

(103) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 154.

(104) Kalpasiitra Commentaries (trans.), pp. 102.

(105) Henceforth began the popular festival of Divali.

(106) R. A. S. 1887, pp. 175, f. n.:—"Chandragupta was a member of the Jaina community."

(107) Chap, on coins, nos. 67, 68, 71,

In the vol. I. p'. 189 we have stated that in ancient times the province of Ujjain was known as Avanti. Later on it was divided into two parts; one was known as Eastern Avanti and the other as Western¹⁰⁸. The importance of Ujjain as a capital had decreased when the kingdom was annexed to the Magadha empire at the end of the Pradyota dynasty. Avanti began to regain some of its original prestige when Chandragupta got a palace built there for the residence of the royal family.

The partition must have been effected during the time of Chandragupta¹⁰⁹ who intended to change the seat of his capital in this province, but was prevented from doing so, by the force of certain circumstances. At last, when his territorial extent had increased, thus establishing his prowess and prestige,¹¹⁰ he made the partition, settled Ujjain as the capital of the western portion and VidiSa as the capital of the eastern portion,¹¹¹ of which the heir to the throne of Magadh was appointed as governor, and for whose residence-and for his,-he got a palace built there where he dreamt those sixteen dreams¹¹³.

Why was he so much attracted towards his place ? In vol I. pp. 185 seq. we have stated nine points and have proved that this place is closely associated with Jainism. Chandragupta and Priyadarsin perpetuated this association. Hemchandra, the preceptor of Kumar-

(108) Puratattva; our vol. I. pp. 49, no. 24, details about Dasarⁿa.

(109) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 154, art. 17; Translations, R. A. S. Vol. I. pp. 211, Colonel Todd:—"Chandragupta, the lord of Avanti or Ujjain."

(110) Chandragupta might have been inclined towards this place because it was situated in the centre of his vastly extended kingdom. The decision to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of the place shows the farsighted policy and shrewdness of Chanakya.

(111) Vol. I. pp. 185. We have proved on the authority of Sir Cunningham that Vidisa has begun to prosper on the ruins of Besanagar, which means that, as the latter was found to be too small to be a capital, a new city was built in its neighbourhood, 'probably in the east. That is why it is described in Jaina books as Purva Vidisa. Vol. I. pp. 183. f. n. no. 108.

(112) Pp. 145-5 'above.

pal, and historian of great insight¹¹⁸ and other Jaina monks as well as scriptures have described this place as deeply attached to Jainism by various ties. The place is studded with Topes of various sizes, most of them containing relics (teeth, bones, hair etc) of the great monks of the past. Most of the legends, particularly one connected with " Siddha-ka-sthan " have been given place by scholars like general Cunningham in their books. Thus the topes here are relics in commemoration of the great men of the past, whose gotras¹¹⁸ are mentioned there. One of the Topes¹¹⁷ known as "Siddha-ka-sthan" bears the name " Mahakasap." It has two topes of comparatively smaller size on its either side. When Jaina Tirthankar dies, several of his disciples die with him by going without food. The Tirthankar's body is burnt at a particular place and on its either side are burnt the bodies of those who followed him in death.¹¹⁸ This time-honoured custom of Jainism proves that the place known as " Siddha-ka-sthan " is definitely a Jaina place and so are others. Most of the Topes are built in commemoration of the death of Mahavir¹¹⁹ and his disciples. His family name was " Kasap" and in order to distinguish him from other members of the same family, he was called " Mahakasap ". Hence all the Topes have been erected in memory of his disciples¹²⁰ and other followers¹²¹ The family

(113) The Parisisthapary is a history of those dynasties who ruled Avanti.

(114) Two instances from these scriptures have already been quoted. (Vol. I. pp. 182 and seq.).

(115J In the hollow of the Topes are placed stone-boxes which have the names and the relics.

(116) For details read the Bhilsa Topes.

(117) Great men were known by family names in those times. (F. n. no. 115 above).

(118) K. S. S. C. Pp. 123.

(119) The interval between the attainment of Kaivalya Gflan by one Tirthankar and his follower, is known as Ttrtha of the former.

(120) K. S. S. C.Pp. 80:—"Mahavir's preaching was fruitless*" is right but it is a strange and unbelievable statement " Mahavir alone attained NirvaJV* when so many made the common cause with his death !

(121) This **does** not **mean** that **all** of **them** died **at that** very **place**, **Their**

names of some of the disciples of Mahavir agree with the family names inscribed on these Topes.

Why was the place named Sanchi ? " Sanchaya" means "Collection".; and what was done here is merely a collection of the relics of great Jaina monks¹⁸⁹. The original name "Safichayapuri" deteriorated into Saiichipuri due to modes of incorrect pronunciation, Jaina scriptures and holy psalms loudly acclaim this place to be a great and sacred holy place¹⁸³. We should remember that Saiichipuri was the eastern portion of Vidisa.

The very fact that Chandragupta was a Jain, leads us to the logical conclusion that his preceptor and guardian Chanakya was a follower of the same religion¹⁹⁸. In fact What religion did it must have been he, who must have converted Chanakya follow? Chandragupta to Jainism.¹²⁶. The Arthashastra itself contains unmistakable allusions and references to that effect¹⁸⁷; so do Jaina books. While no ancient book contains any evidence to prove that he was a follower of the Vedic religion, which had practically disappeared till the beginning the Sunga

death may have occurred at different places. Their relics were brought here by their followers. (Vide the account of Priyadarsin).

(122) Cf. f. n. no. 121; paragraphs on Topes in the account of Priyadarsin.

(123) Vol. I. Pp. 182 & seq.

(124) It is famous as Pavapuri in Jaina literature; yet because of the death of Mahavir there, it has been also called PapanagarI=(Sinful city). (K. S. S. C. Pp. 101). In fact it was the eastern suburb of Vidisa, and that is why Samaya* sundar has sung of it as "Purva Vidisa". Its real name may have been Parvatapuri; it is surrounded by a hilly region.

(125) Read previous pages of this chapter.

(126) During the rule of Mahanand, he was a close disciple of prime-minister Sakadal. They were followers of the same religion.

(127) F. n. no. 2 and 3 above; Nagari Pracharini Sabha Bulletin, vol. X, par. 4, pp. 612, f. n. no. 26:—"In Parisistha Parva, Hemachandra has stated that Chanakya was a Jain and wanted to convert Chandragupta to Jainism". Muni Kalyanavijayji continues:—"This proves that Chanakya at last converted Chandragupta to his faith". The Jainism on Early Life of Asoka, pp. 23 (Mr, Thomas)!

dynasty in the second century B. C, when it revived with the advent of Patanjali. No king followed that religion upto that time; neither were the Asvamegha sacrifices heard of. One fails to understand on what grounds scholars have built the conclusion that he was a follower of the Vedic religion. He was a Brahmin by birth^{T98}, and a Jain by religion. Most of the disciples of Klahavir were brahmins, who, deep-read and logical as they were, were strongly attracted towards a faith that convinced them of its superiority to others.

(1) Dr. Bhandarkar in ASoka P. 4 says:—(Piller E. V.) " Asoka mentions prohibiting castration, killing of animals etc. on certain days. Curiously enough, most of these days agree with those of Kautilya. " This means that Chanakya and the king who got this pillar erected were followers of the same religion—Jainism-as we shall later on prove. If we take this pillar to have been erected by Asoka, (which it was not), even then, we must logically come to the conclusion that Chanakya must have been a Buddhist, as Asoka undoubtedly was one.

(2) Another writer says:-¹³⁹. " To put it in the words of Dr. Carpentier in the second Upang the Rayapassaniya, the interesting relations of which to the Payasisutta of Dignikay were detected and dealt with by Professor Leumann, that Brahmanas guilty of certain crimes should be stigmatised (should be branded upon their foreheads). This coincides with Kautilya P. 220. But this rule does not occur in Manu and the later law-books, where corporal punishments on Brahmanas are not permissible. " This means that Kautilya agreed with Jaina and Buddhist books in his ideas about punishment but differed from

(128) Prof. Hermann Jacobi, (J. N. I. Pp. 138, f.n.no. 13 and pp. 62 of his book). This means that Chanakya's family was of Brahman origin by birth or heritage and Jain by faith*.

Edward Thomas states (pp. 25-26 of his book):—**But though our king-maker was a Brahman he was not necessarily in the modern acceptation of the term, "Brahmanis! "*.

(129) Jainism in Northern India, pp. 244.

the Vedic books—a clear proof that he was not a follower of the Vedic religion. We have made it clear that he was not a follower of Buddhism. Thus by the process of elimination we arrive at the conclusion that he was a Jain.

(3) *Mudra-raksas*, which dramatizes the story of Chandragupta¹³⁰, tells us:—"Jains held a prominent position at the time, and that Chanakya who was the prime agent in the revolution, employed a Jain as one of his emissaries."

In short Chanakya was a follower of Jainism.

It is certain that Chandragupta had established his power over a smaller territory before he became the emperor of Magadh.

It is probable that this territory was the woody region between the Angas and the Varh[^]as (in which at present are situated Chattisgad^h district and Bastar state;¹³¹) we know, how Chanakya hit upon the right method of attack after the episode of the old woman and her son¹⁸². First he invaded the kingdom of the third Andhra king, Vidarbhapati, Satakarani Krsna (A.M. 153-4=B. C. 373), killed the king and subdued his territory¹³³. Encouraged as he was by this victory, he did not feel it safe to march upon Magadh, on his own strength. We have already stated how Vakragriv of Kaling joined issue with him¹³⁴ on condition of having equal share in the booty. Thus when he ascended the throne of Magadh, the whole of northern India including Gujarat and Kathiawar, Rajputana and Mewar, came under his power. During the fifteen years of his rule he was solely occupied with subduing as much of southern India as he could. We know how, though he had to confront there two powerful kingdoms—Kaling and Andhra he

(130) Ibid. Pp. 130.

(131) Vide the account of Chedidesa in vol. III.

(132) Pp. 167 above.

(133) Vol. IV.

(134) Viz., the incident between Nandivardhan and Ksemaraj, between Efbaspatimitra and Kharaveh

overcome them both¹³⁵ (Vol. I. chap. VI). We shall discuss this in details in the chapter on the territorial extents of Maurya emperors.

One thing remains to be mentioned. Chandragupta had no occasion to go towards northern India^{T36} either for the purpose of conquering it, because it came under his power by virtue of his accession to the throne, or for suppressing a rebellion, because there arose none. In fact he never went to the Punjab to oppose Alexander the Great, because he died thirty years before the *j* invasion of the latter¹³⁷.

When he ascended the throne, a severe famine had encircled Magadh with its tentacles¹³⁸. It was, however, followed by a good amount of rainfall, and then ensued a period of comparative economic ease during which Chanakya composed *ArthaSastra*¹³⁹.

We know that he had got a palace built in Avanti^{T40}, where

(135) E. H. I. 3rd edi. Smith : Pp. 149:—"But the ascertained outline of the career of Chandragupta is so wonderful and implies his possession of such exceptional ability that the conquest of the south must be added to the list of his achievements".

Chandragupta Maurya—"Sayaji Series No. 139, pp. 34:—"The territory of Chandragupta extended upto the river Krsna in the south; he had founded there a city named "Chandragupta Nagarl".

Asoka, R. K. Mukerji, pp. 13:—"For a definite and long continued tradition describes Chandragupta abdicating and retiring as a Jaina saint at Sravan-Belagola in Southern Mysore; upto which, therefore, his dominions must have extended". For further proofs see coins of Chandragupta nos. 67, 68.

(136) F. n. no. 137 below. (Paragraphs above showing the impossibility of Chandragupta and Sandrecottus having been the same individual).

(137) Ind. Ant. XXXII, pp. 232:—"Chandragupta is never proved to have visited the Punjab.

(138) N. P. Sabha Bulletin, vol. X, part IV, pp. 653:—"Nisisthachurni states that there was a famine during the reign of Chandragupta". (Two famines inflicted themselves upon Magadh during Chandragupta's reign, at the beginning of the second of which he abdicated his kingdom. Cf. f. n. no. 21 above).

(139) Between A. M. 160 to 168, B. C. 367 to 359.

(140) Digambara books have described him as a "king of Ujjain*". The **word** king is used here in the sense of "emperor". (Brhat Kathako?a by Hari* Sena—A. D. 931—; Bhadrabahu Charitra by Ratnanandi, 15th century A. D. pp. 38; Devachandra described him as "king of Pataliputra". (1838 A. D.),

he dreamt the famous fourteen¹⁴¹ dreams which he recounted to his preceptor Bhadrabahu¹⁴², who predicting His abdication the advent of a twelve-year famine¹⁴³, turned the mind of the king towards "affairs spiritual" by showing the worthlessness of worldly things. Bhadrabahu decided on migrating towards the south¹⁴⁴; and leaving behind those who were unable to travel, he started with some of his disciples¹⁴⁵. Chandragupta also entered the holy order under him

(141) Svetambara books state that he had fourteen dreams; the Digambara books state that he had sixteen. For details see their respective books; Epigraphica Karnatica, vol. II, pp. 38.

(142) Pp. 156 above.

(143) He was the last Srutakevali, f. n. no. 70 above.

(144) Whether Chandragupta entered the holy orders immediately after the prophecy was declared, or whether he did so after some months when Bhadrabahu started for the south, and when his son Bindusar came to *age of 14 years, I have not been able to decide. (Vide the account of Bindusar).

(145) J. N. I. Pp. 135:—"As a result of this prophecy, a large body of Jains (numbering about 12000) came to the south, where several of them (including Bhadrabahu) died by the holy vow of Samle-khaua—Chandragupta, who followed the Samgha, * renouncing everything, remained for twelve years At Belagol, and finally himself died by the same rite.

(146) I suppose that this place must have been near Jabulpur from where the Narmada begins to flow, and near which there is a colossal figure carved out of stone on the summit of the Satapuda ranges. (For details vide the account of Priyadarsin). The ceremony of entering into holy orders is generally performed in a wood or at the foot of a mountain. (See the paragraph:—"Importance of Suklatirtha" in the account of Bindusar).

(147) J. O. B. R. S. III, pp. 452. Mr. Jayaswal says:—"I see no **reason** why we should not accept the Jaina claim that Chandragupta at the end of his reign accepted Jainism and abdicated and died a Jaina ascetic".

E. H. I. Pp. 144:—"I am disposed to believe that Chandragupta really abdicated and became a Jaina ascetic". Hemachandra, V, 144:—

"Samadhimaranam Prapya divam yayan". Read the page 156 above.

* There were twelve thousand monks? We can well imagine the number of the laity. When Mahavir died, the number of his disciples (monks) was **14000**. Samgha means a very large group of pilgrims going together to a particular place of pilgrimage. Chandragupta started such one with Girnar as his destination, when he got the lake Sudarsan dug. The Jains are very **food** of starting such Samghas, and they have **been doing so all these years**.

The whole of southern India was under his suzerainty; the king of Andhra was his vassal (that is why the Sindhra kings were called Andhrabhrtayas.) Hence Bhadrabahu and Chandraguata¹⁴⁸ travelled with complete freedom and reached Sravan Belgol (in the Chittaldurga district in Mysore). Two peaks here are reminiscent of this event. On the higher one, Bhadrabahu observed penance and fasted unto death, and on one of the smaller Chandragupta, and it is yet known as Chandragiri. Bhadrabahu died in A. M. 170 or B. C. 357, and Chandragupta twelve years later in A. M. 182 or B. C. 345¹⁴⁹. The Siddhapuri-Brahamgiri inscriptions of Priyadarsin stand there till to-day perpetuating these great events.

There are three colossal stone-idols in this district:—one in the town of Tripuram, and two on these two peaks; one of which is of Bhadrabahu representing him in the Kausagga (contemplative) position at the time of his death. The idol in Tripuram was erected at the place where Bhadrabahu asked his disciples to stop, and from where started with Chandragupta and one other monk to observe penance and fast unto death on the hill¹⁵⁰

(143) He had entered the Jaina holy orders by this time.

(149) The Bombay Samachar-Divali number-1923, pp. 197; Dr. Hariprasad Desai:—"Twelve years later Chandragupta followed his preceptor by fasting unto death".

Cf. paragraphs above: "The duration of his life and of his reign."

(150) For more details vide the account of Priyadarsin*



Chapter VI ' '

Chandragupta (*Contd.*); and Bindusar

Syaopflis:—Some important passages from Artha't astro—Its comparison with modern political and economic doctrines—Means provided for the protection of the kingdom—Military organization of those times.—

Bindusar—his life and its duration—His queens and children—Various names of Bindusar and their meanings—last years of Chanakya—the place where he died and some novel details in connection with it—The duration of his life—Condition of Mauryan empire after his death—Rebellions in various provinces and political jealousies—Incentive to Alexander's ambition to invade India.

Arthasastra has attracted scholars of all kinds and climes by its comprehensiveness and compactness. Several of them have synthesized, systematized or compared and criticized the book or certain portions of the book.¹ Readers who want to go into details are recommended these books. Here we shall rest content with quoting certain important extracts which will give the reader some idea of the indescribable wealth of thought that the book contains.*.

"An efficiently-conducted³ revenue department is essential for increasing and maintaining a steady amount of income. Chandragupta had opened this department. The highest posts were that of Mantri and Purohit, as recommended in Arthasastra.

These two ministers conducted and supervised the actions of the council as well as those of the king. Chanakya has addressed the king: "Oh Vrsal,⁵ (political power is of three kinds; absolute monarchy, ministerial, or a combination of both. The third kind of governmental system is adopted by you P. 166)-" The king's power was from the first (before even Arthasastra was composed) limited (P. 177). The administration was conducted by 18

(1) Some of the names of such books are:—

(1) "Maurya Samrajyaka Itihas" by Satyaketu Vidyalankar, chapters 7 to 13, pp. 149 to 415.

(2) "Arthasastra of Kautilya" (Sayaji Series) by Mr. J. P. Josipura, M. A.

(3) "Arthasastra" by Jolly.

(2) K. A. J. Pref. pp. 15:—"Rules set down in "Arthasastra" prevailed in India in those times and all people observed them. Most of them are in force even to-day." Cf. vol. I. pp. 254 f. n. no. 21 and vol. I. pp. 337 f. n. no. 46.

(3) Numbers of pages refer to Satyaketu Vidyaiarika's book.

(4) Chanakya managed both the posts at the beginning of Chandragupta's rule. According to "Mudraraklas", Raksas had been appointed to the prime-minister's post later on and Chanakya was the royal preceptor. (Jaina books state the name "Subandhu" instead of Raksas; they state that this change took place during the rule of Bindusara.)

(5) For its correct meaning vide pp. 170 f. n. no. 29.

ministers⁶. Sojietjmes courtézans were qtUi?e,4 for political purposes⁷ (P. 244). High custom duties were levied on, jmpojrjs 9pt especially with a view to protecting trade, but simply to fill the coffers of the state. Foreign trade was encouraged in various ways; but precautions were taken to protect indigenous industries; while many means were devised to encourage exports⁸ (P. 246), Various taxes were levied on commodities exchanged in the king? dom itself (P. 246, 251). The government had provided for the compensation of goods lost, destroyed or stolen, by an ingenious system of insurance. Not many direct taxes were levied. Some taxes were levied only in times of financial stringency; for example on:—(1) Units of weight, (2) Gambling, (3) Prostitutes, (4) Public-show-men. There was no license system at that time.

Interest was paid on capital (P. 256). All kinds of arms and ammunitions were manufactured in India⁹; and thus Indians had not to rely upon any foreign nation for the provision of arms. (P. 257) Prices of commodities were always regulated with a view to the general welfare of the people, and no kind of favouritism was allowed. (P. 262). Megasthenes says¹⁰ that very few crimes were committed during the Mauryan rule. The state conducted its own mint¹¹, which produced all kinds of coins, maintained a department for the discrimination of true and counter-

(6) They are described as "Tirtha" in Ramayan. Eighteen of them are stated below:—Mantri, Purohit, Samaharta, Sannidhata, Senapati, Yuvarij, Pradesta, Nayak, Vyavaharik, Karmantik, Maiitriparisadadhyaksa, Dandapal, Durgapal, Aritapal, Paura, Prasad Antarvesik, Dvarik, Stravik.

(7) Cf. vol.1, pp.21. Extract from M.S.I, pp. 394 and footnotes which are quoted ante on Pp. 200.

(8) That duty was reserved for "Pattanadhyak?a."

(9) Vol. I. Pp. 338; details as to how Sakadal managed to manufacture arms in his own house.

(10) Megasthenes came to India during the rule of Asoka. Mr. Satyaketu has erred here in common with other scholars in taking him to be a contemporary of Chandragupta on the authority of the wrong hypothesis of Sandrecottus* identity with Chandragupta.

(11) That Chandragupta had struck his coins is proved here. (Chapter on coins; nos. 68, 71.)

felt coins, and stamped coins for any one who paid in metal (P. 26,3). Poor houses were started and maintained¹⁸ (P. 267), and donors were conferred honorary titles in appreciation of THEIR charities¹⁸ (P. 271). If a state servant died while in, service, pensions? were given to his wife and children, and various facilities, were extended to them (P. 278). Travelling allowances and other allowances were given, to servants over and above their regular salaries (P. 275). All educational departments and institutions were conducted by the state, and that is why Kautilya has alluded to it, in the very beginning by calling it " Dev-puja "¹⁴ (P. 275), Many public activities were aided by the state (P. 278). Steps were taken to make soil as independent of rainfall as possible¹⁵. Various irrigational works were started, and wells were dug to make agricultural crops not dependent upon the oddities of monsoon (P. 281). There were windmills (P. 283). Various regions of the kingdom had various amounts of rainfall (P. 284). During Asadh and Asvin $\frac{1}{2}$ of the rainfall, and during Sravan and Bhadrapad $\frac{2}{3}$ of the rainfall-this should be the proper order (P. 289). Nurses for the sick and First-aid ambulances were provided for the army in times of war. Sanitation was fully attended to (P. 293); post mortem examinations were made (P. 294). Famine-relief funds and associations existed (P. 295). Most of the houses and buildings were made of wood and so, due precautions were taken to avoid fire (P. 298); and incendiarism was punished with death. Buildings were painted with chemical fluids which made them fireproof (302). According to Chanakya travelling by land is better than travelling by sea; though India had a powerful navy and a large number of trade-ships and pirates (P. 305, 309). Roads were built in all the four directions from Patliputra. A mile (kosa) measured $2202\frac{1}{2}$ gajas¹⁶ (p. 312).

(12) This was the duty of "Sutradhyak?a."

(13) So the system of awarding titles and medals prevailed at that time also*

(14) It does not mean "Idol worship*" as some writers have taken it to mean,

(15) "Not watered by rainfall only but by canals too."

(16) One Gaja=2 ft., so $2202\frac{1}{2}$ gajas=4405 ft=1 ko?a. This does not fit in with the commonly believed length of a ko?a which is equal to two miles*

High roads were 32 ft. 4 in. wide, while smaller roads were less wide (P. 317). The main occupation of the people was agriculture (P. 318). Farmers had two crops in a year, and were very prosperous (P. 323). Cloth was woven out of cotton, wool, jute and other fibres. There were spinning machines¹⁷ (P. 324); and there were factories (P. 320). Silk was manufactured out of the barks and leaves of various trees in Magadh, Pundra and Suvarnakndya (P. 327). Chinese silk was the best. Cotton clothes were best manufactured in Madura, Apranta, Kaling, Kasi, Vanga, Vasta Mahismati. There were small merchants as well as large firms¹⁸ (P. 355). There were separate markets for separate commodities in the city (P. 364). People were classified into guilds and they were united¹⁹ (P. 368). Megasthenes says: 'It is noteworthy about India that there were no slaves²⁰. Strabo says:—"Megasthenes says that in the whole of India there was not a single slave"²¹. During the reign of Chandragupta, there were cities and towns of various sizes, called "pur", "nagar" "pattan" etc.²² Cities were politically divided into four parts:—Sarigrahan (one in the centre of

(17) The craft of spinning is thus age-old in India, and so must have been implements necessary for it. Cf. vol. I. pp. 253 f. n. no. 69.

(18) I believe there were no "Limited concerns" at that time.

(19) Vide the account of 6 renik for details about the formation of guilds.

(20) Eng. version of Megasthenes' account, (pp. 69); cf. K. A. J, pp. 38:—"An Xryan can never be turned into a slave; Kautilya included jśudras among Xryas."

(21) Ibid. Pp. 71.

(22) K. S. S. Com. pp. 59:—

Xkara=those having mineral products about them.

Nagar=those free from taxation.

Kheta=those around which there was mud-wall.

Karbat=dirty towns.

Man4ap=Towns at a distance of half a yojan on all sides*

Drona=From which travel by land as well as by water is possible.

Pattan=From which travel is possible either by land only or by water only.

Asram= Place of pilgrimage.

Sambaha=Level pieces of ground.

Sannivesa=Resting places for Sangbas and armies.

ten villages); Kharvafcik (one in the middle of 200); Dronamukh (one in the middle of 400) and Sthaniya (one in the middle of 800) (P. 313). In cities, houses were built of brick and wood; fortresses were also built. The cities were large and prosperous (P. 376). There were mints with a system of free coinage (P. 378). No one could manufacture coins privately. It is not certain²³ whether there was any other means of exchange except coins; but Kautalya initiated Bills of exchange⁸⁴ (P. 378). Capital was borrowed on interest which was not allowed to accumulate and the rate of which was very high. It was 15 p. c. per annum on securities and even 60 p. c. and 120 p. c. (to forest traders) and 1/40 p. c. (to foreign traders)*⁸ (P. 382). According to Megasthenes the prosperity of India was shared by seven castes:—^u (1) Fortune-tellers (though few in number, they enjoyed the highest reputation); (2) Farmers (3) Shepherds (4) Artisans (5) Soldiers. (They were second from the view-point of their number) (6) Observers (7) Members of the council and other officers. (The highest class of all in position and character, though smallest in number)". Kautalya mentions only four classes of society; he does not allude to castes. It is difficult to know on what grounds Megasthenes made the above statement³⁶. He has also stated that a member of one caste could not marry with the member of another caste³⁷ and could not change his profession; a soldier could not take to farming, nor a sculptor could become an astrologer (P. 387). Polygamy was

(23) Cf. chap, on coins.

(24) Pp. 41 f. n. no. 10.

(25) I suppose it to mean that the amount of interest was never allowed to exceed this figure: hence large sums were neither lent nor borrowed.

(26) This proves that Chariakya and Megasthenes were not contemporary, which also proves that Chandragupta was not Sandrecottus, as has hitherto been believed.

(27) These rules were enforced with greater strictness after the rule of Srenik. They must have been very strictly observed during the rule of Nand II. (He is said to have been Kalasok because of his marriage with a Sudra girl: for the real cause vide vol. I. pp. 318 & seq.). These rules seem to have been slackened during the rules of Bindusar and Asoka, though the first three classes were prohibited to marry a Sudra.

Allowed and people were allowed to keep women, with whom they were not married, but they were kept in their houses merely for flirtatious pleasure. Both men and women had the right to remarry (P. 390). Women were not allowed much freedom of movement and even veils were common (P. 394). The courtesan attending upon the king were paid 1000 partas²⁸ and they stood behind and added to the beauty of the king's umbrella, fans, palanquin and chariot (P. 395). Gambling was allowed and there were gambling-dens (P. 390). Various gods were worshipped (P. 392); people were superstitious and were easily cheated by quacks and swindlers (P. 395). The property of the people was strongly protected and the general standard of morality was so high, that people kept their houses open in their own absence (P. 396). Census was taken every year not only of human but of animals as well (P. 410). The movements of foreigners were closely watched; the C. I. D. was efficiently conducted", and secret codes were used (P. 413). Even spies in employment did not know the meaning of several of them. Secret messages were conveyed by songs and through musical instruments; as well as through pigeons. " (P. 414).

Now we quote a passage from another writer³⁰, in order to supplement the first one:—

" Ambassadors were appointed to reside in foreign kingdoms in order to be in touch with the movements there. The heir-apparent plays an important part in Indian politics³¹. The king used to conduct the court of justice, and so absorbed was he at times that he took his meals in the court premises. Land was divided into three divisions:—tillable, pasture and rocky. The owner of land was called land-lord³⁹. Soil could not be sold or

(28) The position of prostitutes was not so low as it is now.

(29) So there existed the C. I. D. People had begun to hoard money for its own sake. We have stated in vol. I. how the first cause of quarrel among mankind was woman, the second, land and the third, money.

(30) Baroda Sabitya; Chandragupta, pp. 53 and further.

(31) Read the fore-going pages as to why Chandragupta got a palace ttefit at Virisa.

(32) They were landlords only. Cf. vol. I., pp. 13.

mortgaged; it remained in possession of a farmer as long as he tilled it. The state accepted its share from the actual products of the soil⁸⁸ and hence during times of famine, farmers had to give nothing. The cities were divided into four parts and the villages into three. Towns free from taxation were called "Pariharak"; those supplying soldiers were called "Ayudhlya"³⁴. Certain villages paid their taxes in the form of corn, cattle, raw material, free labour or the products of the cow. Every town had to accommodate 100 in the minimum and 500 in the maximum Sudra families who tilled the soil. The boundaries of all villages, towns and cities were fixed and due records were kept of them. There were civil and criminal courts; known as "Dharmasthaniya" and "Kantaksodhan" respectively. Those appointed to the position of judge were first tested as regards the unimpeccability of their character. The revenue department was called Adhikaran. Village pafichayats arbitrated all local disputes as regards boundaries of fields etc. A difference of opinion among them was bridged over by consultation with a holy man. If the dispute did not end here, the disputed piece of soil was confiscated by the state. Forts were built for the protection of the kingdom. Forts built with water on all sides were called "Audak" and those with hills on all sides were called "Parvat"³⁵.

The scale of remuneration per year or annuities to various state servants and members of the royal family was as follows:— (P. 269)³⁶ (the figures denote panas):—(A) The Sacrificial priest the preceptor, the minister, the royal priest, the commander-in-chief, the heir-apparent, the queen-mother, the chief queen—each 48000. (B) Dauvarik, Antavirhsik, Prasasta, Samaharta, Sannidhata each 24000. (C) Prince, prince-mother, chief constable, social

(33) The reader can see which system is better.

(34) Cf. vol. I. Map no. 2, No. 25. Pp. 56. Its real name was "Xyu-ddhas*"; the scholars have confused it with "Ayodhya."

(35) "ParvatiyalPradesa" a hilly region. (Cf. Chandragupta defeated Nand IX, with the help of Vakragriv, the king of a "hilly region. (Vide ante pp. 203.)

(36) M. S. I.

minister, Karmatitik, president of the council of ministers, Rastrapal-Antapal each 12000. (D) The chief of the guild, the chief of elephant-keepers, the chiefs of the horse-keepers and charioteers, and Pradesta each 8000. (E) The heads of infantry, of cavaiaiy, of charioteers, of deer-keepers; the Dravyapal, the keeper of elephants, forest-officer and the charioteer-each 4000. (F) Anika-physician, horse-physician, vardhaki and yoniposak-each 2000. (G) Kartantik, Naimittik, Mauhurtik, Paurartik, Suta, M[^]ngadh and others 1000 each. (H) Educated foot-soldier, and accountant 500 each.

Military expenses.—(P. 272)³⁷:—

600000 Infantry-each 500

30000 Cavalry-each 500 to 1000.

9000 Elephant-warriors (each elephant was to accommodate three archers) 750 each.

8000 Chariot-warriors-2000 each³⁸; each chariot was meant for two archers.

Thus the military expenses per year amounted to 36,50,58000 patias. Considering other minor expenses, the figure amounted to 40 crores.

Let us now turn to the functions of certain officers:—

Samaharta:—His functions were those of the present revenue commissioner; Sthanik:—the officer just under the Samaharta i. e. the collector. Each collector had subordinate officers who were called "Gopas"; every Gopa had five to ten villages under

(37) Rulers of India Series, Asoka, pp. 16. "A magnificent fortified city, worthy to be the capital of a great kingdom,—the royal camp at the capital was estimated to contain 400,000 souls, and the efficient standing army numbering 600,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants and a multitude of chariots, was maintained at the king's expense." This is the description of Pataliputra.

(38) Every division of the army had its own general; these four generals were under the power of the Commander-in-chief. The general of chariot-warriors was called "Maharathi." Sometimes these Maharathes were appointed as governors of provinces. Queen Naganika's father was a Maharathi, and he was appointed as a governor of Anga. Chutukanand and Mulanand were Maharathes during Nand's rule. They were appointed as governors of the Karvar province in Deccan, (Coins no. 47-52).

his jurisdiction; and under every Gopa there were Gramiks or Gramini i. e. the village head-men.

Pradesta was judge for the criminal cases; he worked under Samaharta.

Pattanadhyaksa:-Port-officer; Navadhyaksa=Naval commander. There seems to have been no post like Director of Public Instruction, because there were no public schools³⁹. Sitadhyaksa was the agricultural officer; (Stradhyaksa was different post); Akaradhyaksa= mining officer.

Sannidhata=Treasurer; Varsaman=measurer of rainfall; Aksa-pataladhyaksa=Accountant general; under him Sarikhyayak=Accountant; Karanik and Kftrmik=ledger clerks; Laksanadhyaksa=Mint Officer; Rupdarsak=Currency officer; Suvarnadhyak?a=Precious metal-supervisor in the mint; Kostagaradhyaksa=Steward; Pattyadhyaksa=Director of Commerce; Kupyadhyaksa=Forest officer; Pautavadhyaksa=Weight officer; Ayudhagarftdhyaksa=Ammunition and Fortification officer; Sulkadhyaksa=Custom officer. Stitradhyaksa=Labour Minister; this officer supervised the manufacture of cotton, silk and woollen goods, and provided employment for widows, orphans and other such persons; he might have been the same as Stradhyaksa of the rock-inscription of Samprati; over and above these there were numerous other posts.

Now we give English equivalents for certain official terms of those times:—

Dharmasthaniya=Civil court.

Kantakasodhan=Criminal court.

Padik=head of ten foot-soldiers.

Senapati=head of ten padikas.

Nayak=head of ten Senapaties.

Yukta=Government prosecutor.

Upyukta«Assistant prosecutor.

Tatpurusa=servant.

Parvat=Fort built on a hill. (cf. p. 201, f. n. no. 35.)

Audaka=Fort built with water on all sides.

Bhrtak=Auxiliary force.

Agniyogachurna=Gunpowder.

Pattibala=Infantry.

Charak-Policeman.

Pariharak=A village free from taxation.

Ayudhiya=Village supplying soldiers, (cf. "Ayuddhas, vol. I. p. 61 and f. n. no. 34 above.)

BINDUSAR

After Chandragupta's abdication, his son Bindusar ascended the throne. He was very young at that time⁴⁰. Various kings are known in history by a name⁴¹ which is quite

Bindusar: his different from their original name. We know various names how this king was named Bindusar (p. 117).

We are not definite about what name he assumed after his accession to the throne. In " Rajavalikatha " by Devchandra (1938) " Simhasen " is stated to have been the name of Chandragupta's successor. Another historian⁴³ has stated on the authority of Vayupuran that his name was Bhadrassar. In the Amnaya book of the Jaina Svetambar sect, he is said to have been named as Amitraketu. His name, on the other hand was never Amitragahat, as many historians have stated it to have been* Amitraghat was the successor of Sandrecottus. We have proved that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta but Asoka. Hence Amitraghat was one of the names of Priyadarsin, Asoka's successor.⁴⁸.

Born during the eighth month of pregnancy, Bindusar had a weak constitution throughout his life⁴⁴. He was born in A. M. 156=B. C. 371. His reign lasted for 28 years⁴⁵. (A. M. 169 to 196* B. C. 358 to 330). Hence he died nearly at the age of

(40) Baroda Library, Samprati Katha, pp. 70.

(41) Bimbisar was named Srenik; Ajatasatru was named Kupik; Nand II was named Kalasok; Priyadarsin was named Samprati, and so on.

(42) C. D. Pp. 11.

(43) Vide the account of Priyadarsin.

(44) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. Pp. 88.

(45) Vayupuran states 25 years.

41⁴⁶. The reins of the empire were assumed by him at the age of 13⁴⁷. Some writers say that he had sixteen queens and one hundred sons⁴⁸. This theory fits ill with his weak condition and his short life; though one might have no objection to believing that he might have married with several girls in the prime of his youth.⁴⁹. The name of his eldest son was Suman⁵⁰, and that of the youngest was Tisya⁵¹. Three years after Bindusar ascended the throne, a brahmin from Kasi, married his beautiful daughter, Prthvitilaka, with him⁸⁹; Asoka was born of her⁵³ in about A. M.

His life and
family

(46) See Chandragupta, Pari. Parva VIII, trans, pp. 184.

(47) Cf. pp. 122, f. n. no. 144 above.

(48) "Asoka" by Vincent Smith : pp. 206. (on the authority of Maha*varṇasa; M. S. I., pp. 133).

If we take this to mean that the successor of Sandrecottus had sixteen queens, then it means that Priyadarsin had that number of queens; because we have proved that Sandrecottus was Asoka. Priyadarsin had really many queens and many children.

(49) Writers have credited Śrenik too, with 100 sons; while in reality, he had only 18 to 20, even though he had a robust constitution and a long life.

(50) Some books state the name as "Susima." (M. S. I. pp. 429.) Probably Suśima and Suman were both elder brothers and Asoka was the third. (See f. n. no. 48.

(51) F. n. no. 48 above.

(52) Baroda Library, Samprati Katha, pp. 79; R. K. M. Asoka, pp. 2:—"The mother of Asoka is Subhadrangi, the beautiful daughter of a brahmin of Champa. Southern traditions call her Dharma."

Some scholars are of the [opinion that Nand II had given cause of anger to Brahmins by marrying a Sudra girl (though I have proved in vol. I. pp. 318 & seq); that this must not have taken place; they also say that, objection was raised to Asoka's accession to the throne, because his mother was a Brahmin. Though, as far as I believe, people at that time freely allowed interclass marriages, yet, when it concerned the accession to a throne, there arose some difficulties. The ministers objected to Asoka's accession on two grounds:—1) Asoka was not the eldest son. He was again ugly-looking and of a haughty temperament. (People at this time had almost no voice in the government.) (2) The eldest son was murdered and the two elder brothers were alive*

175=B. C. 352. No definite details are available about any other queens or children.

When Bindusar ascended the throne at the age of 13^{5*}, his prime-minister⁵⁵ was Subandhu—Sumati⁵⁶. He thought that as long as Chanakya was alive, it was impossible Chanakya's death for him to have all the power to himself.

Hence he began to persuade the king⁵⁷ that Ch&nakya had murdered his mother. The king, young and hasty as he was, decided to do away with Chanakya. Almost at this time Chandragupta's death took place and Chanakya, who lost all interest in things terrestrial, relinquished the post of his own accord. He was about eighty by this time, and he wanted no blot on his stainless career. Hence he retired and began to stay⁵⁸ outside the city. A few months later, the king came to know from his nurse that Chanakya was the saviour of his life and that he had killed his mother in order to keep him alive. Repenting his past conduct, he approached Chanakya in an humble attitude and requested him to take charge of his original

Of these, one was very recently killed while trying to suppress a rebellion in the Punjab. The second was probably murdered by Asoka. In Greek history Aioka's early life has been described as "humble".

(53) As.jka=(A+soka; A=not soka or sokya=a sister-queen); Asoka literally means a queen who has no sister-queens. Though this queen had several, yet the king remained wholly attached to her.

(54), **Vide** Vol. I. P. 30 with f. n. nos. 64, 65 & 66.

(55) Parisistha parva:—The name is Sumati. (Cf. f. n. no. 4 above).

(56) "Mantri" and "Purohit", viz. Prime-minister and Royal preceptor* were different positions enjoyed by different persons. (Pp. 195 above and f. n. no. 4). Chanakya combined both of them and enjoyed them* Then again Subandhu was appointed as prime-minister, while he retained the preceptorship. (F. n. no. 59 below).

(57) B. L. Samprati Katha; pp. 59, 70.

(58) Chanakya had a box locked with 100 locks. Some say that **there was** a succession of box within box upto hundred* In the box he had kept a chemical, fragrant substance. Whoever smelt it once, lost all control over his nerves. When Subandhu opened this box, he became a nerve-less idiot, and spent the rest of his life in a miserable condition. He had **taken away the box before** setting fire to the hut. (**Paraiatha parva: Trans.**),

post. Chariakya politely refused the offer. The king began to frequent the abode of Chariakya, much to the chagrin of Suban* dhu⁵⁹. Hence he once requested the king to let him accompany him to the hermitage, and while Chariakya was absorbed in contemplation, set fire to the hut. Resorting Samlekhana, Chariakya died.⁶⁰.

(59) J. N. I. Pp. 139:—was supplanted by Subandhu. Hemachandra W, 436-459).

(60) Ibid. Pp. 71; Parisistaparva : Chanakya was born about A. M. 98; he died about A. M. 180 at the age of 82.

General Cunningham writes on pp. 142, Bhilsa Topos:—"It is said in Agnipuran (Princeps Journal IV, 688) that Vikram, the son of Gadharup, should ascend the throne of Malva, seven hundred and fifty-three years after the expiration of Chanakya." The father of Vikram, the founder of the Vikrama era, was Darpana. He had mastered the Gardabhi lore. Vikram ascended the throne in 57 B. C. (vol. III). Counting back date 753 years, the date of Chanakya's death comes to B. C. 696—the date which is quite impossible, because Chariakya lived during the 4th century B. C.

Hence it is reasonable to conclude that "753" is the result of a scribe's error, and we may just reverse the order of digits and have it "357". Counting back, we get $357+57=414$ B. C. which in no way agrees with the dates of Chariakya, which have been already fixed and proved. If we take the other alternative of reading the figure as "375", we get $375+57=432$ B. C; and if we take this year to be the year of his birth—not of his death—we can have 350 B. C. as the year of the death of Chariakya, as it really was. Thus he died during the eighth year of the rule of Bindusar. (In the chap, on coins, I have stated 13th year, which is wrong).

General Cunningham holds the opinion that, Vikramaditya, who ascended the throne of Malva, belonged to the Gupta dynasty, in which there were two kings named Chandragupta. The first ruled from A. D. 320 to 330, and the second from 375 to 483 A. D. The second's name was Vikramaditya also, however his father's name was not Gadharup, but Samudragupta; while the name of the father of the first was Ghatotkacha. The Gupta Era was founded in 319 A. D., during the rule of the first, though the second was a valorous king. Calculating back from their dates we do not come to the right date of Chanakya, and hence we have to give up the figure "753" altogether, and take "375" as the right one. Ghatotakacha was the name of the son of Bhima, one of the pa^davas.

Thus Chanakya was born in 432 B. C; and he died in 350 B. C. at the age of 82.

Suklatirtha and"
Its importance

It is certainly a matter of regret that few details are known about Chanakya, though he was⁶¹ "The first economist of India, if not of the whole world"⁶³ and though one writer has called him "King maker."^{*}

A certain writer says:—" Tradition represents the ' wicked minister ' as having repented and retired to Suklatirtha on the banks of the Narmada, where he died; Chandragupta is also supposed to have accompanied him (cf. Smith 175 f. n. 1.). Suklatirtha is the exact equivalent of Belagol which in Kanarese means " white pond ".

Now there are two places bearing the name Suklatirtha. One is situated in the Mysore state, and the other on the other banks of the Narmada. We know definitely that Chandragupta ended his days at Belagol in Mysore. Suklatirtha, 30 to 35 miles from Broach, is at presnt a centre of 5rya-samajist activity and a place of pilgrimage for the followers of the Vedic religion. It is the place where stands that magnificent and well-known banyan tree-Kabir-vada. Did Chanakya spend his last days here ? Probably not, for two reasons. In the first place it could not have provided seclusion enough to Chanakya; and secondly Chanakya must naturally have chosen some place, to which was attached some sacred significance of the faith that he followed—jainism. There certainly was a place, on the banks of the Narmada near Jabulpore, where stand now white boulders, making the whole region appear very white. Again the place is ideally solitary. Moreover, not far from it are the Rupnath rock-inscription of Priyadarsin⁶³, and Campanagarl⁶⁴ first the capital of Dadhivahan of Ahga^{6fi} and then destroyed by Satanik of Vatsa⁶⁶. It was

(61) Jainism in North India, by C. J. Shah, pp. 139.

(62) It means that he was the economist of the first rank, not the first.

* Pp. 189 f. n. no. 128.

(63) For details vide the account of Priyadarsin; also Vol. I. Pp* 374,

(64) Vol. I. Account of Ajatsatru,

(65) Vol. I. Pp. 45 and 111,

(66) Vol. I. Pp. 136,

also die place where the twelfth Tirthaakar, Vasupujya⁶⁷ was **horn**, entered into holy orders, attained Kaivalya, and died⁶⁸. This place must have been selected by Chanakya for these reasons. It was under the power of Magadh. One colossal stone-image is standiug at this place, details about which are given in the account of Priyadarsin.

According to Euddhist books he was a follower of the Vedic faith.^{6*}; while Mr. Thomas says:—⁷⁰ " We may conclude for all present purposes that Bindusar followed the
His religion faith of his father and that in the same belief whatever it may prove to have been-his child*-hood's lessons were learnt by Asoka."⁷¹. In sort he wasajaina.

A weak man himself, and devoid of the efficient help of Chanakya, Bindusar began to lose what his father had conquered⁷⁸. Satakarani Malik, the fourth
The extent of his territory Andhra king of the Satavahan dynasty, disowned the paramountcy of Magadh, and declared himself independent, changing his title from Andhrabhytya

(67) Vol. I. Pp. 279 (f n. no. 13) and 345.

(68) Vol. I. For the page references see the index.

(69) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 98:— "Bindusar was a follower of Brahminism and used to feed daily 60,000 Brahmins. Asoka dismissed them."

This may be applied to Priyadarsin also, whose religious tolerance and charitable disposition are well-known.

(70) Jainism on early life of Asoka, (Edward Thomas), pp. 23. (J. N. I. pp. 139.)

Nagarl Pracha. Sabha Patrika, vol. X, no. 4, pp. 612, f. n. no. 26:— "Mr. Thomas proves that Chandragupta, Bindusar and even Asoka were Jains. He has quoted Mudraraksas, Rajatarangini and Aine Akabarl in support of his statement."

C71) Coins nos. 54, 67, 68 etc.

(72) Cf. f. n. no. 77 below. Scholars have described him as awe-inspiring and holding sovereign sway over even South India (E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 157: Ftodit Taranatb, and M. S. I. pp. 426). If we take Sandrecottus as Asoka, as he really was, the description is applicable to Priyadarsin, which it really is. (Foe details vide his account),

to Andhrapati.⁷⁸ The Governors of the Punjab and Sindh began to quarrel with each other, and rose into rebellion. Asoka was appointed as the governor of Ujjain. (A. M. 188 B. C. 339)

Two Punjab chiefs—Arribhi of Taxila and Poras of Sutlaj⁷⁴ rebelled in A. M. 192=B. C. 335. Bindusar sent his heir-apparent who suppressed the rebellion. They rose into mutiny again⁷⁸ and this time the heir apparent was killed in the battle. Then Asoka was sent there. Hardly had he dealt a crushing defeat to the mutineers, when news came from Magadh that Bindusar died of the bursting of a blood-vessel in his brainTM (A. M. 197=B. C. 330). Hence he hurried forth to Patliputra.

During Bindusar's weak regime, misrule prevailed in Magadh as well as in provinces⁷⁷. News of this weak condition of India reached the ears of the Greek emperor Alexander, who had conquered and subdued almost all countries, situated between Greece (Macedonia) and India⁷⁸. He had heard of the fabulous wealth of India. So in B. C. 327, his armies marched over the western banks of the Indus. (Details of foreign invasions will be given in a separate chapter).

(75) Coins nos. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61. They belong to Andhrapati; while nos. 62, 63 belong to Andhrabhrtiyas.

(74) Scholars take him to have been a descendant of the Vatsas of Kausanibi.

(75) There were two risings in the Punjab. (M.S. I. pp. 429, D!v>avadan).

(76) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 96:—"He in the midst of a fit of passion burst a bloodvessel and died."

(77) Asoka (Rulers of India Series) pp. 104:—"The records of Alexander's invasion disclose the existence of a multitude of independent states, governed either by rajahs or tribunal oligarchies, constantly at war with one another and free from all control by a superior power."

(78) The Acheimenidai dynasty of the Persian emperors ended in B.C. 331, by the battle of Arbela. We can conclude from this that Alexander must have conquered this territory.

The Arseidai dynasty was established in Persia in 250 B. C. In the 81 years that intervened (331-250=81), Persia* was under the power of Alexander's generals for some time, and then under the power of emperor Samprati.



Chapter VII

India under foreign rule

*Synopsis:—Rebellious atmosphere in the Punjab at the time of Bindusara's death—Alexander's intention to take advantage of the opportunity—Extracts from Megasthenes' diary in relation to the theory that Sandracottus was Chandragupta—Points arising from it—Two events from the political career of Asoka—Alexander's arrangement for the government of conquered territories before he left India—Decisions of the political assembly established in Macedonia after Alexander's death, in connection with India—Political relations of Kambhija and Pauras with foreign rulers—Dissensions and quarrels among the Greek and the Indian generals.—Rebellions in the Punjab—Asoka's subjugation of the Punjab and the slaughter of Yavanas—Invasion of Seleucus Nicator on this account—His eighteen unsuccessful invasions—His humiliating treaty with the Indian emperor—Peaceful atmosphere in the Punjab and the marriage of the daughter of Seleucus Nicator with the Indian emperor—His departure from India—Conclusion**

The generally accepted theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta, has given rise to many confusions and twisted accounts in the history of India.¹ We have already proved that Chandragupta was not Sandrecottus, and that it was Asoka who confronted the Greek emperor.

Alexander the great invaded India in 327 B. C, and having subdued some portions of the Punjab, stayed there for some time. Here he had occasion to meet Sandrecottus, who was at that time in the prime of his youth². Later on he departed from India and died on his way to Greece in June, 323 B. C.³ We know that Bindusar died in 330 B. C.⁴, and that he was succeeded by Asoka, who was not crowned on the throne for four years, on account of certain domestic reasons. Thus the date of his coronation to the throne in 326 B. C.⁵ The reader will thus see that it was Asoka who met the Greek emperor in the Punjab⁶, though he had not ascended the throne at that time⁷.

Let us now quote an extract from Justin⁸. " Seleucus waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals⁹. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces, augmented by victory, subjugated the Bactrians. He then

(1) For illustrations vide the account of Asoka.

(2) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 277. Statement of Plutarch:—"Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself."

(3) E. H. I. 3rd pp. 116:—"His death in June, 323 B.C."

(4) See the chronological list on pp. 146 and pp. 204.

(5) Vide his account.

(6) This proves that Sandrecottus was Asoka.

(7) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 275, f. n.:—"The word Deinde seems to indicate that the war with Alexander's officers followed the usurpation." This agrees with what we have stated above.

(8) Pompei Trogi XV, 4 : as translated by Mr. Crindle Principal, Patna College. (See Prof. Hultzsch Corp. Inscr. Indie Pt. I. Pref. xxxiii.).

(9) Cf. J. R. A. S. 1932, April number, which will make clear that Mr. Cringle's statement agrees with that of this writer*

passed over to India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrecottus¹⁰ had been the leader who achieved their freedom; but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny, all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne¹¹, he oppressed with servitude the very people¹², whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom¹⁸. He was born in humble¹⁴ life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen¹⁵, significant of an august destiny. For, when by insolent behaviour¹⁶, he had offended king Nandrus¹⁷, and was ordered by that king to be put to death¹⁸, he had sought safety by a speedy flight¹⁹. When he lay down, overcome with fatigue and

(10) All episodes narrated here tally with those that took place in the life of Asoka.

(11) He had seized the throne in 330 B. C, though his coronation ceremony was performed in 326 B. C.

(12) This means that he established his own power over the territory from which he drove away the Greeks. (B. C. 317, as we shall see later on).

(13) Buddhist books contain descriptions of his massacres through "Narkalay."

(14) This shows that he was not direct heir to the throne, but secured it by his good fortune.

(15) This shows that his coronation ceremony was performed some years after his seizing the throne; cf. the statement at the end of f. n. no. 52, pp. 206.

(16) Buddhist books describe Asoka as insolent. Politically interpreted, however, it means that he was firm in attitude and strict in the enforcement of his rules (cf. 18 below).

(17) Older manuscripts have the word "Alexandrum" in place of this word. (Pref. by Prof. Hultz). This is the right word, because there could have been no reason why Greek history should contain any reference to a war between two Indian kings. Again, Nand had died 45 years before Alexander's invasion. This will show that scholars have twisted facts in order to support the spineless theory of Sandrecottus having been Chandragupta instead of Asoka*

(18) This proves that Alexander must have been of a haughty temperament.

(19) Bravery does not mean fool-hardiness, or needlessly exposing* ones* self to heavy odds. To offer resistance would have been ruinous folly on the part of Asoka. That he sought safety in flight is an indication of his wisdom

had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion²⁰ of enormous size, approaching the slumberer, licked with its tongue, the sweat which oozed profusely from his body; and when he awoke, quietly took its departure²¹. It was this prodigy which first inspired him, with the hope of winning the throne²², and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government²³. When he was there, preparing to attack Alexander's prefects²⁴, a wild elephant²⁵ of monstrous size approached him and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant, received him on its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrecottus having thus won the throne⁹⁶, was reigning over India³⁷, when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness. Seluecus having made a treaty with him²⁸ and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus."

and is no adverse reflection upon his courage. This incident throws much light upon the character of Alexander, who had no scruples in ordering a single, defenceless person, whom he had invited, and who had come to his camp unarmed and unattended, to be killed.

(20) I believe that Buddhist books must be containing this episode, thus irrefutably proving that Sandrecottus was Asoka.

(21) Certainly an instance of a behaviour indicating spiritual influence.

(22) Though he had seized the throne in 326 B. C. yet he was not sure whether he would be able to settle himself as an emperor. Now his prospects began to brighten.

(23) By this time Greek power had already been established in India. After Alexander's death, a council was formed (B. C. 322) which managed the administration of Greek in India (f. n. no. 24). So this took place in 322 B. C.

(24) The words "Alexander's prefects" show that Alexander was dead by this time. So this took place after 323 B. C. (f. n. no. 23).

(25) This incident took place in 322 B. C; while the lion incident took place in 326 B. C. (See the chronological list at the end of this book).

(26) I. e. by establishing his power over the territory which was before that under the Greek power.

(27) I. e. as emperor of the whole of India, because the foreigners were driven away.

(28) For terms of the treaty vide his account. Asoka's behaviour was very **generous* towards him***

The above-given narration fits exactly with the events that took place in the life of Asoka. He visited the Greek emperor on invitation, but finding his bearing haughty and insulting, retaliated in the same manner; upon which the emperor ordered his men to arrest and kill him on the spot. Asoka, however, sought safety in flight. Then took place the incident of the lion, after which he instigated Indians" against the Greek power, and was about to attack Alexander's prefects when the incident of the elephant took place. Historians hold the view⁸⁰ that his prefects were at peace with one another as long as the emperor was alive, but began to quarrel with one another soon after his death. (323 B. C.)³¹. We know that Seleucus ruled from 331 to 280 B. C.^{3a} So the rebellions in the Punjab must have taken place between 321 to 312 B. C.

It is interesting to discuss why the Punjab was the centre of rebellious activities for nearly twenty-five years between 327 to 304 B. C.—when peace terms were concluded between Seleucus and the Indian emperor.⁸³ Democratic form of Government existed in Northern India, and especially in the Punjab during those times; but it was not quite uninfluenced by monarchy³⁴. The Punjab had been conquered by Nand IX, and continued to be peaceful under the suzerainty of Magadh during the wise rule of Chandragupta and Chanakya. With the accession of Bindusar

(29) I. e. the Indians were instigated against the rule of a foreign power.

(30) E. H. I. 3rd, pp. 116'—"It is certain that news spread everywhere of the death of the Macedonian emperor. As soon as the season became favourable, there was a great rising in India; thus ended the Greek power."

J. R. A. S. 1932, April/*—"After Alexander's death, attempts were made to overthrow the Greek power.*"

(31) This incident took place after the second rising in 317 B. C., and not in 322 B. C. We shall prove this later on.

(32) Vol. III. A writer dates the establishment of the Seleucus dynasty from 312 B. C. (Vol. I., pp. 100 f.n. no. 10); but the most likely date is 320 B. C. (Read further in this chap.).

(33) Vide the account of Asoka,

(34) F. n. no. 39 below.

to the throne, who had married a brahmin girl³⁵ who gave birth to Asoka, the Magadha empire began to loose its grasp over the territories, and especially over the Punjab- Chanakya had already retired and Subandhu had stepped into his shoes, but without the former's tact and statesmanship⁸⁶, with the result that a rebellion was engineered in the Punjab by the governor himself. Bindusar sent his eldest son to suppress it, and he did so at first³⁷. When the people of the Punjab rose again into mutiny, he became a victim to a conspiracy and was murdered⁸⁸. Then Asoka, who was governor of Ujjain at that time, was sent there. Hardly had he suppressed the rebellion, when Bindusar died on the bursting of a blood-vessel. He hastened to Patliputra and seized the throne, though the ministers first hesitated to accept him as king, because of his being born of a brahmin, i. e. a non-ksatriya mother⁴⁰. The ministers could not decide the problem for some time. In the meanwhile, riots again broke out in the Punjab, and Alexander invaded India and occupied some portions of the country (327 B. C.). He defeated king Arobhi of the Tarilla region, but his further progress was checked at the region between the Chinab and the Ravi by king Paurus, who fought bravely against him. At last he was treacherously betrayed by his own men, and was defeated. Both Ambhi and Paurus acknowledged the tutelage of Alexander, who stayed in India for a

(35) Cf. the origin of the Andhra dynasty; and pp. 205 f. n. no. 52.

(36) Details have already been given in the account of Bindusar.

(37) Several risings took place in the Punjab during these years; of them these four were the greatest. Their dates are:—

' d u r }	n g the rule of Bindusar.
(2) B. C. 330	
(3) B. C. 322	
(4) B. C. 317	

} uring the rule of Asoka.

(5) There was probably a rising during the beginning of Priyadarsin.

(38) Priyadarsin has got rock-inscriptions erected at Mansera and jšabb& zagrahi; I believe that he was murdered at one of these two places*

(39) There was monarchy everywhere else.

(40) Chap. VI, f. n. no. 48, 52.

while, and then departed from it, after making arrangement **for** the administration of the territory conquered by him. Let us quote a writer⁴¹ for these arrangements:—"When Alexander left the bounds of India towards the end of 325 B. C. he made the following arrangements for his Indian territories:—

(i) Sind was put in charge of Pithon, son of Agenor, upto the confluence of the Punjab rivers with the Indus.

(ii) The territories north of this confluence, consisting of the conquered tribes of Malavas, Ksudrakas etc. were put in the charge of Philip. The kingdom of Taxillii, north of the satrapy of Philip, was under Ambhi, who had helped Alexander so much during his Indian campaign, but Ambhi's rule appears to have been under the military suzerainty⁴² of Philip. Philip had a large army of occupation under him, consisting of Greek, Macedonian and Thracian soldiers. The Thracian soldiers were under an officer called Eudamos.

(iii) East of this was the kingdom of Paurus who had a large accession of territories to his original kingdom between the Jhelum and the Chenab. He had submitted to Alexander, and had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Greek emperor.

(iv) North-west of the territories ruled over by Ambhi and Philip was the satrapy of Paropanisidae under Oxyartes, Alexander's father-in-law.

In 324 B. C. Philip was murdered by some of his own troops. On receipt of the news, Alexander appointed Eudamos to succeed Philip until a more satisfactory arrangement could be made. He was to be responsible for the administration of Philip's extensive satrapy, conjointly with Ambhi, king of Taxila. Ambhi had all along been a faithful partisan of the Greeks, and was much trusted.

In June 323 B. C. Alexander died at Babylon, and no permanent incumbent in Philip's place could ever be appointed.

Soon after Alexander's death, his generals met in council in Babylon, and devised a scheme of partition of the empire. The

(41) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 279 and further.

(42) This shows that Alexander did not trust Indian chiefs, though Xmbhi was much trusted by the council, established after the death of Alexander.

Indian satrapies were, however, left as they had been arranged by Alexander. (V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. I; *Cambridge History* Pp. 428 L. 23-8). So in this partition there was no change in the personal of the governors of Indian provinces and arrangements continued as outlined above.

In 321 B. C. there was an amended partition at Tripara-deisos in Syria, under the leadership of Antipater. This partition shows some change.

(i) Pithon leaves Sindh, and is accommodated in some territory, west of the Indus and east of Paropanisadae.

(ii) Paurus is given a great accession of territory, his sphere of influence now extending all the way down the main stream to the sea. (C. H. I. Pp. 498).

(iii) No attempt was made to curtail the power of Ambhi and Paurus, as they were considered too powerful.

(iv) No mention is made of Eudamos but as he continued to stay in the country with his soldiers upto 317 B. C. and then had Paurus treacherously slain, seized his war-elephants and marched with all his forces out of India, we have no reason to assume that he did not continue to hold his acting satrapy and maintain his relationship with Ambhi upto the year of 317 B. C. when he found India too hot for him.

Thus we find that the Greek authority and the Greek arrangement of government continued in the Punjab and Taxila upto about 317 B. C. and we *do not hear a word about Chandra - gupta(of course they mean Sandrocottus) or anyb-ly else's aggrandisement upto that date. "

No doubt a lengthy statement, but at the same time lucid and comprehensive. Let us synthetise some of the facts:—

(1) Ambhi:—The Greeks found in him a trustworthy representative of their power⁴³, though he was a traitor to India.

(2) Paurus was just the opposite. He resisted the intrusion of the foreigners as much as he could, but later on thought it wise to,'submit to the tutelage of a power which he found almost

(43) Cf. f. n, no. 42 above.

invincible. Alexander appointed his own general to keep himself informed of so independent-minded a chief. After his death, however, Pauras was given wider powers by the council.

(3) Eudamos was a faithful general appointed to keep a look over the movements of Ambhi and Pauras. The council seems to have curtailed his powers, though we cannot say to what extent.

(4) Chandragupta is referred to neither by Alexander nor by the council⁴⁴.

Quarrels and occasions for ill-feeling were not infrequent between Eudamos and Pauras. A military-minded general, Eudamos tried to check all the rebellious activities of Pauras. When his powers were curtailed by the Council⁴⁵, his self-respect was wounded⁴⁶, and he tried to appease his anger by trying to exercise stricter control over Pauras, who, on the other hand, though he had submitted to the foreign power, was not without patriotic feelings towards his mother country, and who, moreover was a ksatriya⁴⁷ of the first water, always ill at ease with himself as long as he was under the foreign yoke. At last, Pauras could no longer suppress his patriotic fire and rose into an open rebellion against the Greek power. Eudamos quickly seized the opportunity and got him murdered¹⁸ and tried to suppress the mutiny in his territory⁴⁹ which extended from the Jhelam to the Chenab. Ambhi was of no use to him, devoid as he was of the fighting urge. Asoka on the other hand, took advantage of the

(44) This proves that the emperor of Magadh had not personally visited the Punjab during the eight years between 325 to 317 B. C. So the elephant-Incident took place after 322 B. C. (Cf. f. n. no. 25 above).

(45) i. e. He did not relinquish his power of his own accord.

(46) Cf. f. n. no. 45.

(47) Even Greek historians have praised the bravery of Pauras*

(48) J. R. A. S. 1932 pp. 233:—"The murder of Paurus by Eudamos. What led Eudamos to murder Paurus? It is impossible to be sure, but it seems probable that the Indian revolt broke out at this time and the loyalty of Paurus, whose stout opposition to Alexander had not been forgotten by the Greek authorities, headed by Eudamos, was suspected. This **probably** cost Paurus his life,"

opportunity, and began to march, with a large army towards the Punjab. Seeing that it would do him no good to offer resistance to so powerful an emperor, Eudamos sought safety in flight through the territory of Smbhi (B. C. 317). The rest of the Greek generals and soldiers were massacred by Asoka⁵⁰.

The above-stated narration of events provides an adequate answer to the questions raised by a writer on Pp. 281 of the April number of J. R. A. S. His questions are:—

" Then when did it (aggrandisement) take place \ When did Chandragupta in the words of Justin, 'prepare to attack Alexander's prefect?, fought with them vigorously in front of the army on the back of a wild elephant and put the prefects to death ? " Mr. Vincent Smith says:—⁵¹ " But the officer, (Eudamos) had no adequate force at his command to enforce his authority, which must have been purely nominal. " The reader will see that Mr. Smith's statement is quite true^{5y}.

Thus ended the Greek power in India in 317 B. C. Seleucus Necator, a favourite general of the great emperor, had established his authority over Syria. He began to invade India to complete the task begun by his master. Between B. C. 316⁰³ to 305, he marched into India 18 times over, but had to retreat every time driven away by Asoka. At last he was forced to come to terms with him⁵⁴, and married his daughter with Asoka, and sent Megasthenes as an escort to her as well as his representative at the Indian Court. (B. C. 304).

Thus four rebellions took place in the Punjab during the life—

(49) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 281:—"Eudamos continued practically to be the only Greek Satarap in India for eight years (324 to 317 B. C.), hemmed in between two powerful potentates, Ambhi and Paurus."

(50) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 87:—"The expulsion of the Greek forces and the slaughter of their chiefs". (Justin XV, 4).

(51) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp, 115; J. R. A. S. April, 1932, pp. 281.

(52) All these doubts owe their origin to the mistaken notion that Sandre* cottus was Asoka. For more instances, vide the account of Asoka.

(53) Cf. f. n. no. 32 above.

(54) Vide the account of Asoka.

time of Asoka; two, during the rule of his father, and two during his own rule. His elder brother Susima was murdered during the second rising. No member of the royal family was killed during the two risings that took place during his reign⁸⁵.

A Chronological list of foreign repercussions over India is given below:—

B. C.

- 330:—Death of Bindusar.
- 327:—Alexander's invasion; defeat of Xmbhi and Pauras; his meeting with Asoka in his camp; Anoka's flight and the licking of his body by the lion.
- 326:—Asoka's accession to the throne of Magadh.
- 325:—(end) Alexander's departure from India.
- 324:—Philip's murder; Philip was a prefect appointed by Alexander, over the Punjab. Eudamos' appointment to the same post.
- 323:—(June) Death of Alexander.
- 322:—Rebellion of the Greek generals in the Punjab, and their slaughter.
- 321—20:—Seleucus Necator established his authority over Syria; new arrangements for India made by the council formed after Alexander's death.
- 317:—Pauras' murder; a great rising in the Punjab. Asoka's suppression of it, Eudamos* flight out of India; end of the Greek power in India.
- 316:—Establishment of the power of Asoka in the Punjab.
- 316-305:—Seleucus Necator's unsuccessful invasions over India.
- 304:—Necator forced to make a treaty with Asoka; Asoka's marriage with his daughter during the 26th year of his reign.

(55) It will be seen that the theory, that his heir-apparent was murdered in this rising, is not true. This confusion is due to Sandrecottus being taken as Chandragupta. Asoka himself was only 35 at the time of this rebellion; hence he could not have had a son old enough to be entrusted with the task of suppressing a rebellion.

Part 4

PART 4

MAURYAN DYNASTY (contd.)

- I Chapter (3) Asokavardhan
- II Chapter (4) Priyadarsin
- III Chapter Priyadarsin (contd.)
- IV Chapter Priyadarsin (contd.)
- V Chapter Appendices:
 - A Dharm'isoka
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 - D Jalauk—Damodar
- VI Chapter Precipitate ownfall of the Mauryan empire
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Chapter I

Asokavardhan

Sipiopsisi—Details as to how Asoka ascended the throne though he was not the heir-apparent—His reign divided into **four** parts from different points of view, the duration of his life—His various names and misunderstandings about them; his life during the four years before his accession to the throne—His meeting with Alexander; birth of his two sons—His infatuation for the newly-wed queen and change in religion on that account—Exact time of his rule, a subject of great controversy.—His queens and children—His oppression of the heir-apparent on account of his infatuation for the queen—Relation between him and prince Dasarath—Cruelties perpetrated in Narkalay—Discussion as to whether Chandasoka and Dharm'asoka were his names—His religion and his devoutness for it—The extent of his territory—Two incidents of his later life—The last phase of his life—Social conditions during his time—Were Asoka and Priyadarsin names of the same individual?—His death; the **date and place of his death.**

Asoka succeeded Bindusar on the throne. It was a custom in those times to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of Avanti¹. Scholars have concluded that Aṣoka

Was Asoka the heir-apparent ? must have been the heir-apparent^{fl} because he was appointed as the governor of Avanti. The

converse was not, however, as we shall presently see, always true. Bindusar had sent his eldest son Susima, the heir-apparent to suppress the rebellion in the Punjab. Again, Asoka was selected for the governorship of Avanti, because he was the most intelligent and capable of all his brothers⁵⁵.

Jaina books state that his reign lasted for 24 years, while Buddhist books declare that it lasted for 41 years. This divergence can be explained as follows:—

His political career can be divided into three parts:—⁴.

(1) The first four years from B. C 330 to 326 or A. M. 196 to 200, when his coronation ceremony was not performed⁵.

(2) The next 24 years from B. C. 326 to 302 or A. M. 200 to 224, during which he ruled as an emperor of Magadh.

(3) The next 13 years from B. C. 302 to 289 or A. M. 224 to 237, during which he acted as regent to his grandson Priyadarsin, who was a minor. Thus 4+24+13=41.

The last nineteen years of his life* from B. C. 289 to 270 or A. M. 237 to 256⁷, he spent in retirement and spiritual concern-

(1) Pp. 186, f. n. no. 110.

(2) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 156:—"He was no doubt selected by his father, in accordance with the usual practice of appointing a crown-prince on account of his ability and fitness for the imperial succession."

(3) Pp. 205, f. n. no. 50 and 52.

(4) Read further the paragraph "Fixing of dates of his rule."

(5) Ibid.

(6) I. A. vol. 34, pp. 196, Mr. Burgess' view, while reviewing the 4th edi. of E. H. I.

(7) Rock-inscription of Sahasram (B.C. 271, July, probably). Read further Art. no. 7 in the same paragraph as referred to in f. n. no. 4 above. Again paragraph on "His Death" at the end of this chapter.

plation. He died at the age of 82. Counting backwards, his birth-date can be fixed up as B> C. 352 or A. M. 174-5.

(Mr. Rockhill, on the authority of Tibetan manuscript, has stated that (P. 233 of his book), Asoka's reign lasted for 54 years. This is due to identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, because it is proved that the grandson of Sandrecottus ruled for 54 years. When we have already proved that Sandrecottus was Asoka,' we can say that his grandson, Priyadarsin ruled for 54 years, which in fact, he did. This also clears up the question as to whom the name " Dharmasoka " can be applied. It can be applied to the grandson of Asoka (Sandrecottus), namely, Priyadarsin. (Appendix A, at the end of the book).

His original name was ASokachandra. (P. 240 f. n. 53) After his accession to the throne he changed it into Asokavardhan. Several confusions have arisen due to identifying **His various names** Sandrecottus with Chandragupta. One of them is that Asoka and Priyadarsin have been taken to be names of one and the same individual. As a consequence, all the rock-inscriptions, pillar-inscriptions and stupas, for which Priyadarsin was responsible, have been ascribed to Asoka⁸, as a result of which, again, all these relics have been taken to have connection with Buddhism because Asoka was a Buddhist, while they all are associated with Jainism, because, Priyadarsin himself was a Jain. Again it has become well-nigh impossible to give a connected account of foreign rule in India, subsequent to Alexanders invasion, because of starting with this false hypothesis⁹. Instances of such errors and blunders can be easily multiplied.

It is said that he was called " Kalasoka " because he was dark in complexion; really speaking "Kalasoka" was the name of

(8) I have proved that Asoka was the grandfather of Priyadarsin. The latter was a Jain and hence all pillar and rock inscriptions which go to his credit, are associated with Jainism. Proofs and pieces of evidence are given in support of this theory in the chapters on Asoka and on Priyadarsin. For full details the reader is referred to my separate account of "Priyadarsin", about to be published by me.

(9) For more instances vide pp. 220-21, f. n. nos, 52 and 55.

Nand II, Mahapadma¹⁰. He has been called "Chandasoka" by some¹¹, because he is said to have slain all his brothers before ascending the throne¹². We shall see later on that he had slain many generals, whom he found faithless¹³. During the last years of his life, remorse took hold of his heart because of the cruelties he had perpetrated; so he devoted his time mostly to practising penance and spiritual meditation. The name "Dharmasoka" is said to have been given to him on this account¹⁴.

During the last years of the rule of Bindusara, rebellions were ripe everywhere in the empire. Asoka, as we know, had been sent to the Punjab to bring the situation under control there. On account of the death of his father he had to speed up towards Patliputra. Hardly had he put his foot into it when news reached him that the fourth Andhra king, Mallika Satakarni, who had annexed the Kaling to his own territory,

(10) Appendix A at the end of this book, where it is shown that this conclusion is ill-founded.

(11) Is it not quite probable that "Chandasoka" might have been pronounced as "Sandrocottus" by the Greeks? For reasons see further.

(12) Read further; Rulers of India Series, Asoka, pp. 20;—"There was some bloodshed at the time of his accession to the throne. No proof, however, is available to support this statement."

(13) Pp. 233, para 5, f. n. no. 42. There is no historical proof for this. There is a legend to this effect. Generally a man does not shed blood of his kith and kin, though in matters political nothing is impossible. M. S. I. pp. 495;—"Hu-en-Tsang has fixed the situation of Narkagrha near Ujjaini. (R. W. W. Vol. II. pp. 271) (why in Ujjaini, when his capital was Pataliputra?) • "It is difficult to sort out truth from Mahavamsa, Divyavadan, and from the memories of Hu-en-Tsang. Many scholars view them with an eye of distrust." M. S. I. pp. 491 (on the authority of Divyavadan);—"Asoka killed his five hundred ministers in a fit of anger. Once he burnt 500 hundred queens**"

(14) Dharmasoka does not seem to have been one of his names. Sisunaga king who was called Kalasoka was given this name also. (R. W. W. Vol. II. pp. 90, f. n. no. 26; pp. 85, f. n. no. 11). I have later on proved that "Dharmasoka was one of the names of Priyadarshin. (Appendix A at the end of this book; also f. n. no* 56 below).

had declared himself independent of the paramountcy of Magadh¹⁵. Hence Asoka marched southwards with an army and subdued him. In the battle that was fought he lost one of his brothers³⁶. On his return to the capital messengers from the Punjab informed him that all was not quite on that front. Not only were the different chiefs quarrelling with one another, but the Greek emperor Alexander, having heard alluring descriptions of the fabulous riches of India, had already crossed the Indus and camped on the banks of the Jhelum.¹⁷ Ambhi had marched against him with a large army, but Alexander pounced upon him unawares at night.—his army having crossed the river by a ford,—with the result that Ambhi had to yield and accept his suzerainty. Alexander marched forward towards the Sutlaj, defeated Paurus, and forced him to acknowledge his power. Elated with his conquests Alexander began to progress further. Asoka confronted him with a formidable army. Alexander was about thirty, and Asoka was two or three years his junior¹⁸. The Greek emperor invited Asoka to meet him at his own camp. The invitation was cordially accepted by the fearless Asoka, who went into Alexander's camp without any escort and with an open sword in his hand, trusting that there would be no foul play. During their talks, Alexander proposed some insulting terms from the treaty. Overpowered with indignation, Asoka told him plainly that the only fit reply to such insolent terms was sword for sword. Alexander instantly ordered his men to catch hold of him and kill him with a sword¹⁹. Asoka, however, was too quick for them and took to heels as fast as his feet could carry him. After running over a pretty long distance

(15) Coins nos. 57, 59, 60 etc.

(16) Maski rock-inscription. Read chapter on Priyadarsin for details about such rock-inscriptions.

(17) Ind. His. Quart. V, 1929, pp. 7:—Between the fall of the Nandas and the accession of Chandragupta (Sandrecottus) the Jaina works are absolutely silent on Alexander's invasion.

(18) J. R. A. S. 1932, April, pp. 277;—"Sandrecottus was in the prime of his youth when he visited Alexander." Pp. 212, f. n. no. 2.

(19) For details read the previous chapter.

overcome with fatigue, he stretched himself under the cool shade of a tree in a forest, and fell instantly sound asleep. After a short time, a large lion approached him and began to lick the sweat that had oozed profusely from his body. When Asoka awoke, he saw the lion quietly retreating into a bush. Encouraged by this good omen, he thought himself to be destined for the highest position in life. At last he returned to Patliputra, where his coronation ceremony was performed.

These incidents took place during these four years⁸⁰.

Though it was a custom to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of Avanti, Asoka, as we have seen, was appointed to the post contrary to the custom. He was 14 years old at that time³¹ (B. C 338 or A. M. 189). At that time Avanti was divided into two parts; Purva Avanti and Paschim Avanti (Eastern Avanti and Western Avanti). The capital of the former was Vidisa (Bhilsa). It was also called Besnagar (Vaisya-nagar=a city full of Vaisyas). The capital of the latter was Ujjain. Of these two, Vidisa was a more flourishing town than Ujjain, because it was a holy place of the Jains²⁹, and was as such given more preference by Jaina kings. During his governorship here, Asoka married²³ with a

(20) Asoka by Bhandarkar, pp. 10:— "Asoka's coronation ceremony took place four years later, not because he was engaged in slaughtering his brothers, but because he had gone to the Punjab to suppress the rebellions there and to oppose Alexander." L H. Quar. V, 1929, pp. 9.

(21.) At this time, a boy was said to have come to age at the age of 14. Mahavir was married at this age. Srenik married at the age of 13 with a girl in Bennatnagar, and ascended the throne at the age of 15. Bindusar was married at the age of 14. The coronation ceremony of Priyadarsin was performed when he was 14. (Vol. I. pp. 29 & 30 and f. n. no. 64 & 66.) People had stout bodies at that time. Vide my "Life of Mahavir" for more details.

(22) See my "Life of Samprati," (shortly to be published); and "Life of Mahavir" also; vol. I. pp. 174 & seq.

(23) Asoka by R. K. Mukerji, pp. 8:—Asoka married his first wife when he was viceroy of Ujjain. She was the daughter of a merchant at Vedisnagar. She is described as having constructed the great viharat Vedisagiri, probably first of the monuments of Saftcti and Bhilsa.

beautiful Vaisya girl⁹⁴ who, next year, gave birth to a son-Kuṣṭhi (A. M. 190=B. C. 337)²⁶. After a short time he married one beautiful Buddhist girl, Tisarakṣita⁹⁸ by name. She gave birth to a son, named Mahendra²⁶ (A. M. 192=B. C. 335), and a daughter named Sanghamitra⁹⁷ (A. M. 194=B. C. 333). When he was crowned king, he sent for both the queens and the children; but Tisarakṣita came to Pataliputra with her two children, while the other could not,⁹⁹ though her son Kuṣṭhi went there with his brother Tissakuma⁹⁹.

We have already fixed the dates of the rule of Asoka according to our calculations. The theory that Chandragupta was the same as Sandrocottus has given rise to many erroneous conceptions in connection with subsequent Indian history. Hence we think it expedient to supply the following proofs of the correctness to our theory;—

(1) According to the Singhalese chronicles Asoka's⁸⁰ coronation

(24) Vaisya = Merchant.

(25) Later researches have told me that he married Tisarakṣita two years later. So the dates of the Mahendra and Sanghamitra will have to be changed.

(26) When he ascended the throne, this prince was six years old, and Mahendra was four years old while his sister was two years old.

(27) Her real name must have been different, because Sanghamitra means "sister of the order" (of Buddhism).

(28) G. V. S. Asokacharitra, pp. 13:—When Asoka went to Pataliputra with his children, he left his wife, mother of Kuṣṭhi, at Vidisa, either because she had just given birth to a child or because she had died of delivery. Thus she left the world leaving her two sons, Kuṣṭhi and the new-born child, motherless, (Vide the account of Dasarath and Salisuk further.)

(29) This is the name as found in Buddhist books. His real name was Salisuk, see the appendix Sudarsan B, chapter V. He was born in B. C. 327 and hence a few months old when his father Asoka was crowned in B. C. 326.

(30) The Buddhists of South India calculate the Buddhist Era beginning with year in which Buddha attained Nirvan,—the highest state of knowledge—; while those of North India calculate it with his Parinirvan, i. e. death. (Pp. 13, f. n. no. 64; pp. 8, f. n. no. 31).

ceremony took place 218 years after Buddha's Nirva³¹. As the Sinhalese follow the B. E. according to South Indian tradition, the coronation date of Asoka will be B. C. 543³⁸ - 218 = B. C. 325-6.

(2) SudarSan Vibhas which is a Chinese translation work,³³ states Asoka to have lived in A. B. 218³⁴. As the Chinese follow the B. E., followed by the Burmese and the Sinhalese the date of Asoka will be the same as in art 1. (B. C. 325-6).

(3) Dr. Fleet⁸⁵ also assigns the date A. B. 218 to Asoka's coronation.

(4) General Cunningham states in his Corp. Inscr. Indie, pref. IX, that Asoka's reign lasted for 41 years³⁶, from A. B 215 to A. B. 256, i. e. B. C 329 to B. C. 288. (544-215=329).

(5) The Nirvan³⁷ of the last³⁸ Buddha Sakya Muni, according to the Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon and Burma, took place

The most authoritative book for North Indian Buddhist is "Mahavarnsa/" while that of the Southerners is "Dipavamsa."

According to the Southern method of calculation, the Buddhist Era began in 543-4 B. C, and according to the Northern in 520 B. C.

I. A. 1914, Divan Bahadur L. D. Kanvaiswami Pilai has stated its date to be 478 B. C. His arguments for this deserve attention. For details vide chap. I of this volume. More details will be given later on.

(31) Dipavamsa VI, I; I. A., vol. 32, pp. 266; I. A. vol. 37, pp. 345, "Asoka" by Smith, pp. 209; J. R. A. S. 1932, pp. 285:—"The Ceylonese chronicles further state that Asoka succeeded his father Bindusara 214 years after Buddha's Nirvan and his anointment took place four years later i. e. 218 years after Buddha's Nirvan/"

(32) Cf. pp. 13, f. n. no. 64.

(33) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 349.

(34) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 250.

(35) Art. 2 above.

(36) 4 years as king, 24 years as emperor; and 13 years as regent; in all 41 years.

(37) A. E. by Cunningham, pp. 34-36.

(38) The fact that he was last, means that he had predecessors.

in B. C. 544^{s*}. The inauguration ceremony of Asoka is stated to **have** taken place 218 years after the Nirvan. His father's death **took** place during 214th⁴⁰ year after Nirvan, and his coronation ceremony, four years later,⁴¹ after he had subdued his brothers⁴⁹.

(Thus Bindusar, Asoka's father died in 544-214=330-29⁴³ B.C. Asoka ascended the throne four years later; i. e. in 326-5 B. C.)

(6) ASoka ascended the throne⁴⁴ between B. C. 329 and 325.

(7) 311 years elapsed between the accession⁴⁰ of king Srenik and the termination of Asoka's reign⁴⁶. This gives us⁴⁷ 580-311 =B. C. 269-70⁴⁸, as the date of the termination of Asoka's reign, (rather of his life, because his reign has ended in 289 B. C. as stated in article 4 above).

(8) Prof. Hultzch says⁴⁹:—"Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to Sandrecottus in B. C. 304; Sandrecottus had come **to** the throne in B. C. 330^{B⁰}"

It was Asoka who ascended the throne in B. C. 330, and not Chandragupta. (Art. 4, 5, 6 and f. n. no. 39).

(9) He is said to have married a Yavan princess⁵¹ in the 26th year of his reign.

(39) F. n. no. 30 above.

(40) F. n. no. 30 above.

(41) F. n. no. 30 above.

(42) For my opinion refer below to the paragraph " His family *".

(43) F. n. no. 39 above.

(44) I. A. vol. 32, pp. 232, Article by Mr. P. C. Muckerji, Assistant, Director-general, Archeological Department.

(45) Vol. I. Account of §renik.

(46) I. A. vol. 32, pp. 342; the right word must have been "death."

(47) I. A. vol. 32, pp. 232; (Vayupuran states this event to have taken place 312 years after Buddha's Nirvan, and Matsyapuram, 311 years after the Nirvan; General Cunningham, in his "Book of Indian Eras, pp. 35,*" has stated 311 years).

(48) F. n. no. 7 above.

(49) C. A, I. vol. I. pref. pp. 85.

(50) This proves that Sandrecottus was Asoka and not Chandragupta, because the latter's reign lasted,for only 24 years, while Sandrecottus married the Yavan princess during the 26th year of his reign whose name seems to be Asandhimitra.

(51) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 119, and 196-97; pp. 431 and 472.

From this, we come to the conclusion that Asoka came to the throne in B. C. 330. Twenty-six years later, i. e. in B. C. 304, he made a treaty with Seleucus Nicator, who gave his daughter* in marriage to him and agreed to transfer under his power his trans-Indus territory. Chandragupta's reign has lasted only for 24 years; how could he have married the Yavan princess during the 26th year of his reign? This proves that he was not the same as Sandrocottus.

In short:—(1) Asoka came to the throne in 330 B. C. (2) His coronation ceremony was performed 4 years later in 326 B.C. (3) His reign lasted for 41 years; it ended in 289 B. C. (4) He died in 270 B. C at the age of 82. (5) He was born in B. C. 352

He had three queens. (1) The chief queen who gave birth to Kunal⁵², was the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Vidisa,⁵³. She died when Asoka's coronation'

His family

ceremony was about to be performed. (2) The second queen was the beautiful Tisarakṣita.

Asoka was infatuated with her charm and made her chief queen after the death of his first queen.⁸⁴ She gave birth to Mahendrakumar. So fascinating was her beauty and so much was the king enslaved by it, that she prevailed over him to change his religion from Jainism to Buddhism. The queen, however, was not a woman of good character. Attracted by the eyes⁵⁶ of Kunal, she asked him to enter into incestuous relations with her. Kunal flatly and indignantly refused to comply with her sinful request, with the result that he lost his eyes. When Asoka

(52) Kunal's name was Dharmavivardhan. (R. K. M- Asoka, pp. 8). In chap. 27 of Divyavadan, it is stated that the son who was born of the new queen, Padmavati (f. n. no. 53 below) was named Dharmavardhan. The eyes of this prince resembled a Himalayan bird; hence Asoka gave him the name Kunal. (R. K. M. pp. 8, f. n. no. 1).

(53) Her name was Padmavati (R. W. W. vol. I. pp. 141, f. n. no. 56, f. n. no. 52 above).

(54) F. n. no. 28 above.

(55) F. n. no. 52 above. The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 124:—Through the queen's influence, by a royal order sealed with the king's signature, these beautiful eyes (Kunal's) which had excited the queen's love, were taken out.

Life of Asoka published from Palitana,

came to *know* the plot which had cost Kunal his eyes, and also the faithlessness of the queen, he was overpowered with rage and burnt her alive⁵⁶, (during the seventh year of his reign.⁶⁷ in B. C* 319=A. M. 206). (3) The third was queen Asandhimitra⁵⁸, the daughter of Seleucus Nicator. Her marriage with Asoka took place in 304 B. C. according to the treaty terms.⁵⁹ The king loved her so passionately⁶⁰ that when she died in 301 B. C.⁶¹ only three years after the marriage-Asoka spent the next three years⁶² in mourning, at the end of which he married the maid-servant of the queen, in B. C. 298=A. M. 229. Asoka must have had some more queens, because there was an interval of fifteen years between the death of Tisayaraksita { B. C. 319) and the marriage with Asangfoamitra (304 B. C.).

As regards his children⁶³, the following names have been

(56) F. n. no. 85 below, for the extract from Mahavamsa; Asoka by V. Smith, pp. 236; "Tisayaraksita was burnt alive by the order of Asoka"; Jaina books state that she was killed in some other way, Berenhoff 8. I. pp. 409 to 413; f. n. no. 13 above; read further in this book.

(57) Read further.

(58) Many writers have confused this queen with Tisayaraksita and have also ascribed 'certain events to her which took place during the life-time of the latter. The cause of this confusion may have been that the name of the daughter of Tisayaraksita was Sanghamilra. (F. n. no. 63 below).

(b) F. n. no. 50 above.

(59) Read further.

(60) Was it his intention to be in mourning for as many years as the queen was alive ?

(61) The Bodhibij was established in B. C. 313, 12 years after the establishment of the Bodhiivrkṣa. (E. H. I. pp. 220). F. n. no. 92.

(62) Her marriage took place in 304 B. C. and she died in 301 B. C.

(63) Bindusar

Susima

Susima was killed in about 328-29 B. C. at the place where stands to-day the rock-inscription of gahbazgrahl (Suyasa was the name of Asoka's son and Su?ima was the name of Anoka's brother),

Asoka

B. C. 330 to 289= 41 years. (He died at the place where stands to-day the rock-inscription of Sahasram.

Tisya alias Madhavasimha; Birth : B. C. 350; Death; B.C. 318 near the rock-inscription of Mansera.

chronicled:— (1) Kunal. He was born of the first queen, in B. C. 336.⁶⁴ We know how Tisyarakṣita, the second queen, was bewitched by his handsome eyes and had 'asked him to enter into immoral connections with her; how Kunal indignantly refused to do anything of the kind. Then he was appointed as governor of Ujjain where he went with king's younger brother Tisya. The queen, however, plotted meanly and sent a letter bearing the seal-mark of the king, ordering him to take off his eyes.

Asoka
i

Queen Padmavati (daughter of the merchant of Bes- nagar).		Queen Tisyarakṣita death in B. C. 319	Queen Asandhi- mitra, daughter of, Seleucus Ne- cator; marriage: B.C. 304; death: B.C. 301.	Queen Asandhi- mitra's maid servant, B.C. 298.
1		1		
Kunal or Suyasa born 336 B.C.	Name not found Dasarath	Third son died near the rock- i n- scrip- tion of Maksi.		
Samprati alias Priyadarsin; or Dharmasoka or Indrapalit	galisiik or Bandhupalit or (probably) Tissa	Mahendrakumar Birth: B.C.;332 Death: B. C. 254=78 yrs. (Both entered the in 314 B.C.)	Sanghamitra Birth: B. C. 330 Death: B.C.253=77 yrs.	
Rsabhasen Subhagsen	Jalouk '	Tivar (married with Devapal)	Charumati Keralaputra Satyaputra Kusthan; governor of Tibet.	

Damodar

(64) The Bhilsa Topes, p. 95:—He (Asoka) gained the affection of Devi, the lovely daughter of Shreshthi, or the chiefman of the place. A year afterwards she bore him a son named Mahendra. (It ought to be Kunal),

Kunal, dutiful as he was, obeyed the order which, he believed, was sent by his father. He was the father of Priyadarsin, who succeeded Asoka on the throne. (2) Prince Mahendra and princess Sanghamitra⁶⁵. Both were born of Tisarakṣita, in B. C. 332 and 330, respectively, in Vidisa. When Asoka ascended the throne, she brought them to Pataliputra. Princess Sanghamitra might have perhaps been born in Pataliputra; when their mother died, they were 13 and 11 respectively. Both were Buddhists like their mother. Sanghamitra was married by Asoka with a certain Agniskarma⁶⁶ in B.C. 316. When, however, this Agniskarma renounced the world and became a Buddhist monk in B. C. 314, Sanghamitra (may be two years later in 312⁶⁷) and her brother Mahendra also entered the Buddhist holy orders as nun and monk. Mahendra remained unmarried throughout his life* When Asoka established the Bodhi tree in Ceylon⁶⁸ in B. C 313, he had sent there a group of missionaries under the leadership of these two-brother and sister⁶⁹, Mahendra Bhikṣu (Monk) died in Ceylon at the age of 78, having completed 58 years of holy life, in B. C. 254 and Sanghamitra died at the age of 77, having spent 59 years in devout meditation⁷⁰ in B. C. 253. When Sanghamitra died, it was nine years⁷¹ since the death of king

(65) Asoka, Smith, pp. 48:—"I disbelieve wholly in the tale of Sanghamitra, the supposed daughter of Asoka. Her name which means "Sister of the order" is extremely suspicious."

(66) C. H. I. pp. 500:-Agniskarma, husband of Sanghamitra. (She was 14 at the time of her marriage. Cf. f. n. no. 21.)

(67) Mahavamsa V. 204-5. C. H. I. 500, f. n. no. 4:—Mahendra is said to have been 20 years of age and Sanghamitra 18 at the time of their ordination.

(68) Asoka, Smith, pp. 220:—12 years after Bo-tree was sent to Ceylon Asandhimitra, the beloved queen died.

(69) Prinsep. Use. Tab. vol. II. 298:—(B. C. 307). The mission to establish Buddhism in Ceylon.

(70) Asoka by Smith, pp. 214:—"Sanghamitra died in the 59th year after her ordination, that being the ninth of the reign of king Uttiya (perhaps the successor of king Tif ya). Her brother Mahendra had passed in the previous year*."

(71) Below is given the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon prepared by me with the help of I. A. 1914, pp. 169 and C. H. I. ; —

Tiss& of Ceylon had taken place⁷⁹ and the accession of king tJttiya to the throne.⁷³. (4) The fourth child was prince

	A.M.	to	A.M.	years	B.C.	to	B.C.
(1) Vijay	6	to	44	38	520 ¹	to	482 ⁹
(2) Period of misrule	44	to	45	1	482	to	481
(3) Panduvas	45	to	75	30	481	to	451 ^s
(4) Abhay	75	to	95	20	451	to	431
(5) Pankudak (robber)	95	to	159	64	431	to	368*
(6) Mutasiv	159	to	213	59	368	to	309 .
(7) Period of misrule	218	to	223	6	309	to	303
(8) Tissa*	223	to	263	40	303	to	263 ⁶
(9) Uttiya	263	to	273	10	263	to	253

I. A. 1914, pp. 169, f. n. no. 83; C. H. 'I. Mahavamsa VII, 51:—

(1) During the eighth -year of the rule of Ajatasatru; B. C. 529-8=»B.C 520.

(2) During the 14th year of the rule of Udayan, 496-14=B. C. 482.

(3) During .the 21st year of the rule of Nagadasak, 472-21=B. C. 451.

(4) He died during the 14th year of the rule of Chandragupta, after having reigned for nearly 70 years; '382-14 =B. C. 368.

(5) Seventeen years after the coronation ceremony of Asoka; B. C. 326-17=309 B. C He died after having ruled for 60 years.

(6) He died during the 26th year of the rule of Asoka (The right word is Priyadarsin; B. C. 289-26=B. C 263.

(7) There were two individuals \ bearing the name Tissa. One was the brother of Asoka. He died during the 8th year of the rule of Asoka, i. e. in "318 B. (c. f. no. 63 above). The other was the king of Ceylon. Both were thus Contemporaries of Asoka. I believe that the name of Asoka* s brother was " Tisya " and not "Tissa". Scholars seem to have confused these two uames cm account of similarity, (cf. f. n. no. 80 below). The king of Ceylon died in B. C. 263.

(72) F. N. no. 71 above.

(73) Asoka by Dr. Bhandarkar, p. 7:—" Grandson of Asoka "; J. B. B. R. A. S, Vol 20, p. 367:— Asoka appointed Dasarath as the governor of Magadh in th same year in which he abdicated his throne in favour of Priyadarsin. To Nagarjuna cave-inscriptions it is stated that during the 26th year of his "reign", Dasarath gave a big donation. Misled by the word "reign" scholars have held the opinion that "Dasarath" was but another name of Priyadarsin. We know that they were consins. The word ^M reign" however, leads us to

Dasarath.⁷⁴ It is riot known of which queen she was born. He may perhaps have been the son of some younger brother of Kunala, and must have been intended by Asoka to succeed him on the trone, as Kunal was blind and as Mahendra had become a monk. When, however, Kunal's son Samprati⁷⁶ was designated as heir-apparent, Dasarath was appointed as the governor of Magadh⁷⁷ by Asoka during his regency (A. M. 223=B. C. 304). When Samprati ascended the throne, he continued the appoinment. When Dasarath died, he appointed his own younger brother Salisuka on the post⁷⁸. Dasarath had given in charity certain mountain-caverns⁷⁹ to the Sramanas (monks) of the Sjivika sect. (Vide next chapter).

the conclusion that Asoka made him an independent ruler of the province of Magadh. i. e. he was not under the suzerainty of Priyadarsin. (f. n. no. 72 and appendix at the end of the book). Also see f. n. 71 above.

(74) It is certain that Asoka must have designated him as his successor. The Nagarjuna cave-inscription supports this contention. When however Priyadarsin succeeded Asoka on the throne, he was appointed by Asoka as the governor of Magadh, with Patliputra as his capital. The Sungas are said to have exterminated the Maurya dynasty, having led an invasion ovar Patliputra. This leads us to the conclusion that a separate branch of the Maurya dynasty started with Dasarath.

What relation had Dasarath with Asoka ? (f. n. no. 73 below). He had stated himself as the grandson of Asoka in the Nagarjuna cave-inscriptions. He may have been the son of Kunal and the younger brother of Priyadarsin. That he stated himself as the " grandson of Asoka, " instead of as the brother of Priyadarsin " during the latter's reign, shows that he was appointed as the, governor of Magadh by Asoka himself, (Appendix at the end of the book, f. u. no. 73 below). Also see f. n. no. 71 above.

(75) Appendix about im at the end of the book.

(76) In Jaina books Priyadarsin is known as Samprati.

(77) The capital of the empire was Vidisa in Avanti; Pataliputra was fixed up as the capital of the province of Magadh. The gunga king invaded Pataliputra, destroyed it, and exterminated (?) this branch of the Mauryau dynatty.

(78) See the chronological list on pp. 237 above.

(79)They are called "Nagirjuni caves".

We have already examined and refused the absurd theory of Bindusara having had 100 sons. It is, however, quite possible that Asoka must have had a pretty large number of sons. We know that the eldest son was blinded by the cunning of Tisyarakshita. The other son Tissa⁸⁰, was born in A. M. 176aB. C. 351. He was much trusted by Asoka, who sent him as a body-guard to Kunal when the latter was appointed as the governor of Ujjain. He was sent to suppress a riot in the Punjab in B. C. 319=A. M. 208, where he died. It is probable that Dasaratha must have been his son.

On account of his miserable family-life, Asoka, brave and valorous as he was, was always full of worries and anxieties. His mind knew no peace. As a consequence his temperament, which was haughty from the first, became almost ungovernable. He is said to have once killed his five hundred queens and five hundred ministers⁸¹. It is for this reason that he is said to have been nick-named as "Chandasoka"⁸², though general Cunningham holds the opinion that the name owes its origin to his slaughter of the Greek generals of Alexander⁸³.

(80) The Jaina books state that the name of the brother who was sent to Ujjain as the body-guard of Kunal, was Madhavsimha. This had led me to the conclusion that Madhavsimha was another name of Tissa. (Cf. f. n. no. 28 above). (Cf. the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon, given above).

Ind. Ant. 1914, pp. 179:-(Mahavamsa V, 102,)-"It is said that Tissa died in the 26th year of Asoka's reign. (It ought to be Priyadarshin); but in M. VII, 32, the year given is 8th (after coronation or conversion ?) (Note-The first Tissa was the king of Ceylon, and the second was the brother of Asoka. The references given here are confused because the author has mistaken one Tissa for the other).

*(81) f. n. no. 56 and 13; M. S. L. pp. 491; Divyavadan contains the account of how Asoka put his five hundred ministers to sword and how he burnt alive his five hundred queens, in a paroxysm of rage. (The number may have been exaggerated, but the thing shows his innate cruelty of nature), p. 237.

(82) p. 227 above, and f. n. no. 83 below.

(83) f. n. no. 50, Chap. VII; The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 87:-The expulsion of the Greek troops and the slaughter of their chiefs (Justin XV 4)-.

It is also believed by scholars that he had got a dungeon built in Patliputra, in order to inflict severe punishment on criminals. The information supplied by Hu-en-Tsang/ however, leads us to think that the dungeon was built in Ujjain and not in Patliputra^{8*}. Does this mean that he had begun his atrocities while he was the governor of Ujjain? Or, did he use to send all criminals to Ujjain? Or, were there two capitals during his reign?

One thing is certain; and that is, that greater importance was attached to Ujjain than to Vidisa, which was the favourite city of Chandragupta.

The legend goes that at the main gate of the dungeon was placed an executioner by Asoka, with orders that whoever passed by the road was to be quickly put to death. Once it so happened that a Buddhist monk happened to pass by the road. Possibly the chief Buddhist monk had devised this plan to put a stop to the atrocities of Asoka. No sooner was the monk thrown into the pan of boiling oil, to end his life than the oil cooled down, and the monk came out uninjured. The wonder of the executioner knew no bounds and he ran to Asoka to acquaint him with the miracle. Asoka himself went there with him, and was dumbfounded at the sight he saw. Lost in deep thought, he was about to return to his palace, when the executioner politely told him that even he (Asoka) had to be thrown into the pan of boiling oil, because his orders were to kill any one, who passed by the road. Asoka saw the absurdity and the unreasonable cruelty of his order and withdrew it on the spot.

His father and his grand-father were followers of Jainism. He himself was a Jain before his marriage with Tisarakṣita, after which he became a follower of Buddhism, the faith that the queen followed. This conversion took place three or four months before his coronation ceremony⁸⁵ (not three or four years after

(84) *Rec West. World*, pt. II, pp. 270:- "Not far from the city of (Ujjain) is a stupa where Asokaraja got the dungeon erected."

(85) (a) Extracts from Mahāvamsa given in f. n. no. 86 below.

(b) Jain books do not contain any reference to Asoka. The reason

that)⁸⁶. It seems, that though he included himself among the ranks of the Buddhists, yet he was not very devout at the beginning⁸⁷. When he found Tisyaraksita to be devoid of chastity,

Is his change of faith before his coming to the throne. For the faith that he followed before that, read no. (e) below and f. n. no. 86.

(c) Asoka, Mysore, revised 2nd edi. vol. I. pp. 290 and the following:—"He was a Jain at first." Jainism on the Early Faith of Asoka, by Thomas **and** Aine Akabari by Abul Fazal, prove convincingly that "Asoka introduced Jainism into Kasmir, which is confirmed by Rajatarangirji or Brahminical history of Kasmir, recording that Asoka brought in the Jaina Sasan."

(This Asoka is stated to be of the "Gonanda" dynasty, i. e. Nanda dynasty. Thus the epithet Dharmasoka rightly belongs to Nand II or Mahanand. If the word is only Asoka, the king might have been Nand IX. The fact, however, that this king appointed his son Jalauk as the governor of this province, leads us to the conclusion that he must have been Nand I. (Read no. (d) below).

(d) M. S. I. pp. 53:—It is stated there on the authority of "Age of jSankar*", pp. 60, by Naraya" fiastri:—"Asoka (Dharmasoka) is mentioned in the Rajatarangini by Kalhan. He belonged to the Gonanda dynasty (f. n. no. (c) above)." The fact, however, that his son Jalauk was appointed governor of the province, goes to indicate that he must have been Priyadarsin, who had appointed his sons as the governors of different provinces. (See the appendix D at the end of the book).

(e) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 342*.—"He was converted to Buddhism in the 4th year after his accession. His coronation ceremony was performed soon after. (Cf. 86 below)."

(86) Scholars are inclined towards this brief because they have worked under the erroneous conception that Priyadarsin was but another name of Asoka. The Mahavanisa V. 169, states:—"On account of his cruelties he was known as Chandasoka; later on he was given the epithet, "Dharmasoka on account of his religious deeds.*" Sir Cunningham in his Bhilsa Topes, has the following comments to offer on this:—"Mahavanisa places this change of name and character, in the 7th year of Asoka's reign and his conversion already in the 4th year; these dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous." The error is due to confusing Priyadarsin with Asoka. (For details read the last pages of this chapter).

(87) He must have been a Jain before his conversion, because both his father and his grandfather were Jains, (f. n. no. 85—(c) and (d) for the time of the conversion.)

We might well ask here whether the Jaina monks tried to dissuade him from this change or not, because they must have thought it worth their while

his faith in Buddhism declined all the more; while **on the death** of his brother Tissa,*he lost all interest in worldly affairs. It **was** at this time that he got the dungeon (**Narkalay**)

The faith that he followed built,"to punish the criminals; and perhaps, it

was at this time that he slaughtered the Greek generals⁸⁸ (P. 221). Due to his loss of faith in Buddhism, he got his daughter, Sanghamitra married with an ordinary man named Agnisarma, instead of giving her in marriage to a prince (B. C 316-15). Then took place the strange incident⁸⁹, which resuscitated his faith in Buddhism (B. C 314), and **which** made him close the Narkalay. In the meanwhile Sanghamitra's husband renounced the world and was ordained as a Buddhist monk⁹⁰. Both Mahendra and Sanghamitra declared their intention to follow his footsteps, and were given consent by Asoka, who convened the third Buddhist Conference at Patliputra⁹¹ (B. C.

to try to keep such a mighty emperor within their fold. At the time of the conversion (B. C. 327=A. M. 200), the chief Jaina monk was Sthulibhadra. Had he tried to dissuade him or not? It is certain that he must have tried. The conversion of Asoka, however took place in Avanti, while Sthulibhadra was in Pataliputra. Hence he could, of course, not wield his personal influence over him. Again, the marriage with TiSyaraksiia was responsible for this change. His first queen was simply shocked at this change of faith—She was a Jain herself—and refused to accompany Asoka to Pataliputra, though, of course, her illness during her period of confinement was the primary cause of her being unable to join him. [Instances of such conversions due to marriages can be multiplied. The Chaula king, who was a Jain, had changed his faith to Saivism under similar circumstances, (11th century A. D.).] When, as we know, the misconduct of TiSyaraksiita became known to him, he regretted his change and it is possible that one of the reasons of Mahendra and Sanghamitra's decision to enter Buddhist holy orders was their disgust at the disgraceful conduct of their mother.

(88) He subdued the Punjab after having slaughtered the generals of Alexander.

(89) Read details about Narkalay given above.

(90) Pp. 237.

(91) Smith, Asoka, pp. 221:—"Seventeen years and a half after the coronation (it ought to be accession) of Asoka.

Mahavamsa V, 230:—"During the 17th year of Asoka's reign. It lasted for 9 months."

313=A. M. 214). It was at this time that he was given the name **Dharmasoka**". Then followed a series of activities by him which associated his name with **Buddhism** for ever. They were:—

(1) He got pillars⁹³ erected at places where took place important events of **Buddha's** life.

(2) He established the **Bo-tree**⁹⁴ in Ceylon which abounded in **Buddhist** monks. (B. C. 312-13).

(3) He sent a large number of missionaries in order to expiate his sins, with **Mahendra** and **Sanghamitra** as leaders. The missionaries travelled by sea, starting from at the point where the **Mahanadi** empties itself into the ocean. (Read further for the reason).

(92) F. N. no. 86 above. Kunal was blind and had no issue upto this time; and Mahendra had entered the Buddhist holy orders. Hence he designated his grandson Dasarath as his successor. Dasarath's father's name is unknown, (f. n» no. 73 & 4; appendix at the end of the book). Henceforth he turned a new leaf in his life : (f. n. no. 85 above).

(93) Asoka, Smith, 'pp. 208:—"Asoka ordered 84000 edifices to be createdY* In R. W. W. the number stated is 48. Hence the number stated above is purely a matter of exaggeration.

The Bhilsa Topes by General Cunningham:—"The viharas built by Asoka are said to have been 84000 in 84000 cities (both Brahmins and Buddhist), but I reject the thousands and read simply 84 cities and 84 viharas". (But details are not wanting to prove that several cities contained more than one of such institutions; R. W. W. 2 vols. This means that there is some error about the exact number. Vol. I. pp. 273. f. n. no. 94).

Mr. Glazanap in his "Jainism" has stated that he holds the same view. He also refers to the popularity of no. 84 among Hindus.

(94) Asoka, Smith, pp. 220:—"Twelve years after the Bo-tree was sent to Ceylon, Asandhimitra, the beloved queen of Asoka, died; four years **after** that, the king raised princess Tisyaraksita to the dignity of Queen-consort; four years after, the destruction of the Bo-tree; and four years after, the **end** of Asoka's reign." Asandhimitra, as we know, was the daughter of **Seleucus** Necator, "Tisyaraksita" seems to be an error; the author means the maid-servant of Asandhimitra.

We can fix up the dates as follows:—

	B.C.	A.M.	Interval
End of Asoka's reign :	289	. 238	0
Destruction of the Bo-tree:	293	234	4

During the rule of Bindusar, governors of many provinces and many subordinate kings had cut off their allegiance to Magadh and had declared themselves independent. Hence, when Asoka came to the throne, he found the empire in a tottered condition. His ambition was to subdue all the rebellious chiefs and enlarge the boundaries of his empire as far as possible. Shortly after Alexander's departure from India, his coronation ceremony was performed.⁹⁶ We know how he subdued the whole of the Punjab, by taking advantage of the internal dissensions between Ambhi and Pauras and how he slaughtered the Greek chiefs⁹⁶. But

	B. C.	A. M.	Interval
Marriage with the maid-servant of Asandhimitra; (the marriage ceremony might have taken place nearly a year earlier, but she might have been raised to the position of the Queen-consort. (Pp. 235).	297	230	4
Death of Asandhimitra	301	226	4
Establishing of the Bo-tree in Ceylon or sending a mission to Ceylon.	311	214	12

Asoka married the maid-servant 3 years after the death of Asandhimitra (pp. 235), i. e. B. C. 298, she might have been raised to the position of the Queen-consort a year later in B. C. 297.

The third Buddhist Conference was convened in B. C. 313. The Bo-tree was sent soon after that.

(95) Ind. His. Qnart- V. 1929, pp. 9:—Assuming therefore that, as soon as Alexander turned his back upon India (Sept. B.C. 326), there was general revolt against him; Sandrecoctus' accession to the throne of Patiiputra would appear to have taken place simultaneously or a little later. (Cf. details given by me in chap. VII),

M. S. I. 118:—(On the authority of E. G. Habel):—A year after the departure of Alexander from India, revolts took place against him. Tak?ila was the centre of these revolutionary activities.

(96) See f. n. no. 83 and 42; cf. details given in chap. I.

Asoka was not destined to enjoy peace there. Seleucus Necator⁰⁷, the successor of the Greek emperor, led several invasions over India, and Asoka had to confront him every time, though in the end, the Greek general was forced to enter into a treaty with ASoka⁹⁸ in B. C. 304". By this Paropanisadai, Aria and Arachosia, capitals of which, were respectively the cities known as Kabul, Herat and Kandahar, were ceded to him together with the satrapy of Gedrosia or at least its eastern portion. Over and above this, Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to him¹⁰⁰ with 500 elephants as one of the items of the dowry. Megasthenes was sent to accompany her to the Indian court. This conquest consolidated the power of Asoka, to a great extent. Mr. Vincent Smith in E. H. I, 4th. Ed. states:-¹⁰¹ "The first Indian Emperor, more than two thousand years ago thus entered into possession of that " scientific border " sighed in vain by his English successors and never held in its entirety even by the Mogul monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This means that Asoka had totally subdued Seleucus, because otherwise he would not have given over such important territories¹⁰⁹.

(97) Rulers of India Series, Asoka, pp. 14:—"Seleucus, surnamed Necator the conqueror, by reason of his victories". This shows that Asoka had to wage wars against a powerful adversary.

(98) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 92:—Where a successful advance cannot be made* an honourable retreat becomes a decided advantage. The friendly relations were cemented at the time by a matrimonial alliance.

(99) M. S. I. pp. 449:—"Kasmir was not included among the provinces ceded to Asoka." E. H. I. 3rd pp. 119:—"Treaty concluded in B. C. 303."

Rulers of India Series, Asoka pp. 15:—Terms of peace including a matrimonial alliance between the two royal houses were arranged, and the Indian monarch obtained from his opponent, the cession of four satrapies, Afia (Herat), Archosia, Gedrosia and Paropanisadai, giving in exchange the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants*

(100) This shows clearly that the terms of the treaty were favourable to Asoka and humiliating to Seleucus*

(101) M. S. I. pp. 143, f. n. no. 1.

(102) The terms of the treaty clearly indicate that Seleucus was forced to come to terms with Asoka, when he found in him an invincible opponent.

Megasthenes had made attempts to establish foreign power in India, by adding a large number of his own country-men to the Indian army¹⁰³. He had also succeeded in appointing his compatriots to important positions like governorships¹⁰⁴. The last thirteen years of Asoka's political career were spent by him as the regent. The first four years he spent in subduing rebellious chiefs in the Punjab. For next twenty years he had to fight pitched battles against foreign invaders¹⁰⁵. The remaining four years were utilized by him in organizing his army and taking rest¹⁰⁶. Thus he had no opportunity¹⁰⁷ to establish his power anywhere else except in northern India¹⁰⁸. In southern India the kings of Satvahana dynasty had consolidated their power¹⁰⁹.

Kunal being the eldest and the most intelligent of all his sons, Asoka had designated him as heir-apparent. He was appointed as the governor of Avanti and Asoka's abdication in favour of Priyadarsin Asoka had sent prince Tisya as his bodyguard. Asoka intended to keep him away from Patliputra, in order that he might not fall a victim to the wiles of Tisyaraksita.¹¹⁰ The queen, however, who wanted to secure the throne for her own son Mahendra, and who wanted to wreak vengeance upon him, proved too clever for him.

(103) Asia Res. IX, pp. 100:—"From that time he had constantly a large body of Grecian troops in his service as mentioned in the Mudraraksas." This may have been due to the influence of Asanghamrtra and Megasthenes.

(104) Sudarsan lake inscription; the governor, appointed by Asoka, was named Tususpa, who got the lake repaired.

(105) Historians have stated 18 years; but as the treaty was concluded in 304 B. C. 22 is the right number.

(106) Fp. 215, f. n. no. 33.

(107) J. e. He had subdued the whole of northern India excluding Kashmir.

(108) M. S. I. pp. 54*—"Asoka, who was a follower of Buddhism, was not the emperor of the whole of India." (A point which supports the theory that Asoka and Priyadarsin were different individuals.)"

(109) The coins of the 4th and the 5th Andhra kings show this clearly. Coins nos. 57, 59, 60 etc

(110) For details about this, read the description on Pp. 234 & seq.

Once Asoka drafted a letter in which he gave instructions to Kunāl that he should continue his studies further. The Sanskrit equivalent for studies is "Adhyayana". After finishing the letter, Asoka went out of the room for some reason. In the meanwhile Tisarakṣita chanced to come there. She read the letter and quickly saw her way to appease her anger against Kunāl. She put an anusvar on the first letter of the word "Adhyayana" by means of the collyrium from her eyes. Thus the word was changed to "Andhyayana" which means "to become blind."¹¹¹ She thought that if Kunāl became blind, he would lose all claim to the throne, thus making way easy for her son. She had already receded into her apartment when Asoka returned. Not knowing the tremendous change made into the contents of the letter, he put his seal upon it, and sent a messenger to Avanti for the despatch of the letter. However, when the letter reached Avanti all were simply thunder-struck at the contents; Tisya quickly understood that the letter was the result of the evil insinuations of the queen. But the dutiful Kunāl, sent for two red-hot iron bars and thrust them into his own eyes¹¹², thus blinding himself for ever. When the messenger returned to Pataliputra with this tidings, Asoka's grief knew no bounds, and he regretted his carelessness.

Later on Kunāl was married. He began to study music in order to be able to pass his time. A son was born to his wife after a short time. By that time he had mastered the art of singing and playing upon instruments. Advised by the child's nurse—he started towards Pataliputra, in order to please Asoka with his music and to secure from him a promise of appointing his son as the successor to the throne. After reaching Pataliputra, he first established his reputation in the city by his skill. The king heard about him and sent for him. In those times it was a custom

(111) The original sentence was "Idam Adhiyatam Kumaram", which means, "the prince should continue his studies further." By adding an anusvar it became, *Idam Andhiyatam Kumaram", which means* "the prince should be made blind.*"

(112) Cf. f. n. no. 55; account of Samprati in Parīśiṣṭaparva.

that a blind man could not approach a king face to face. So Kunal was made to sit behind a curtain. He began singing and playing, and so pleased was Asoka by his mastery both over his own voice and over the instruments, that he told him to choose a boon. The musician said that he wanted "Kakini" for his son. This word has two meanings:—"a piece of glass;" and "the throne." At first Asoka had taken the first meaning, but then he was told by his ministers that what the musician wanted was the throne. The king was astonished at this and asked the musician to state his reason for such queer request, in reply to which Kunal sang a suggestive song¹⁰³ which meant:—"Oh king, I am a direct descendant of Chandragupta, and so I request you to appoint my son as the heir to the throne." Asoka instantly recognized him as his own son Kunal, removed the curtain himself, and embraced him with much tenderness. He asked him when the son was born to him. Kunal told him that the child was born presently (Samprati¹¹⁴), (before 6 months). Asoka was overjoyed at the news and ordered his prime-minister to go to Avanti and bring the infant to Patliputra, with all the pomp and show befitting a royal prince and heir to the throne. (Samprati was born in 304 B. C.) After the prince was brought to Patliputra, Asoka abdicated the throne in his favour, and the ten-months-old infant was anointed and proclaimed as the emperor.¹¹⁵ Asoka named the prince "Priyadarsin"¹¹⁶. His mind now was at

(113) Nagari Pracharini Sabha Patrika, vol. X, no. 4, pp. 634:—

"Payutto Cbandraguttasa Bindusarassa Nattuo
Asogasirinoputto Andhojayai Kaginim".

(114) Asoka by R. K. M. pp. 8:—"The Divyavadan mentions Samprati as Kunal's son. F. n. no. 116 below.

(115) K. S. S. Com. pp. 127, "Samprati became a king, the moment he was born."

(116) The word "Priyadarsin" means "one who sees good things"; while "Priyadarsan" means "one whose sight is pleasant to look at", or "one to whom scriptures are dear." I think the name as given by Asoka must have been the latter, though in inscriptions the name commonly found is Priyadarsin.

ease, because henceforth he felt that he had at least in part atoned for his sins and his blunder, which was responsible for the blindness of Kurial. For next fourteen years he acted as the boy's regent and managed the affairs of the empire. Thus Priyadarsin is a proper noun¹¹⁷ and not merely an epithet; and it has not been proved that it was but another name of Asoka. Thus we see that Kauai's visit¹¹⁸ to Patliputra resulted into securing the throne for his son. When Kurial became blind and Mahendra entered the Buddhist holy orders, Asoka had designated his another grandson " Dasarath " as his successor to the throne¹¹⁹; he was subsequently given the governorship of Magadh, as we already know.

He led a sort of retired life during his last years. According to the Buddhist books, he had begun charities, and these he gave so generously that he had nothing left to give. (This means that he must have given away everything that belonged to him personally; as far as the empire and the treasury were concerned, he could not give anything from them, because now he was only a regent over them, though he seems to have given territories from the empire in charity¹⁹⁰). When Samprati was anointed as king, the

Jaina books have always referred to him as Samprati, and never as Priyadarsin as far as I know, though one or two Jaina Svetambara monks like Vidyavijayji and Hemans'uvijayji state that they do. They have, however, not been able to locate it. As we already know Jaina writers had the habit of giving representative names to important personalities. (Vol. I. pp. 81 & seq.). The same took place in the case of Priyadarsin and hence he is not referred to anywhere by his real name, but by "Samprati."

(117) Ind. Ant. vol. 31, pp. 233; f. n. by Mr. Mukerji.

(118) Vide his account (based on the authority of Parisfstaparva).

(119) Pp. 238 above (4), details about Dasarath.

(120) Chap. II, further in this vol. The Sudarsan lake inscription tells us that Priyadarsin had conquered all the countries by his own valour. This means that Asoka must have given large territories in charity, keeping a small kingdom for him. My interpretation of the Sudarsan inscription differs from that of others* How far my interpretation is correct the reader may

territory under him was very small on account of this. We know that Priyadarsin had only too gladly continued Dasarath as the independent ruler of the province of Magadh.

. Though the number of crimes was greater than it was during the rule of Srenik, yet that number was very small as compared with our own times. People were happy and prosperous, while the administrative authorities were strict and watchful. On p. 99 of Asoka

Crimes Rulers of India series it is stated:—"Megasthenes from his personal experience was able to testify that sternness of government kept crime in check and that in Sandrecottus' capital, with a population of 400,000 the total of the thefts reported on any one day, did not exceed 200 drachmas^{1,21} or about eight pounds sterling."

The Sudarsan lake near Junagadh was dug by Chandragupta¹⁸⁸. During subsequent 50 years, it had undergone much

Public works and inter-national marriage system wear and tear on account of the inclemencies of weather and badly wanted repairs. Tususpa, the yavana governor over that province, had got it repaired by the order of Asoka. This shows that public works were paid due attention in those times. Again, marriage was not prohibited among members of different nations and communities. India was not caste-ridden as it is now, though society was divided into several component parts according to vocations¹²³. Marriages between members of the first three classes and sudras were not looked upon favourably; we know how Nand II was censured by people on account of his marriage with a Hudra girl¹²⁴. But a king's marriage with a

find out by reading the appendix at the end of the book. Thus, though Asoka was a regent, he had given away many territories forgetting that he was king no more.

(121) 1 Drachm=0-5-0; while according to the tables supplied by Megasthenes, it comes to 0-6-6. According to lexicon it is 0-9-9.

(122) Vide the account of Chandragupta; I. A. vol. VIII, pp. 80 and further; Bhavanagar Sanskrit and Prakrt Inscriptions, pp. 20.

(123) Pp. 199 extract from M. S. I. pp. 382.

(124) Though, as I have already shown, he was not given the name "Kalasoka" on this account*

foreign princess was not objected to in any way; and neither were inter-marriages among the members of the first three classes deprecated in any way. Bindusar had married a brahmin girl^{1,2*}, Chandragupta married a foreign princess¹⁹⁶; Asoka married a vaisya girl and also the daughter of Seleucus Necator. So we come to the conclusions that sudra's were considered lower than themselves by the first three classes.

European scholars have done grave injustice to Indian history by fixing the theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta. We have proved that by Sandrecottus, the Greek historians meant Asoka. Another serious blunder committed by them is the theory that Asoka and Priyadarsin were the names of one and the same individual.

It was in some degree easy to prove that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta, because between him and Asoka there was Bindusar who ruled for 28 years. In the case of Asoka and Priyadarsin, there was no intermediary. On the contrary Asoka acted as the regent of Priyadarsin for 14 years, thus making it quite easy to ascribe the event that took place during the reign of one, to the other. Even then, the confusion is not so intricate and baffling as that between the Suuga kings, where a powerful king has been described as an imbecile and vice versa; thanks to these overlappings of dates.

A great scholar has said:—"A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible." Let us try to fix up and examine certain dates, taking for granted that Chandragupta was Sandrecottus:—

(A) Chandragupta had been ten years on the throne, when Alexander invaded India in 327 B. C. This means that he

(125) Scholars have held the opinion that Chandragupta married a foreign princess because his brother-in-law belonged to the Pallava clan. They have confused these Pallavas with Palhavas—the Persians—and hence the error. The Pallavas were only a branch of the Lichchhavi clan. (pp. 184 f. n. no. 102; pp. 98 f. n. no. 101; pp. 25 f. n. no. 134).

(126) Cf. pp. 205 and 216.

ascended the throne in 337 B.C. His reign lasted for 24 years; his successor Bindusara's reign lasted for 28 years. Then Asoka came to the throne, and he made a treaty with Seleucus Nicator during the 26th year of his reign i. e. in 337-78=259 B. C. Now the same scholars have stated, on the other hand, that, the treaty was concluded in 304 B. C; how do they explain this ?

(B) Let us take an example from the life of Priyadarsin, taking for granted that he was Asoka. It is stated in the rock-inscriptions that he conquered the Kaling during the ninth year of his reign. Counting backwards from 337 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne, we come to 276 B. C. as the date of this event. If, on the other hand we take B. C. 304 as the date of the treaty with Seleucus Nicator—which was during the 26th year of his reign—the date of the treaty with Kaling comes to 321 B. C; how can this be explained ?

These two instances will suffice to show the hollowness of the theory of considering Asoka and Priyadarsin as one individual.

If we take Sandrocottus as Asoka these divergences will at once disappear. The dates will fit with the events in an apple-pie order. We know that Asoka sat on the throne in 330 B. C. The treaty that was concluded during the 26th year of his reign¹⁹⁷, naturally and appropriately comes to 304 B. C, the date required. Similarly if we ascribe the conquest of Kaling to Priyadarsin the dates will be as clear as anything.

Again, we are told that Asoka changed his faith during the fourth year of his reign. Then his coronation ceremony was performed. During next twelve to twenty-six years, he got numerous rock and pillar edicts erected. Some of these inscriptions tell us that for some years he was an ordinary layman, then he became a devout follower and joined the Sangha. Scholars tell us that he got all these rock and pillar inscriptions erected due to his

(127) Pp. 160 f. n. no. 84 above; $304+26 = 330$ B. C Seleucus made this treaty after 18 years of unsuccessful invasions- This means that he ascended the throne in 322 B. C, and established the Seleucide dynasty. (Pp. 221 for the chronological list.) I have previously given the date 312 B. C* on the authority of C. I. B. (vol. I, pp. 100 f. n. no. 10). That is a wrong date*

devotedness to Buddhism. Now the Buddhist order has two divisions only, the monks and the nuns. The layman and the laywoman have no place in them, as they have in Jainism. In 1878, Dr. Hornele¹³⁸ said in his presidential speech before the meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society:—"This four-fold organization of the Jaina lay-community must have been a factor of the greatest importance to the church, during the whole of its existence and may have been one of the main reasons why the Jaina religion continued to keep its position in India, while its far more important rival Buddhism was entirely swept away by the Brahminic reaction." The quotation proves that the Buddhist order did not include the laity within its fold. This proves that Priyadarsin was not a Buddhist, which means that Priyadarsin and Asoka were different individuals.¹²⁹

Full details about this theory will be given later on¹³⁰.

When Priyadarsin came to age—became 14 years old—Asoka performed his coronation ceremony and proclaimed him full-fledged emperor. He retired from all worldly affairs.

Death Buddhist books contain rather exaggerated accounts of his charities during this time. He died at the age of 82, near the rock-inscription of Sahasram erected by Samprati¹³¹.

(128) Pp. 22 f. n. no. 101.

(129) Discussion as to the religion of Priyadarsin will be given in his account.

(130) Asoka's life has been fully described in exclusive and authoritative Buddhist books like Mahavamsa and Dipavanisa. This book will supply the reader with many instances quoted from them. Some of them are:—(1) p. 247, f. n. no. 108, (2) vol. I. pp. 320-21, (3) vol. I. preface, (4) Details about the Nepalese king Devapal and CharumatI given in the subsequent chapter- (5) Details about Tibet and Khotan. (6) Account of the Jalauk of Kashmir. (7) Pp. 242 f. n. no. 86 above.

(131) After the word "Viyutha"=(departed), in the Sahasram-inscription, the date given is 256. Priyadarsin, who got this and numerous other edicts erected, was a Jain* Hence the era that he followed was the Mahavir Era* So this event took place 256 years after Mahavir's death. As to the dates of the reign of Asoka, see pp. 231 & seq.; details about all these rock-edicts Will be given in the account of Priyadarsin.



Chapter II

Priyadarsin

Synopsis:—His birth and his various names—His change of the seat of his capital; two branches of the Maurya dynasty—His rule and the duration of his life; points arising from them—His family—Princess Charumati, who has been mentioned in the rock edicts and her husband Devapala, the king of Nepal—His conquests and the extent of his empire, the largest empire of all—His administrative changes—Devapala's rule in Nepal—Contemporary foreign rulers and his friendly relations with them—His march into Tibet and central Asia—The famous Chinese wall—Who was responsible for that ?

We know that when Kunal lost his claim to the **throne of** Magadh on account of his blindness, his son Samprati was declared as his successor by Asoka¹. Samprati was born of Kanchanmala² in a city⁸ in the vicinity of which was found out the rock-edict of Babbhrai³. When she was pregnant she had seen (in a dream) a white elephant descending from the sky and entering her mouth⁴. He was born in the second half⁵ of Posa in A. M. 223⁶=B. C. 304, When he was annointed as emperor, he was only ten months **old**⁷. Asoka acted as his regent till he came to age at the age of fourteen⁸.

We do not know what his name must have been according to astrological position of constellations at the time of his birth. Jaina books state that his name was Samprati⁹. Sometimes it is

(1) Asoka, R. K. M., pref. pp. 37, f. n. no. '1:—"Divyavadan mentions Samprati as Kunal's son, supported by Ind. Ant. 1914, pp. 168, f. n.no. 69."

J. O. B. R. S., vol. 20, no. 3-4, pp. 279:—"According to Matsya, Kunal did not succeed Asoka; tasya Napta succeeded Asoka."

(2) Some Jaina books state her name to have been "Saradasri". Bhilsa Topes, pp. 124, however, contains the words, "Kunal, guided by his faithful wife Kaftchanamala."

(3) For details about this city, read the interpretation of the Babbhra rock-edict, in "Life of Priyadarsin" shortly to be published by me.

(4) See the scene of Mayadevi in Bharhut stupa and compare it with the details given in Babbhra rock-edict.

(5) Rock-edicts support this. He was born in the PoSa of A. M. 223; he was proclaimed heir ten months later, i. e. in the Asvin of the same year; probably on the tenth day-Vijayadasami. His coronation ceremony took place after 13 years, in 236 A. M., probably on Vasanta PailchamT or on Ak?aya Trtiya.

(6) See the rock-edicts of Rupnath, Brahmagiri and Sahasram. His age in the year 256, is stated to have been 32? years. Thus $256 - 32 = 223$ B. C. was the years of his birth. Asoka's death thus took place in the Asadh of 256 A. M.=271 B. C.

(7) Smith, Asoka, pp. 70; M. S. I., pp. 653.

(8) F. n. no. 5 above.

(9) In Magadhi language, the name is Samprati. (J. S. L. Sangraha, pp. 41).

written as Sampatti—possibly given to him due to his possessing a vast amount of riches. Asoka had given him the name Priyadarsin¹⁰, which he got inscribed in the rock and pillar edicts due to his respect for his grandfather. The Puranas state that the name of the successor of Asoka was Indrapalit, which may have been another name of Priyadarsin¹¹. Certain it is that the king who succeeded Asoka on the throne was his grandson Samprati by name¹². Greek books have called him Amitrochades¹³; Jaina books have given him a similar name, Amitraghat¹⁴.

Some scholars say that one of his names was Dasarath. Though this contention is questionable, yet we have to admit that there was a governor of Magadh, by name Dasarath¹⁵ and that he was the grandson of Asoka¹⁶. Samprati's seat of capital was however, Ujjaini, and hence he was not the same individual as Dasarath. The Nagarjuna cave inscription states the number of the year of the reign of Dasarath, in which he gave certain things in charity. The word "reign" may be taken to mean that Dasarath gave things in charity in the particular

(10) G. V. S. Asoka, pp. 6:—"Priyadarsin" means, "One who looks (at others) with love" or "one who is dear to the sight". Cf. pp. 249. Some scholars think that "Priyadarsin" is a mere epithet. Really speaking it is a proper noun.

Smith, ASoka, pp. 22, f. n. no. 2:—"I do not deny that the chronicles of Ceylon used Piyadasi and Piyadassan as quasi-proper names; but I affirm that, in the inscriptions the titles are not used.

(11) This name is discussed later on.

(12) Rasamala, vol. I. pp. 7, (London, 1856 edi.); "Samprati is a fabulous prince". The reader will see that this observation is quite false.

(13) I. C. C. (Hultzch), Asoka, pp. 35, and line 25 of 31; Bhilsa Topes, pp. 92; for further details read the next chapter.

(14) Scholars have ascribed this name to Bindusar on the theory that Sandrecottus was Chandragupta. This name belongs to Priyadarsin, while Bindusar's another name was Amitraketu. Pp. 204 f. n. no. 41 and 43.

(15) See the chronological list on pp. 236 above.

(16) J. O. B. R. A. S. XX, pp. 367:—"The Visnupuran gives Dasarath as the name of Asoka's grandson*and immediate successor". For explanation and details about this, see the appendix at the end of the volume,

year of the reign of Priyadarflin under whose power he was the governor of Magadh, and that the things were given in charity by Priyadarsin's order.

On the other hand, we definitely know that one branch of the Maurya dynasty ruled over Bengal and Behar—the original Magadha province—in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. This leads us to the conclusion that a separate and independent branch of the Maurya dynasty must have been established over Magadh during the rule of Priyadarsin and that this DaBarath must have been the first king of this branch. It was probably established in the same year in which Priyadarsin became full-fledged emperor and hence the number of the year of the giving of charities by Dasarath coincides with the number of the year of Priyadarsin's reign¹⁷.

This Dasarath was certainly the grandson of Aśoka; but what was his father's name? When Asoka was the governor of Ujjain, he had two sons, Kunal and Mahendra. We know, however, that when, after Bindusara's death, Asoka went to Pataliputra with his family, Kunal's mother—Kaiśikanmala—could not accompany him because she was far advanced in pregnancy¹⁸ and that soon after giving birth to a child, she had died. If that child were male-child, Kunal must have had a younger brother¹⁹. Prince Mahendra had renounced the world and had entered the Buddhist order²⁰, while he was unmarried. So there is no question of his having had any children. After Kunal's blindness, the next heir to the throne must have been either Kunal's son, or in his absence another grandson, if there were any. We know that as long as Priyadarsin was not born, Asoka had appointed his "grandson" Dasarath as his successor; and hence it is not unreasonable to come to the conclusion that this DaBarath was

(17) This matter is already discussed once; for details read the appendix at the end of the book.

(18) Pp. 231, f. n. no. 28 above.

(19) Pp. 239 and pp. 231, f. n. no. 28.

(20) Pp. 237 above.

the son of the younger brother of Kunal—the brother whose name we have yet to find out³¹. Dasarath must have been elder than Priyadarśn, who has born in A. M. 223-304 B. C.²², when Kuti&l was 32 to 33 years old³⁸. This means that Kunal had a son many years after his marriage^{3*}. His younger brother, who wafe his junior by a couple of years only, must have had a son much earlier than that and this son must have been Dasarath, who was thus elder than Samprati⁹⁵. Asoka must have declared Dasarath as his successor in absence of having any direct descendant; but when Priyadarsin was born, he must have changed the arrangement and must have appointed Dasarath as the independent king of the province of Magadh; and Priyadarsin must have continued him in the same position, due to his respect

(21) See the chronological list on pp. 236.

(22) The Christian New Year begins nearly two months and some days after the Hindu New Year (Vikram Era). Hence, when we want to give the date of any event that has taken place during these intervening days or immediately after that, we are required to state two years of the Christian Era, viz. 304-303. He was born during the ascendancy of the Pus'a constellation, i. e. in the bright half of Posa. There were no two Pcšas during that year, otherwise one of them must have been stated as Adhik. Such "Adhik**—(additional)—months could be included during two months onl>—Po?a & A?adh« (K. S. S. Com. pp. 131 and my article in the Chaitra Number of "Jaina Prakas.*") Taking all these things into consideration, his birth must have taken place on the 10th to 15th day of Po?a. The full-moon day is given importance in the rock-edicts. It can be either due to that day being considered as important from the religious point of view or due to its being the birthday of Priyadarsn. Of these the latter cause is more probable.

(23) Because he was born in B. C 337=A. M. 190. (Pp. 231 above).

(24) This was what grieved the heart of Asoka. After KunaTs losing his eyes on account of his carelessness, Asoka had intended to atone for it by appointing Kunal's son as the heir to the throne. Kunal did not have any issue for a pretty long time. Asoka was growing older; and hence, being anxious to appoint some one as his successor, he designated Dasarath as the next empeYor. We know that this arrangement was provisional.

(25) Dasarath's father was born in 330 B. C. If we accept the hypothesis that he married at the age of 14, then the marriage must have taken place in 316 B* C. The probable date of Dasarath's birth, therefore, must be 314 B.C. Samprati was born nearly 11 years later in 303 B, C.

for his grandfather⁸. The separate branch, thus established, may have continued to rule Magadh upto 4th or 6th century A. D.

It might also be suggested that Priyadarsin must have added one more name to his already long list, by assuming the name Dasarath, after his accession to the throne, and thus Samprati, Priyadarsin and Dasarath may have been names of the same individual⁴⁷. But the fact that, when Dasarath died, PriyadarSin appointed his brother Salisuk as the governor of Magadh⁸⁸, frustrates this theory. Salisuk was the governor of Saurashtra at the time of this appointment.

Thus we come to the conclusion that Priyadarsin was the eldest son of Kunal, that Dasarath was the son of the younger brother of Kunal and that Asoka had appointed Dasarath as the next heir to the throne as long as Priyadarsin was not born.

Samprati was born in B. C. 304=A. M. 223. No sooner was ASoka made aware of the happy fact that Kunal had a son than he sent for him from Avanti*⁹ to PatHputra and declared him

(26) Pp. 239 above; M. S. I, pp. 654:—"Evidence to the effect that Samprati ruled over Magadh is not wanting. According to Mr. Smith—Asoka, Smith, pp. 70—" The Mauryan empire was divided into two parts after the death of Asoka. The capital of the eastern portion was PatHputra, and it was ruled by Dasarath. Ujjaini was the capital of the western portion and Samprati ruled over it. The Puranas have included Samprati in their chronological list of the emperors of Magadh."

(27) C. H. I. pp. 166:—"The account of Dasarath, the governor of Magadh, contains the words, "Samprati, another grandson of Asoka, who reigned probably at Ujjain." The writer has stated these words on the authority of a Jaina book. The book, however, does not have the word "another" in it, which the writer seems to have added on his own account. But one thing becomes clear from this and that is, Samprati, like Dasarath, was a grandson of Asoka. (We have yet to decide whether Dasarath and Samprati are names of different individuals or of the same; and who succeeded Asoka on the throne. Read the appendix at the end of the book for this).

(28) Pp. 239 above.

(29) For want of proper information, I have stated Avanti as the place of his birth. It is probable, however, that Kafichanmala might have gone to her father's place, which was near the Babhra-vairata edict, during her pregnancy and the child may have been born there, and then, later on, brought to Avanti.

as his successor to the throne. At this time Samprati was a babe of ten months⁸⁰. He was born in Posa, and was proclaimed emperor probably on Vijayadasmī. (P. 256 f. n. 5).

His coronation ceremony took place, as we have already stated, (P. 256), in A. M. 237=B. C. 290. This is independently supported by the fact that king Tissa of Ceylon died during the 26th year of the reign of Priyadarsin³¹ (P. 238 f. n. 71).

Buddhist books contain no information about him, or the tenure of his reign, because he was not a Buddhist³² but a Jain*. The information supplied by the Jaina books is also misleading to a certain extent.³³ Pundit Taranath, a Tibetan writer, states in his account of Khotan, that Sambati (Samprati) reigned for 54 years³⁴. Thus his reign lasted from 290 B. C. to 237 B. C. The chronological list of the kings who ruled over Ujjain, as given by the author of the *Parisista-parva*,³⁵ supports these dates³⁶. In short, he was born in 223-4 A. M., was anointed king in 237 A. M.=290=B. C, and he died in A. M. 290 B; C. 237 at the age of 67.

His picture gives us the idea that his complexion was fair

(30) Baroda Library, Samprati Katha—Manuscript—pp. 88:—The age of the child is stated to have been ten days in place of months. It seems improbable that a ten-day-old child could be safely brought from Avanti to Pataliputra.

(31) Tissa died in (290-26), 264-3 B. C. (F. n. no. 71 for the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon). This king, queerly enough, came to the throne when Samprati was born, and died when Samprati got the rock-edicts erected.

(32) For details see the account of his rock-edicts.

(33) Vol. I. pp. 195 and f. n. about it.

(34) Smith, Asoka, pp. 82:—"The accession of Asoka apparently 48 or 49 years earlier in B. C. 301 or 302, assigning 54 years to his reign."*

Mr. Smith has borrowed this from Pandit Taranath's account of prince Kusthan of Tibet. Only he has interpolated the word "apparently,"* because he does not seem to have full faith in the Pandit's account of Asoka. Mr. Smith has erred into the belief that the person (Dharmasoka) whose account is given by the Pandit, was Asoka. But Asoka's reign lasted for 41 years, while that of Priyadarsin lasted for 54 years*

(35) F, o, no. 33 above.

and awe-inspiring on account of broad forehead and chest. He was kind-hearted, brave and peace-loving. His height must have been between nine feet and ten.³⁷ The Stupas built by him—Sanchi, Bharhut and others—testify to the truth of this statement. The entrances to these Stupas are not less than 9 ft. and 7½ in. in height³⁸. It is a well-known custom among the Jains that their temple-doors are always of less height than the persons who enter it, so that every one who enters it, first bends his head, consciously or unconsciously, as a mark of respect. Priyadarśin's height, therefore, must have been somewhat more than 9 ft. and 7½ inches; and his height gives us an idea of the average height of men during those times.

His rock-edicts tell us that he had a large family and that he had given shelter to all his relatives—far and near.

Jaina books state that the number of his queens was pretty large³⁹. Even after granting that scholars have committed the same kind of blunder as that of identifying Sandrocottus with

(36) In rock-edict no. 13, names of five contemporary Yavan kings have been given. They also support our theory. Pp. 232 above. The names are:—

(1) Antiyok—King of Syria, Antiochus II (B. C. 262 to 246). According to my conclusions, this king must have been Antiochus I. My opinion is supported by M. S. I. pp. 19. It is stated that Antiochus I was called "Sorter**", while Antiochus II was called "Theos." His rule lasted from B. C. 280 to 262.

(2) Turumaya, king of Egypt, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus: B. C. 285 to 247.

(3) Muc—Megus of Syria, B. C. 300 to 250.

(4) Antikini—Antigonos Gaucos of Macedonia; B. C. 276 to 239.

(5) Alexander—Alexander of Caria, B. C. 252-244.

He was not king of Caria but of Epirus. His reign lasted from 272 B. C. to 255; because Priyadarśin's coronation ceremony was performed in 289 B. C. and he finished his conquest tour in 282 B. C. Then there was a regular exchange of ambassadors between the two.

(37) No doubt, the reader will not readily believe this. Mahavira, however, who lived 200 years before him, was 10 ft. 6 ins. tall (Vol. I. pp. 29 f. n. no. 60).

(38) Bhilsa Topes; Bharhut stupa.

(39) Pp. 205 above, f. n. no. 48,

Chandragupta⁴⁰, it is quite possible that he had at **least two** queens. (1) The name of the queen consort is

His family

not known; probably the heir-apparent was not born of her⁴¹. (2) The second queen, Charuvaki⁴⁹ is mentioned by Priyadarsin himself in the Pillar at Allahbad. (3) Again, he seems to have married the sister of Satkararii II of the Andhra dynasty of southern India, (Probably Charuvaki was this sister. F. N. 42). Jaina books proclaim that during his conquest tour, he married numerous princesses of defeated kings⁴³ (the number is 16000). Looking to his process, the extent of his territory and the length of his reign, it is not unreasonable to conclude that his harem must have been crowded with a

(40) Pp. 205 above, f. n. no. 48.

(41) Smith, Asoka, pp. 198, f. n. no. 3:—It is stated there about Karuvaki (Charuvaki), that the names are spelled Tibal and Kuluvaki in the edict of Magadh. The second queen was evidently in high favour as the mother of a son, who might succeed to the throne; but he seems to have predeceased his father. This statement is based on the authority of the rock-edicts. Prince Tibal though he was born of Kuluvaki, who was not the queen-consort, must have been the heir-apparent; but we know that the name of the heir-apparent was Vrsasen, who was the governor of Afghanistan during the rule of Priyadarsin. Had his name been Tival, it would have been mentioned in the rock-edicts, just as the names Pasarath, Salisuk and others are mentioned. This divergence can be explained as follows:—(1) Either Vrsasen was next in **age** to Tibal and might have been appointed successor after the latter's death, (2) or, Vrsasen might have been junior in age, but must have been declared heir-apparent because he was born of the queen-consort. The first theory is the more reasonable of the two, because generally the eldest son is appointed as the heir-apparent, irrespective of the queen of whom he is born. Thus Mr. Smith's conclusions are in keeping with my own.

(42) Smith, Asoka, pp. 198, f. n. no. 3:—"Kuluvak is a family or gotra name, meaning—of the Karuvaki race". If this is so, she was probably the daughter of the king of Andhra (read above, no. 3.) Cf. f. n. no. **41 above, and 43 below.**

(43) Sudarsan lake inscription, Epi. Ind. vol. 8, pp. 41 and further in this vol. on the Andhra dynasty. Charuvaki might have, been the sister of **Sata-karni**. Read further, this chapter.

pretty large number of queens⁴⁴. (4) Kalhan has stated in his *Rajatarafigini* that Dharmasoka had conquered Kasmir and that after him his son Jalauk occupied the throne of Kasmir. Jainism was prevalent in Kasmir even before its conquest by Dharmasoka, who was himself a Jain. Mr. T. W. Thomes has supported this. The name of the queen of this conqueror of Kasmir, was Isandevi⁴⁵ I have already proved that this Dharmasoka is none else but Priyadarsin⁴⁰ (Appendix at the end of this volume) and he had appointed his son Jalauk as the governor of KaSmir. This leads us to the conclusion that Isandevi must have been one of the queens of Priyadarsin⁴⁷ and the mother of Jalauk. The name of the son of Charuvaki was Tivar. These two names-J&lauk and Tivar-do not seem to have been based on astrological rules, but they must have been names given to them by writers in keeping with their habit of giving suggestive names. The different names connote different individuals with different mothers. (5) It is certain that none of these two was the heir-apparent, which means that still another queen must have been the mother of the heir-apparent. If either Isandevi or Charuvaki had been the mother of the heir-apparent, either of them would have been raised to the position of queen consort. Again, the name of either of them, must have been connected with the name of the heir-apparent, just as their names are connected with the names of their own sons. Thus, considering all things, at least five queens must have been the inmates of his harem. Hence it is no exaggeration to say that he had many queens⁴⁸.

(44) Pp. 205 f. n. no. 48, and appendix A, at the end of the book, specially pertaining to No. 5.

(45) *Bharatiya Prachin Rajvamsa*, vol. II, pp. 133-34: In *Rajatarangini* the name given is Isvaradevi.

(46) Dharmasoka is considered by them as an exploded myth, because they thought that he lived during the 6th century, A. D. But their calculation is wrong.

(47) In *Taranga I*, verse 122, of *Rajatarangini* she is introduced as the wife of Jalauk; but this statement is only one of the many inaccuracies that are found in the first and the second part of the book.

(48) P. 205 above, f. n. no. 48,

The name of the heir-apparent⁴⁹ was Vrsen. He was probably not born of the chief queen. The Tibetan books tell as that prince Vrsasen was appointed as the governor of the province on the other side of the Indus⁵⁰. The chronological list of the Maurya kings, as supplied by Puranas, contains his name. Hence he succeeded Priyadarsin on the throne of Ujjain⁶¹. The second prince was Tivar⁶², who had a sister named Charumati. Both of them were children of Charuvaki, as the pillar-edicts tell us. Charumati was given in marriage to Devpal, the king of Nepal.

His rock-edicts reveal the fact that he had divided his vast empire into several provinces, had appointed the members of the royal family, including relatives far and near as governors of these provinces. Such governors are called "Devkumars" in the rock-edicts.⁸³ Names of some of the provinces⁸⁴ over which such Devkumars were appointed are given below:—(1) Saurashtra (2) Gandhar-Taxila, (3) Kashmir, (4) Kausambi (5) Khotan, (6) Nepal (7) Tibet. (8) Sindh. (9) Afghanistan. (10) Suvarriagiri⁵⁵, (11) Keral district—main part of Malabar. (12) The province, the capital of which was Isila; it included modern Mysore state. (13) The province, the capital of which was Tosali; it included modern district of Gunjam, some portion of Northern Circars in Madras, and the

(49) He was not the heir-apparent at first, (f. n. no. 41 above) he was declared as the successor when the heir-apparent died. (See rock-edicts of Sahbajrahi and Mansera about the death of prince Suman.)

(50) The real name is Sindhu. It ought to be the region on the other side of the Indus, because he was the Governor of Afghanistan.

(51) Pp. 236, the chronological list.

(52) The real name of Tivar is as yet unknown; he may have come to the throne of Avanti, having assumed another name; it is as good as certain that he must have been appointed as governor of the region about the Kausambi-AUabhad-rock-edict. (Cf. f. n. no. 41).

(53) Bh. Asoka, pp. 49-50:—"Kumaras were appointed as governors of provinces."*

(54) Chap. IV, later on; details about "administration."

(55) Bh. Asoka/pp. 49, f. n. no. 1.

region around Jagannathpuri and Kafcak. Of these, for JSlauk, the reader is referred to Appendix D; for Kusthan, read further.. Their names, however, have not been mentioned. Over and above the Devkumars, some Aryakumars also were appointed to these positions.

It will not be out of place here, to mention one or two important names, over and above the names of sons and daughters. The most important, of course, is Dasarath, details about whom we have already given (P. 239 and elsewhere). Another personage who deserves our attention is Salisuk, the younger brother of Priyadariin⁵⁶. His mother being dead shortly after his birth, and being the younger brother of the future emperor, he was brought up rather freely and unrestrictedly. Hence, during his prime of youth, his behaviour was so rude and his temperament so haughty that numerous complaints were lodged against him before the emperor. Priyadarsin called him in his presence, reprimanded him in the presence of his subjects⁵⁷ and shed tears at the miseries inflicted upon them. Salisuk took the matter to heart and remained into voluntary solitary confinement for seven days⁵⁸ at the end of which he humbly asked his elder brother to forgive him and to send him to a foreign country. In compliance with his request

(56) Buddhprakasa, vol. 76, no 3, pp. 89 to 93:—The statements given there are based on Vayupuran. One of them is:—"Samprati, the elder brother of Salisuk, the governor of Saurashtra." (Appendix C at the end of the book.)

(57) F. n. no. 58 below.

(58) This whole account is given by Prof. Radhakumud Muckerjee in his "Asoka," pp. 6. It is as follows:—"Huen Tsang, calling him Mahendra, relates that he used his birth to violate the laws, lead a dissolute life and oppress the people, till the matter was reported to Asoka by his high ministers and old statesmen. Then Asoka, in tears, explained to his brother, how awkward was his position due to his own conduct. Mahendra, confessing quiet, asked for a reprieve of seven days, during which by the practice of contemplation in a dark chamber he became an Arhat." The statement that the name "Mahendra"* was given by Iluen Tsang, seems to be based on conjecture. The prince did **not** actually become an Arhat—too high a stage to be attained in seven days. (Cf. the details given below about, as to whether to whom the story given **can** be applied). Cf. "Buddhiprakasa," vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 59.

he was appointed as the governor of Saurashtra. During his governorship, once the dam-wall of Sudarsan gave way causing much ruin and havoc. Salisuk got it repaired and got his name inscribed on the edict. Whenever Priyadarsin, together with a large number of people, visited Girnar for religious purposes⁵⁹, Salisuk used to make the finest possible arrangements for his brother. When Dasarath, the king—or the governor—of Magadh died-presumably childless—Salisuk was appointed in his place. His dynasty continued to rule Magadh upto 5th century A. D., though there were one or two breaks in it. One break occurred during the time of the Sunga king Pusyamitra, and another during the time of the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta I. The kings of this dynasty had acknowledged the suzerainty of emperor Samudragupta.

Another important personage who deserves our attention is Devpal, the son-in-law of Priyadarsin, and the husband of princess Charumati. He had been appointed as the governor of the region, at present comprising Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. This territory was conquered by Priyadarsin during the 14th year of his rule, when he reached there while on his conquest tour⁶⁰ and where stand to-day the rock-edicts of Nigliv and Rumindiai. When he visited the region again during the 20th year of his reign, he had taken with him princess Charumati⁶¹, and on his way back, he returned alone leaving the princess with her husband. The princess was very religious-minded and had got many viharas and temples built.⁶⁵¹ At last she entred the Jaina holy orders and

(59) See the rock-edict of Babhra-Vairat.

(60) That Samprati was a Jain, who visited this place as a holy centre of pilgrimage, proves that the Nigliv and Rumindiai are not Buddhist religious places, but Jaina ones. (Vide the account of Priyadarsin; pp. 31 to 38, where many arguments have been given.

(61) Bharatiya Prachin Rajavamsa, vol. II, pp. 132:~This is taken as a myth there- But the reasons are not stated by the author. He must have dubbed it as a myth because he could not find out any reference to it in the account of Asoka; and it could not be found there because it pertains to Samprati, whose name is not mentioned in the Buddhist books.

(62) Jainism flourished there before their time; because it was **conquered by the sou** of Prasenjit of Kosal.

became a nun.⁶³ The descendants of Devpal **were known as kings of the "Pal" dynasty**, which ruled wisely over Nepal for a long time.⁶⁴ Devpal himself was a staunch Jain. Like Pryadrsin, he **had** also spared no pains to spread Jainism into all corners of the country and had got numerous monasteries, temples and Viharas (now known as Upasraya built. Both he and Priyadarsin had sent missionaries to distant countries for the spread of Jainism. These missionaries (Dhamma-mahamatras) were not quite the Jaina monks, who renounce the world and hence preached the gospel of Jainism imperfectly. The result was that though the people in the countries which they visited, grasped the essential principles of Jainism, yet their beliefs, opinions, and religious rites differed in many ways from those preached in Jainism proper. Hence even in Nepal proper, though people continued to follow Jainism, their Jainism differed in many ways from the original faith. (Chap. I, Part III; see details about Buddhism). In the course of time, temples to gods like Sun and Siva were erected⁶⁵ and thus we see the results of imperfect⁶⁶ preaching.

Upto this time Patliputra was the capital of Magadh. The Mauryan empire having spread itself almost throughout the whole of India, it was not found advisable to have the seat of the

(63) She must have become a nun after the death of her husband.

(64) Bh. P. R. Bh. II, pp. 101.—Devpal—(better it is to say, Samprati), founded Lalitapattan as the capital of Nepal. Its ruins can be seen near the modern capital, Khatamandu. Lilitapattan was also called Devpattan from the name of its founder. (E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 162).

Asoka, Smith, pp. 77:—"Lalitapattan 2 miles S. E. of Khatamandu was laid out by king Asoka, as the capital of Nepal."

Ibid pp. 78:—"Asoka was accompanied in his pilgrimage (in Nepal) by his daughter Charumati, the wife of a ksatriya named Devpal: both the husband and the wife settled in Nepal near the holy shrine of Pasupati where they founded and peopled Devpattan."

(65) This will make it clear that the original religion of the Nepalese **was** Jainism, though a little perverted (cf. f. n. no. 66 below).

(66) Chap. I part III; Buddha himself was first a Jaina monk and hence the similarities between Buddhism and Jainism.

capital in a corner of it. Again, as we know, as long as Priyadarsin was not born, Dasarath was appointed as the next heir by Asoka.

When, however, Priyadarsin was born, Asoka appointed Dasarath as the governor of Magadha province, with Patliputra as its capital. The dutiful Priyadarsin continued the arrangement of his grandfather and hence arose the necessity of choosing a new capital for the empire⁶⁷.

As we have already seen, the political importance of Avanti was only next to that of Magadh. It was, indeed, a custom to appoint the heir-apparent as the governor of this province. Moreover, it was situated in the centre of the empire. From the astrological and astronomical point of view the experts had given their choice to this city.⁶⁸ The famous astrologer Varahamihir⁶⁹ and his elder brother Bhadrabahu—the great Jaina monk under whom Chandragupta had entered the Jaina holy order,—who was more proficient than his brother⁷⁰, had started the calculations of latitude from Ujjain⁷¹. From the religious point of view, also Avanti scored the palm as against any province⁷³. The two capitals of the two divisions of Avanti⁷³,—Vidisa of the east, and Ujjaini of the west—were flourishing industrial and commercial⁷⁴

(67) Pp. 152 f. n. no. 47.

(68) Pp. 53 above.

(69) The Vedic books tell us that he lived during the 5th or 6th century B. C; but that Varahamihir must have been another individual. The one whom we refer to here lived in about A. M. 140=B. C. 387. A native of Paithan in the south, he had become a Jaina monk like his elder brother, Bhadrabahu* For details read Bharatesvar Bahubali.

(70) The Bharatesvara Bahubali throws much light on the learnedness of these two brothers. His elder brother's superiority was the cause which made Varahamihir enter the Jaina holy order.

(71) It may have been before their time. As no proofs are, however* available, we have taken this time as the beginning*

(72) For details, vide the account of Chandraguptai

(73) Vol. I. pp. 178-181; E. It vol VIII; Sudarsan lake inscription! pp. 39 and further.

centres, healthy from climatic considerations also. The Jains themselves are more or less ignorant of the religious importance of these places, though Priyadarsin was one of the staunchest Jains⁷⁸. (We shall discuss this when we come to the account of rock and pillar edicts⁷⁶.) This Avanti was selected from various points of view.

So Priyadarsin changed his seat of capital to Avanti. He divided the province into two parts⁷⁷, with Vidisa as the capital of the eastern portion and Ujjaini as that of the western⁷⁸. The Sunga kings who established their rule when the Mauryan empire ended, continued to have their capital here. It enjoyed this, position during the rule of many subsequent dynasties, because of its central position and only with the advent of the Muslims was the seat of the capital shifted to Delhi.

It is stated in Buddhist books that during the last two or three years of his life Asoka had given over the whole of the empire in charity. This statement does not bear out any piece of historical evidence⁷⁹. For 14 years he was a mere regent for Priyadarsin and a man like Asoka would not make a travesty of his regency by giving away in charity what did no longer belong to him. Priyadarsin would not have been proclaimed emperor, had Asoka given over the whole of his empire in charity. Again, even after the period of regency was over and Priyadarsin became full-fledged emperor, Asoka was alive for 20 years and certainly he could

(74) Vol. I. pp. 18 f. n. no. 32.

(75) More details are given on pp. 189 to 194 of vol I. and also in the account of Chandragupta in this vol. also f. n. no. 76 below.

(76) F. n. no. 72 above. Full details will be given in my "Life of Mahavir" which is to be published in a short time.

(77) Whether this division was made from climatic considerations or otherwise is not known. It was certainly made for some political purpose.

(78) J. B. B. R. A. S. IX, pp. 154:—"His (Kuril's) son Samprati reigned in Ujjain." Bh. P. R. vol. II, pp. 135; and f. n. no. 105 further.

(79) Pp. 250 above, and f. n. no. 120,

not have given over anything during this period of complete retirement. All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that either the statement in the Buddhist books is false⁸⁰, or at least a highly exaggerated description is given there of Asoka's charities. Certain it is that Asoka must have given over certain provinces in charity; otherwise Priyadarsin would not have divided his empire⁸¹ into already "surrendered" and "conquered by his own valour" provinces.

When Priyadarsin came to the throne, he found the empire in an unsteady condition⁸² and he decided to consolidate it. Beginning from Avanti in the west, he conquered one by one Maru, Saurashtra. Svabhra⁸³, Cutchha, Anarta⁸⁴ within nearly 2½ years. Next he began with Gandhar⁸⁸ and subdued Kamboj⁸⁶, Kashmir⁸⁷, Yona⁸⁸, Afghanistan⁸⁹, Persia, Arabia⁹⁰ and Babylonia.

(80) Many such instances can be given; vol. I. pp. 273 f. n. no. 94 & 96; C H. I. Pp. 49.

(81) Sudarsan Lake inscription; Epi. Ind. vol. VIII, pp. 39 and further; scholars believe that it was Rudradaman who got it inscribed; it is my conviction that Priyadarsin is its author; refer to the appendix at the end of the book for arguments in favour of the theory.

(82) Coronation ceremony A. M. 237=B. C. 290-89; a year after this means in 289 B. C.

(83) The region around the modern Ahmedabad and Sabarmati.

(84) It seems to have been a part of central Kathlawad, and not of Gujarat. (Buddhiprakasa, 1934, no. I).

(85-86) Vol. I, chap. IV.

(87) It is not certain whether he conquered Kashmir during this tour or during his conquest tour of Nepal, Tibet and Khotan. It is stated in the Gandhar rock-edict:—(ind. Ant. vol. 37, pp. 342, art. by Mr. Thomas), "Parsvanath attained supreme knowledge here; and the Taksilla rock-edict contains his name."

M. S. I. pp. 448:—It is found out that besides Kaling, Asoka (it ought to be Priyadarsin) conquered Kashmir also, which did not form a part of the empire either of Cliandragupta or of Bindusar.* Ibid, pp. 449;—"The region which was ceded to Chandragupta, (it ought to be Asoka) by Seleucus did not include Kashmir"—i. e. it was conquered by Priyadarsin, who had also conquered the neighbouring provinces of Yona (Bactria), Khotan and Tibet. Mr. JThomaa

In short he subdued all the territory lying between India and the

has called Asoka to have been a Jain, in his edition of *Rajatarangini*; it ought to be Priyadarsin; (cf. First Taranga verses nos. 101 to 106); Appendix on Jalauk at the end of the book. He not only conquered Kasmir but found Srinagarl as its capital. Bh. P. Rajavamsi, pt, I I , pp. 101.

Sir Cunningham says in his "Ancient Coins of India", pp. 62:—"A large coin was found in a stupa at Uskar in Kasmir". (For details about this coin vide pp» 61 no. 4, plate I, no. 4).

(88) The region around the river Oxus on the N. W, of Mount Hindukus and on the N. E. of Afghanistan—Bactria — was called Yona during those times. "Yona" and * Yavan" had different meanings at first: the yonas were a branch of the yavanas; later on both the words began to connote the same thing, (f. n. 93 below; vol. I. p. 38 and 99).

Trans, of Asoka by G. V. S.-(Dr. Bhandarkar) p. 27:—"The Greeks inhabites the N. W. Frontier of India before the time of Alexander; the region was between the rivers Kofan and the Indus." This proves that the Bactrlans were originaly Greeks and had migrated to this territory before the time of Alexander; they were not a section of the generals of Alexander as is commonly supposed. For details read Vol. III-the chapter on foreigners.

(89) We know that Seleucus had ceded Afganistan and certain other territories to A^oka according to the terms of the treaty. Priyadarsin, though he inherited them, must have found it necessary to consolidate his power over them. General Cunnigham has stated in C. A. I. pp. 62:—"Double coins with elephant and lion types are very common, not only in the western Punjab but also in the Kabul valley." (Coins nos. 5-6). This makes it clear that Priyadarsin's power extended over these territories* F- n. no. 85, 87 above, about Gandbar; again he had got the Manikyal Stupa erected there* (Details about Stupas given further; and vol. I, pp. 294 and f- n. no. 78; and Ibid pp. 37 and f. n. no. 82).

(90) The Jaina missionaries must certainly have sown seeds of the faith in Arabia also. Nearly a century and a half later, Javadasah, a Jain of Mahuva (Madhumavanti) in Kathiawar, ruled it. The same Javadasah got the gatrunjaya temples repaired at the instance of the greatest Jaina monk of the time, Vajra Suri, in A. M. 470=B.C. 57. Thus Jainism had spread in Arabia before and after the time of Javadasah. (Another piece of evidence has been published, which supports this theory.) I do not remember the title of the book, nor have I any extract at hand to quote from it; it is probably one of the numbers of R. A. S. It is as follows:—A certain European traveller

kingdom of Antiochus I, the son of Seleucus Nicator—the father-law of Asoka. There existed no Persian * empire at that time. **Then** he had to encounter five kings:—(1) The king of Syria. (2) The king of Asia Minor, (3) The Greek Chief. (4) The king of strait of Suez⁹¹ lying S. W. of Syria (5) and the king of Egypt. Three of them seem to have accepted the suzerainty of Priyadarsin. With the remaining two yavana kings⁹², Priyadarsin entered into friendly alliance and sent ambassadors to their courts⁹⁸. All of them were impressed with his prowess to such an

secretly entered the holy place of the Muslims; the moment he saw the black stone—considered very holy by the Muslims—he was certain that it was not merely a boulder, but a carved idol of the Jains. Some of the invaders upon India must have carried it over there, together with their booty* If this is a fact, it establishes the existence of Jainism in Arabia.

The crescent-moon with a star in it, which is the religious sign of the Muslims, seems to have been imitated from the Siddha sign of the Jains. (Coins* pp. 49 and 52). The Cha?than kings of Ujjain had the "star and crescent" as their sign. This shows that both the Muslims and the Cha?than kings were originally Jains* (F. n. no* 98, 99 below).

• Persia was a dependency, right from the invasion of Alexander in 328 B. C. to the death of Priyadarsin in B. C. 237; the Persian chronological list does not contain any single name who ruled Persia during this time. F. n. no. 93 below.

(91) We know that the canal was dug here a century ago only.

(92) See f. n. no* 88 for the different meanings of "Yona" and "Yavana"; the inhabitants of Iona—the ancient name for Greece—were called Ionian?, which in course of time became "Yavanas." The word, later on, included in its connotation the natives of neighbouring countries like Syria, Babylon and others. Then the Bactrians were also given this name* Thus 'Yona' and *Yavana' began to be used as synonyms.

(93) B. I. pp. 272:— "Greeks tell us that Deimachos was sent as an ambassador by Antiochos and Dionysios by Ptolemy of Philadelphos." They were the kings of Egypt and Macedonia; they must not have been conquered by him and hence no representatives must have been sent from them*

On pp. 45 (rock-ed*, ct, 13), of Asoka by Bhandarkar, it is stated that Antiochus II, Theos of Syria, was the king of a conterminous country to India—though strangely enough he is also described as a king of territory far from India,—which means that Priyadarsin's empire had spread upto

extent that the Greek historians gave him the name "Amitrochades"⁹⁴—one who has no enemy left unconquered. Jaina books have given him the name Amitraghat.⁹⁵

That a king sends ambassadors to the courts of other kings does not mean that he was subdued by them. Hence the statement in the Jaina books that he had conquered the kings of Greece and Egypt does not warrant belief.⁹⁶ Perhaps he made some of the provinces outside the Sakadvipa, his quasi-dependent states. They were, however, on very intimate terms with him; so much so that when Priyadarsin sent Jaina missionaries to their countries, they unrestrictedly allowed them to preach the Jaina gospel.⁹⁷ They did much fruitful work there⁹⁸; but only the Essenes

Syria. That a certain region was conterminous with the Indian Empire means that the countries lying between the boundary of India and of that country were included within the fold of the empire. Otherwise quite neighbouring countries like Sindh, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Persia, Irak, Mesopotamia or Arabia must have been mentioned as conterminous. The Greek history also tells us that Seleucus had to recede up to Greece; i. e. his power over the territories lying between India and Greece was over. As regards Persia, the chronological list contains names of kings who ruled from B. C. 500 to 300, after which there is a blank for nearly 150 years. Thus the Mauryan Empire under Priyadarsin extended up to Syria.

(94) Pp. 257 f. n. no. 13 see also f. n. no. 95 below.

(95) "Amitraghat" also means "the destroyer of the enemies." C* H. I. pp. 495:—"Slayer of foes or enemies." Pp. 257 f. n. no. 13 & 14 and pp. 263 f. n. no. 43 and f. n. no. 83 to 90 above.

(96) i. e. he conquered all the countries which comprise modern Asia (called Sakadvip in ancient books). He formed friendly alliances with countries on the other side of the ocean.

(97) G. V. S. Asoka, pp. 143. (A foreign king allows missionaries of another religion only, when he is more or less impressed by the king who has patronized that religion).

(98) Syria and Palestine; Jerusalem is the capital and the holiest place of the Christians. To the Jews also this place is very sacred. Many points of similarity are found between Christianity and Jainism—thanks to the spread of Jainism there by Priyadarsin. (F. n. no. 89).

of " Syria, among them, seemed to have accepted Jainism as their faith in the 3rd century B. C. Dr. Bhandarker in his " Asoka " P. 165, states on the authority of the Encyclopaedia of religions and Ethics, P. 401, that, "One such sect is that of Essenes¹⁰⁰ whose clergy formed a small monastic Jewish order, with their quaint semi—ascetic practices and lived on the shores of the Dead sea " Further on he states, " And it has long since been admitted by scholars that they were indebted to Buddhism for some of their important characteristics. It has also been admitted that the Essenes were in existence even before the rise of Christianity." These statements agree with my views except that in place of " Buddhism " there ought to be " Jainism. " With the rise of Christianity these people were converted to it.

Thus having completed his conquest tour over the provinces west of Avanti¹⁰¹, he returned to his capital after an interval of 2\ years.¹⁰³ After a short time, he started towards the south. The first king whom he encountered was Skandha¹⁰³, the sixth Ajidhra king of the Satakarni dynasty, who had also conquered Kaling. Andhras had declared themselves independent since the time of Bindusar. Even Asoka had to send his missionaries to Ceylon by the sea-route, starting from the flowing of the river Mahanadi into the ocean. He was defeated by Priyadarsiin and was forced to acknowledge his suzerainty and to give his daughter in marriage to the royal family of the conqueror¹⁰⁴. Priyadarsin accepted tribute¹⁰⁵ from him and continued him on the throne. Then he

(99) F. n. no. 89 and 98 above.

(100) F. n. no. 98, 99 and 89 above.

(101L) Chap. II. art. on "Religious tour."

(102) Rock-edict no. 13.

(103) At first I believed that the battle was fought with the seventh Sndrrra king, Satakarni II; later researches tell me that the battle was fought with his father, the sixth Andhra king, whose name was Skandh.

(104) Vide the account of Jndhra further on; and f. n. no. 42 and 43 above.

(105) Nagari Pracharini Patrika, vol. X, pt. 4, pp- 665, com. 63 : "It is stated in Nisithachurni that Samprati subdued Kathiawar and Daksinapath; this is one of the authoritative Jaina books; *ibid.* Pp. 665.:—"Samprati of Ujjain subdued the whole of Daksinapath and Kathiawar/"

marched further into the soujh, and subdued the kings of the Cholag, of the region about the Coromandal coast¹⁰⁶, and of the Pandyas¹⁰⁷, and accepted tribute from them. Then came the turn of the provinces of Keral kingdom of the Cheras—and Mysore¹⁰⁸, which had been formerly subdued by Chandragupta. He returned to Avanti having conquered the region of Aparant. It is not known whether he had an opportunity to go to Ceylon. This tour of the south took him 2 to 2½ years.

While he was on his way to his capital, there seems to have arisen a rebellion¹⁰⁹ in the north of Punjab¹¹⁰. His son, who was in charge of Avanti,¹¹¹ went there, and was successful in suppressing the rebellion. In a second rising, he was murdered¹¹² by some conspirators.

(106) See the coins found out from that region (coins nos. 73, 74-86); they contain the Elephant and the Ujain sign and the name of Pulumavī, the Andhra king. Thus, that country was first ruled by the sixth Andhra king and then he was subdued by Priyadarsin.

(107) J. S. I. pp. 33:—"The earliest lithic records in the Tamil country are the famous Brahmi inscriptions found in the districts of Madura and Ramnad. These are written in the alphabet of the Asokan edicts and are assigned to the end of the 3rd cent. B. C. (Madras Epi. Rec. 1907, pp. 60-61)"/ Thus Samprati not only got the rock and pillar edicts erected, but pillar-inscriptions also and perhaps he must have got carved out idols too. It is also proved that the boundary of his empire extended upto Siddhapur and Brahmsgiri rock-edict.

(108) The Chola, Pandya and the Chera chiefs were originally members of the royal family, appointed as governors of these provinces by Chandragupta; they had become a bit independent in the meanwhile; Priyadarsin merely subjugated them and continued them on their original positions. Hence Andhra has been stated as the bordering land in the rock-edicts, and these provinces have been left aside. (Chap. IV; and the account of the Andhras in vol. IV).

(109) Account of Nand I in vol. I and f. n. concerning him; coins nos. 67 to 72.

(110) King Pulusaki ruled over this region; since then, i. e. since B. C. 600, it had been a centre of political uprisings (Vol. I, account of Kamboja-Gandhar).

(111) R. W. W. vol. I, pp. 140, f. n. no. 52:—"There was a rising in the Punjab 50 years after the death of Alexander," i. e. in B. C. 277*A. M. 250; the date according to our calculations is A. M. 243-44,

For efficient administration over such a vast empire, he found it necessary and wise, to divide it into suitable political divisions and appoint members of the royal family as governors over those provinces which were not ruled by vassal kings. No emperor of India ever wielded such consolidated power over such a vast empire.¹¹³

Priyadarsin had not been more than eight months in Avanti, when he had again occasion to fight in the south. The sixth Andhra king was dead nearly two years ago. How he began to abhor battles He was succeeded by his son, a young, clever and haughty man who found it difficult to remain under the subjugation of Magadh. He rose in rebellion. Samprati marched against him with a large army. A severe and bloody battle was fought, in which, the Andhra king, having put in brave resistance, was defeated. Priyadarsin could not bear the sight of his soldiers as well as the soldiers of his enemy being ruthlessly butchered; and consequently decided to avoid battles in future as far as possible¹¹⁴. This was during the ninth year of his rule. (B. C. 281 or A. M. 246).

(112) The name of this son was probably Susima or Suman. If we take "Susima" as the name of Bindusara's son, who had also gone to the Punjab to suppress the rebellion, then "Suman" must have been the name of Priyadarsin's son. (Pp. 236). (If the quotation cited above from R. W. W. refers to Sandrocottus, it is not to be relied upon. There was, however, a rising in the Punjab in 236 B. C, after the death of Priyadarsin and during the rule of Vtsabhasen. Then the time for it must be taken as 100 years after the death of Alexander. I do not put much value upon that quotation, any way).

(11J) Eight thousand kings served under him. His army consisted of fifty thousand elephants, ten million horses, seventy million infantry and ten million chariots. (Bh. Ba. V. Trans, pp. 177).

(114) The words in the rock-edict, referring to this, have been interpreted to mean that he took a vow to fight no more battles. They do not mean so*. The meaning is that he took a vow not to kill any one except in a battle and not to fight a battle unnecessarily. After this decision of his, he had no occasion to fight big battles, because wherever he challenged any king to a battle, the king sought safety in acknowledging his suzerainty. See the Sudarsan Lake Inscription, His vows have been mentioned there.

The next three years and a half he utilized in religious activities, which made his name eternal in the history of the world. Details of this will be given later on. He had found it necessary to subdue as many territories as possible in order to spread Jainism as widely as possible. Hence he had brought under his power the greater part of Jambudvīpa and certain portions of Sakadvīpa. Then he cast his eyes over the mount Meru, having subdued the northern portion of Jambudvīpa. Hence he invaded Nepal and defeated its king Sthunko¹¹⁵—(the 14th year of his rule, in B. C. 277=A. M. 250¹¹⁶). He appointed his son-in-law, Devpal as its governor for he had already adopted the policy of appointing governors over provinces he subjugated. A new capital was founded there and numerous temples, Viharas and Upasrayas, were built. He also visited the places where stand the rock-edicts of Nigliv and Kumindial¹¹⁷, because these were Jaina holy places. Having thus arranged things in Nepal¹¹⁸, he advanced towards Tibet¹¹⁹ and Khotan¹²⁰. He conquered Tibet and then Khotan,

(115) Smith, Asoka, pp. 78:—The Kiratas were powerful in Nepal with Sthunko as the local raja, in those times. See also no. 118 below.

Articles on Asoka, by Ramavatar JSuma, pref. pp. 2:—"The empire of Asoka extended to Nepal with its cities Mujapattan, Lalitapattan, etc. etc."

(116) F. n. no. 118 below.

(117) See the rock-edicts there; f. n. no. 128 below.

(118) The Bhilsa Topes, pp. 97, f. n.:—"Nepal was probably included in the conquests of Asoka, for the kings of Tibet trace their origin to the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, and king Khri-tsanpo; the first king is said to have taken refuge in Tibet in about B.C. 250. (See Prinsep's useful tables, pp. 131; list of Tibetan king).

Thus the kings of Nepal and Tibet were of Lichchhavi origin; f. n. no. 120 below; cf. the origin of Mauryas given on pp. 148 to 150 above; see also the ending portion of f. n. no. 120 below.

(119) He had conquered Tibet and so he was able to bring good artists from it for the sculpture and carving of Saranath and Bharhut stupas.

(120) Smith, Asoka, pp. 81:—"It is also alleged that Asoka, king of Aryavarta, visited Khotan in the 250 year after the death of Buddha, and that he was the contemporary of Shi-Huang, the famous Chinese emperor, who built the great wall."

Having also appointed governors over these provinces, he marched into Asian Turkey¹³¹, where are' situated cities like Taskand,

Pandit Taranath has also alluded to this in his book; and the year given by him is 250; f. n. no. 118, the sentence quoted from the Useful Tabela by Princeps.

Note:—B. C. 250=A. M. 277. Two things, however, deserve notice here. (1) "About B.C. 250," may mean five or ten years earlier, or later than 250 B.C. (2) Mr. Princeps has taken it for granted that the number 250 represents the Christian Era; but the number is given by Pandit Taranath of Tibet, and it remains to be seen what era he meant by it. If he has written "250 years after the death of Buddha," even then arise two questions out of it"—(a) Ordinarily "Buddha" means the founder of Buddhism, but as we have shown above, the kings of Nepal and Tibet were of the Lichchhavi origin, and these kings were Jains. Hence "250" might mean 250 years after the Nirvan of their religious prophet, Mahavir. Mr. Princeps has not made this clear, (b) Just as the meaning of the word "Buddha*" is not definitely fixed, so also "Nirvan" has more than one interpretations to its credit.

Thus considering the doubts raised above "about 250" might mean 25 to 30 before or after that time.

I suggest its interpretation on the same line see f. n. no. 131 on pp.254) which I suggested about no. "256**"—followed by Viyutha=departed soul—in the Sahasram rock-edict. ("Life of Priyadarsin" shortly to be published by me.) Thus 250 means "250 years after the Nirvan of Paramatma."

Let us test the theory given above. The Sahasram number, I have fixed as referring to the Mahavir Era, because its author was Priyadarsin, a staunch Jain. Now if we take 250 as representing the M. E., it would be 277 B. C. It is stated in his rock-edicts that he visited Nepal for the first time during the 14th year of his rule, i. e., in 276 B. C., (i. e- about 277 B. C. or, two or three months after that). Such differences are often due to converting one era into another. Thus 250 A. M.=277 B. C. These dates are thus supported by Sahasram rock-edict, and by Pandit Taranath.

(The Rajaput names generally end in "Sinha". Do they do so to show their origin from the Lichchhavi clan? or do they do so to show their devotion to Mahavir, whose sign is the "Lion"?)

The first king of Khotan is believed to have been of the Lichchhavi clan by the people. (F. n. no. 118 above; R. W. W. vol. II, pp. 13). It is possible that he must have been a member of the royal family of Priyadarsin; the Mauryas themselves were of the Lichchhavi origin. (Pp. 148). They call themselves "Great Lion or the Noble Lion".

(121) Read the ending portion of this chapter*

Samarkand, Murva, near which was situated the Chulika¹⁸⁹ of the mount Meru. Thus having subdued all the territory to the south of Meru he returned towards Avanti. (B. C. 274= A. M. 253). The Chinese emperor at this time was Hu-Wang¹²³. Fear took hold of him that the powerful Indian emperor might invade his country and he got the famous Chinese wall built first of wood. The wall does not surround the whole of China, but only that portion of it through which entry might be effected into China through Tibet or Khotan. Priyadarsin, however had no intention to invade it and he returned, having subdued Yona and Kasmir on his way and having appointed governors over them¹³⁴ (B. C. 272=A. M. 254).

By this time he had conquered countries in all the direction and thus finished his conquest tour¹⁸⁵. He had no more territorial ambitions¹⁹⁶. He busied himself with religious activities, especially of converting the people of conquered territories to Jainism.

In the meanwhile Asoka died in 270 B. C.=256 A. M. Shortly after that, Samprati had to go to Nepal with his daughter Charumati. There was possibly no political significance behind his visit to Nepal. He may have gone there for any of the following four reasons:—(1) There might have arisen a rebellion in Nepal, Khotan or Tibet. (2) He might have intended to invade China by this route. (3) He might have gone to identify

The rule of Devpal
In Nepal

(122) It is possible that the Aryans of Jambudvipa migrated everywhere from this place. The European scholars believe that Mount Caucasus is the place of the origin of the [Aryans.

(123) F. n. no. 120, quotation from Smith, Asoka, pp. 81.

(124) F. n. no. 87 above.

(125) The Bhilsa Topes (Appendix fig. 7):—"Vajra, thunderbolt, is a symbol of Universal domination usually placed in the hand of a king, very common at Sanchi.

Safichi=Avanti : The seat of the capital of Samprati was in this region. Hence the details given above refer to him.

(126) F. n. no. 40 in the preceding chapter and the matter connected with it in the text proper.

religious activities and spread of Jainism. (4) As some European scholars believe, he might have gone there to bury or deposit the bones of ASoka near the stupa of Lumbini-Ru-Mindiai—, because it was the birth-place of Buddha.

As regards the last reason, we shall later on prove that the stupa is a Jaina one and hence that reason cannot be advanced. Reason No. 3 is equally improbable, because missionary activities do not necessarily require the presence of the king. As regards No. 2, Priyadarsin had no intention to invade China. So reason No. 1 seems to be the most probable of all. It may also be that Devpal may have fallen seriously ill, and Priyadarsin may have paid a visit to him¹²⁶ with his daughter Charumatl. Devpal may not have recovered from his illness; Charumatl, then a widow, may have entered Jaina holy orders; and hence Samprati may have returned alone to India¹²⁷. His visit may also have been for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion which Devpal could not have brought under control. Again Devpal had been appointed governor of Nepal during the 14th year of Priyadarsin's rule¹⁹⁸ and so he must have taken his daughter with him on his next visit six years later. He may have gone with a view to escorting the princess and seeing his son-in-law after an interval of six years. Devpal and Charumatl, after the departure of Priyadarsin, may have led a happy married life for several years, during which they may have got, temples, viharas and Upasrays built. Then Devpal may have died in about 270 B. C.¹²⁹ and then Charumatl became a Jaina nun.

(126) Generally an emperor of the catagory of Priyadarsin does not run off to visit a relative, who is ill and who is in a foreign country. Priyadarsin, however, may have gone there because of his love for Charumatl and Devpal*

(127) F. n. no. 63.

' (128) The Nigliv and Lumbini Stupas assure us that Priyadarsin visited the country for the first time during the 14th year of his rule. "14th" means after the completion of the 13th and so 20th means after the completion of the 19th.

(129) None of the two reasons stated here is correct. For particulars read the next chapter and the matter at the end of the vol,

While fixing the dates of the reign of Priyadarsin we have already given the names of contemporary foreign kings¹³⁰. We have also given the chronological list of the Ceylonese **Contemporary kings** kings in f. n. no. 71. p. 238. Again, Si-Hu-Wang was the emperor of China at this time. Thus eight contemporary kings have already been mentioned.

The reign of Priyadarsin, as we have already seen, lasted from B. C. 290 to 236. (A. M. 237 to 291). His conquest tour through the western countries lasted from third to the sixth years of his reign. (B. C 287 to 284). All the names are mentioned in the rock-edict erected during the 26th year of his reign, in about 264 B. C. So during these twenty-six years, these five Yavana kings must have lived. Scholars have given their names and their dates; but they require some correction, as suggested by me in f. n. no. 36 above.

King Tissa of Ceylon and his successor Uttiya have been fixed up as contemporaries of Priyadarsin. F. N. of p. 238 will show what changes need be instituted in this.

Let us now turn to Si-Hu-Wang, the Chinese emperor. His dates have been fixed up by scholars on the authority of Buddhist books, especially connecting them with the Nirvan and Parinirvan of Buddha. We know that the Buddhists themselves are not unanimous about the dates of Nirvan and Parinirvan, thus admitting inaccuracy of the dates of other events¹³¹. Mr. Smith says:—"The Chinese emperor reigned from B. C. 246 to 210 (36 years), becoming universal emperor in 221, who built the great wall. The chronology certainly is approximately correct¹³², because Asoka's reign * extended from B. C 273 to 232".

Let us fix up these dates with the'dates of Asoka, as already

(130) Rock-edict no. 13 and f. n. no. 36 above.

(131) F. n. no. 132 below; Smith, Asoka, Pp. 81; f. n. no. 87 above; cfc details given in the next chapter, for the reasons of erecting this wall.

(132) This word proves that the dates of the Chinese emperor and of Asoka are only provisional*

* These are the views of **the** scholars at present*

fixed by us. Asoka ruled from 330 B. C. to 289 B. C. (41 years). The Chinese emperor, as stated above, came to the throne 27 years after (B. C. 273-246=27), the accession of Asoka. This means according to our calculations, that he came to the throne in $330-27=303$ B. C. He ruled for 36 years, i. e. his reign ended in $303-36=267$ B. C. He assumed the title of "the emperor" during the 25th year of his rule, i. e. in 278 B. C. Now Priyadarsin has visited Nepal for the first time during the 14th year of his own rule, i. e. in 276 B. C.¹³³ and for the second time six years later in B. C. 270. He had conquered Khotan and Tibet during his first visit. Thus, there was an interval of only one and a half to two years between the assumption of the title "emperor" by the Chinese king and the conquest of Nepal and Khotan by Priyadarsin. It is not known whether the Chinese emperor got the wall built after assuming "emperorship" or before that. If he got it built after his assumption of the title, we may come to the conclusion that he did so because he was afraid of the invasion of Priyadarsin over China. If he got it built before the assumption of the title, the wall was presumably built of wood. Again there existed trade relations between the two countries long since and the Chinese must have heard reports of the wealth and prowess of the Magadha empire, right from the time of Srenik, from their merchants and travellers. Hence the Chinese emperor must have heard of the wooden wall around Patliputra and might have imitated it. Later on he must have found out, that a wooden wall afforded no protection against a powerful enemy like Priyadarsin, who subdued Khotan and Tibet within no time. Hence, he seems to have begun to get a stone wall built in place of the wooden. The wall was built at an extraordinary pace; nearly four hundred thousand workers were employed for it; any worker, who was found slackening in his duty, was severely punished, by chopping off the limbs of his body. This gives us an idea as to the fear of the Chinese emperor for the Indian emperor. When he saw that Priyadarsin, after his conquest of Khotan, advanced towards north and then returned to his capital via Kasmir, he thought it wise to get the

(133) F. *nl* no* 120 above; f. n. no. 128 above; compare them,

wall completely built during his absence. Six years later, as we have already seen, Priyadarsin had to pay another visit to Nepal. By that time the wall was complete nearly 12 months ago. Priyadarsin did not care very much either for China or for its wall¹³⁴, though he would have directed his attention towards that, had he had any time to do so. In the meanwhile, news of the serious illness of Asoka reached him and he turned his steps quickly towards the seat of the capital, leaving the Chinese emperor to believe that Priyadarsin dropped the idea of invading China because of the formidable wall, which he had got built with such foresight.

Five points arise from the details given above.

(1) Priyadarsin visited Nepal twice; first, during the 14th year of his rule, and second during the 20th. Details about a thing or two During his first visit, he went alone, or probably with Devpal, but certainly not with Charumatl; during his second visit he took Charumati with him.

(2) When he visited Nepal for the first time, he did not invade China; but he conquered Khotan and returned to India via Kasmir.

(3) He did not care much either for China or for its wall. He might have directed his attention to it, had he had any time.

(4) The Chinese wall took over three years to be built.

(5) Priyadarsin took a certain vow, when he saw the soldiers being ruthlessly slaughtered in his battle against the Andhra king.

Points Nos. 1, 4 and 5 have already been mentioned in well-known history books and have been proved on the authority of rock-edicts. Nos. 2 and 3 have not received so much notice. The reader will see, however, that they are closely connected with the former three and that they throw much light on the life of PriyadarHin.

(134) For the real reason, read the next chapter*

These invasions were not made for conquering more territory, but for the propagation of his religion* So they were in confirmity with his vow. Head the next chapter.

His first visit to Nepal was during the 14th year of his rule. He ascended the throne in A. M. 237=B. C 290. Thus the date of his first visit would be A. M. 251 or the beginning of B. C 276. It is probable that he took nearly a year in subduing Nepal and then he returned to India. His next visit was during the 20th year of his rule. Thus though there seems apparently an interval of six years between his two visits, yet, the correct interval was only four to five years. During this interval the Chinese wall was built. When Priyadarsin paid his second visit to Nepal, the wall had already been completed six to twelve months ago. Thus the wall took nearly three years and a half to be built. The Chinese emperor must have apprehended the danger of invasion during his first visit; but when he saw the Indian emperor marching towards Khotan and central Asia, he planned to get the wall built as a precautionary measure. Thus the dates can be properly settled.

Samprati had marched into Taskand and Samarkand via Khotan. Many religious relics are found in central Asia, which resemble closely the relics in mounts Khartdagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa, which were certainly inscribed by the emperors of Magadh. This proves that the religion and culture of the Magadh emperors had spread into these countries also. Of all the emperors of Magadh, only Priyadarsin, invaded and subdued these regions. That Priyadarsin conquered these countries is supported by Jaina books and by that famous Tibetan writer, Pandit Taranath, who affirms his conquests of Khotan and Tibet. Books on Indian history may not contain any allusion to this, due to their imperfect information.

His inattention to China during his first visit to Nepal can also be explained. It was certainly easy for him to invade China at that time, because there was only a wooden wall. However, he directed his efforts towards half-barren territories like Taskand and others and avoided a rich and civilized country like China, because the former places had a religious significance for him. As a staunch follower of Jainism, he was sure to go to places which had any* religious importance attached to them. According to Jainism, Mount Meru is one of the most sacred places of the Jains and which, according to my calculations explained above, was situated

near a town named Murva in central Asia. The caves found in these regions contain relics very similar to those found in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri. Hence he thought it important to visit that region, even at the cost of losing the opportunity of invading China. Then he returned to India via Kashmir after having conquered it, and having appointed his son Jalauk as its governor. This is supported by the most authoritative treatise on the history of Kashmir namely, Rajtarangini (Appendix about Jalauk at the end of the book), and also by the coins. Hence we may consider this as a settled fact.

He did not take his daughter Charumati with him during his first visit to Nepal, because both he and Devpal were unacquainted with the conditions prevailing there. Moreover, they had got to subdue Nepal, and thus they did not think it safe to take Charumati with them. During the interval of six years, Devpal must have brought the situation under control and founded the new seat of capital, namely Devpattan. The opening ceremony of the new capital was performed by Samprati, on his second visit to the country, when he took with him princess Charumati, because the presence of the queen was necessary in performing the opening ceremony of the city, and because she had been away for six years after her marriage with Devpal.

On his departure from Nepal, he returned alone to his capital. This was either because Charumati had already become a Jaina nun due to the decease of Devpal, at the time of his return, or more probably because Charumati was to stay with her husband thence-forward. She was now the queen of Nepal and hence her presence was needed there, to assist her husband in the administration and in religious activities like the building of viharas, upasrayas and temples. Devpal and Charumati must have ruled over Nepal for a pretty long time, and hence Priyadarśin's second visit to Nepal cannot be attributed to the rise of a rebellion there, but to the opening ceremony of the new capital or some such other thing*. Charumati became a Jaina nun either during the life time of her husband or after his death.

Asoka died in 270-1 B. C (vide his account). Priyadarśin

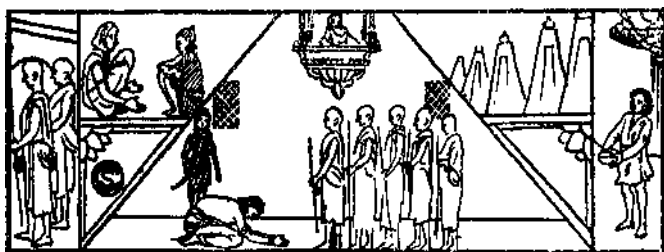
got the rock-edicts erected with a certain point of view (next chapter). The Sahasram rock-edict contains the number similar¹⁸⁵ to 270-1 B. C.=256 A. M. Thus these things agree with one another. The rock-edicts state that he visited and returned from Nepal during the 20th year of his reign, in 270 B. C. He returned either having heard of the serious illness of Asoka or of his death, dearly as he loved his:grand father. It is more probable that Asoka was already dead by this time, because a rock-edict in Nepal states that Priyadarsin visited the country to deposit the remains of the bones of his grand father.

One thing now remains to be considered. During the 9th year of his rule, while fighting a battle against the Andhra king, he took a certain vow about battles. On the other hand, he conquered Nepal and Khotan during the 14th year of his rule. He fought nearly five to six battles after he took his vow. The Dhauli-Jagaudfi edict, which contains the mention of this vow, must have been, therefore, misinterpreted by the scholars. The misinterpretation may be due to wrongly deciphering the script or due to certain words having some religious meaning, which the scholars have failed to grasp. The second reason is more probable of the two¹⁸⁶. Details about this are given in " The Life of Priyadarsin" shortly to be published by me.

The reader will now be convinced that Priyadarsin was a staunch Jain. He had fought many victorious battles and he had also taken several religious vows. This will, I hope, remove the erroneous conception, that becoming a Jain is synonymous with becoming a coward, afraid of war and bloodshed and that those who fight battles cannot be called Jains. The Jaina principle of non-violence has a much wider and comprehensive sense. History proves this fact irrefutably.

(135) Vide f. n. no. 131 on pp. 254.

(136) F. n. no. 134 above.



Chapter III

Priyadarsin (contd.)

***Synopsis:**—His coming to know details about his former birth and their influence on his present life—Account of the years that Preceded his conquest tour—His devotion to his religion and his religious tour—His conquest tour for the second time and his successful completion of it; his observance of all the religious vows prescribed for a Sravak; his religious tolerance inspite of his devotedness to his own faith—His later life much influenced by religion—Principal tenets of his faith and his influence over his subjects—Certain particular doctrines of his faith—His efforts to ameliorate the condition of his subjects—His religious, social, commercial and political **reforms**.*

One of the great disadvantages of western education is that it destroys spiritual tendencies in a man and makes him materi-

His previous birth
and Its Influence
on his life

alistic in his outlook. Those who have received this education seldom have anything to do with the theory of birth and re-birth and of Karma.

Those of them, however, who have their own culture deeply ingrained in them, have full faith in these theories, inspite of their receiving it. The theories of birth and rebirth and of Karma have been irrefutably proved by Jainism; and can be well demonstrated in the account of Priyadarsin.

Many authoritative Jaina books¹ including the Parisista-parva contain the account of the previous birth of Priyadarsin and its effect over his life. It is as follows³.

As stated in his rock-edicts, nearly two and a half years⁸ after his accession to the throne, once he was sitting in the balcony of his royal place. On the way below, there proceeded forward a Jaina procession⁴ having some monks in the front. When the king saw this sight, his mind became restive and he fainted. The servants immediately ran to him and tended him. When he regained consciousness, he began to think that he had seen the sight somewhere. On trying to remember, it dawned upon him that he had seen the sight in his previous birth and that the monks leading the procession were his preceptors at that time⁸.

(1) Parisistha parva; Bharat. Bahu. Vrtti, for Life of Samprati; Jaina Sahitya Lekh Sangrah, pp. 83 to 88. K. S. S. Com. pp. 127.

(2) Cf. vol. I. pp. 268, f. n. no. 72.

Recently (1935), newspapers published the report of inquiring a committee of the strange case of an eight-year-old girl in Delhi having remembered details about her previous birth. This will convince the reader that the theory of birth and re-birth is based on truth.

(3) His coronation in A. M. 237=B. C. 290-289; hence the time for this occurence is A. M. 240=B. C. 287.

(4) For the sight of such Rath-yatra procession see Prasenjit's plate in "Bharbut Stupa" by General Cunningham. Pp. 202, the right pillar, inside.

(5) Priyadarsin completed his 16th and entered into his 17th year at this time, in B. C. 287 (f. n. no. 3 above). So he had become a Jaina monk in 287+16=303 B. C.=224 A. M. in his previous birth,

He at once approached them on foot and asked the monks whether they recognized him. The monks promptly replied that every one knew that he was the mighty emperor Priyadarsin. The king again asked them whether they could recognize him in any other connection. The monks contemplated a while and then told him that he was their disciple for three days in the previous birth and that he had died at the end of three days⁶. Priyadarsin was then convinced of his remembrance of his previous birth, and requested the monks to tell him all the details about it. The chief monk then said:—"In your previous⁷ birth, you were a mendicant in Kausambi. There prevailed a famine there and so, once you could not get anything to eat, though you begged from door to door. While standing disappointed at a place at mid-day, you saw some of my disciples visiting the houses of the Jaina laity for our food⁸. When they stood before a particular house the lady of the house, with much importunity, gave⁹ them sweet balls. The disciples uttered benediction¹⁰ and began to go their way. The same lady had, before a little while, refused to give you even a crust of bread. This created in you a sort of queer feeling of respect for those disciples and you followed them. When you accosted them with a request to give you sweet balls, they replied that they could not give you anything without the permission of their preceptor, and they advised you to accompany them to their preceptor; you did so¹¹ and having approached the

(6) Bh. Ba. Vr. Trans, pp. 176 and further; K. S. S. pp. 12.

(7) Priyadarsin was 17 years old at this time. Adding 9 months of the period of pregnancy, we can calculate that the famine prevailed in Kausambi 18 years before this time. B. C. 287 (f. n. no. 3).—18=B.C. 305 or A. M. 222.

The year in which Priyadarsin was born see f. n. 5 above, was also the year in which famine was prevalent in Kausambi.

(8) "Gauchari", is the technical word for it. It means, "collecting one's food in the manner of a cow, who feeds herself by grazing here and there."

(9) The Jaina technical word is "Vahoravavu".

(10) The Jaina technical word is "Dharma-labh," i. e. may you be more and more interested in religion.

(11) The place where Jaina monks reside during their stay in a city or a village; it is similar to a "Mafha" or a "Vihar" of the Buddhists.

chief monk, requesting him to give you sweet-balls. **The** monk, however, told you that they could give the sweet-ball to those only, who were Jaina monks like him. So with a view to having a share in those appetizing sweet-balls, you accepted Jainism as your faith and became a Jaina monk. You were given the sweet-balls, with which you stuffed your stomach to such an extent that you contracted dysentery. Being newly ordained, many nuns and the Jaina laity flocked to pay their respects to you¹² and to ask for your health. When you saw that the very ladies who had driven you out of their doors, only a little while ago, knelt humbly down before you, your respect and admiration for ordination was consolidated. The Jaina laity-rich as well as poor,-waited upon you day and night and tended you during your illness in the most delicate manner, thus convincing of the holiness of the kind of life you had selected for you. At the end of three days you died, fully approving (doing Nirzamana¹³) of the religious life accepted by you; and from thence you were born here in the royal family ". When Priyadarsin heard this, he also remembered the whole thing, bowed down to the monk and became an "Upasaka^{1B}-entrant" under the chief monk in¹⁶ A. M. 238-9=B. C. 288-7. This will convince the reader of the truth of theory of birth and re-birth. It will also show what position even a medicant was able to obtain by attaining knowledge in the right perspective.—Bohi Labh as

(12) It is a Jaina tenet that the monk, who has been ordained earlier than the others, is to be respected and saluted by the latter, irrespective of age; the same is the case with nuns. But all the nuns are to pay their respects to a monk, who has been ordained even a day ago; thus showing the superiority of males over females (K. S. S. pp. 2).

(13) Rock-edict no. 4; Bh. Ba. Vr., Trans, pp. 177. This is a peculiarly Jaina term, and it has no concern with Buddhism.

(14) Baroda Library, Samprati Katha manuscript, pp. 84:—"The poor man's soul entered the foetus of Kuril's religious-minded wife."

(15) One who is initiated into Jainism, who has a desire to observe the holy vows, but who has not yet begun to do so. He took these vows nearly two years and a half later (Read further). The word itself means, "devotion".

(16) Parisistha parva, edi. by Jacobi, pp. 68; S. B. I. vol 22; Jaina Dharma Prakasa Sabha, Trans. Sarga 11, pp. 120; Rock-edict no. 3,

it is called in Jainism. It is no wonder that Priyadarsin, who had come to his present position by attaining "Bohi-labh" (Bohi-Bij¹⁷; see the Babhra-Vair&t rock-edict) got numerous rock and pillar-edicts erected to commemorate his achievements through the power of such a faith, with a view to show his subjects as well as the posterity, the chastest and the most beneficial faith. Taken in this light, the interpretations of many of these edicts will be not only easy but correct.

He then¹⁸ started on his conquest-tour and having subdued all the territory upto Asia Minor and Egypt¹⁹, within two years, and a half returned to India in B. C. 285=A. M.

How he instituted religious doctrines in his political administration and his conquest tour 241. The monk happened to reside at this time also in Avanti and Priyadar&n thus had another opportunity to pay his respects to the Ratha-yatra-procession. He took certain vows⁹⁰ and rose to the category of a Sravak (see rock-edicts). Desiring to visit the Jaina holy places with the Sangh (a group of Pilgrims), he visited the holy mounts Satrunjay and Girnfir³¹ and returned after a year, (A. M. 242=B. C. 285; Rock-edict No. 8). Then he started on a conquest-tour to the south (A. M. 243) and subdued all the territory within nearly 2\ years, thus returning to Avanti in A. M. 244=B. C. 283. In

(17) Bodhi-labh=the thing which gives knowledge in its right perspective* Bodhi-bipto sow the seed of attaining the fruit in the form of Bohi-labh. They are sometimes used as synonyms.

(18) Jaina Sahitya Lekh Sarigrah, pp. 83 to 86 (For details).

(19) Trans, by G. V. S. of "The Short History of the World" by H. G. Wells, pp.80:—"His missionaries had gone to Kasmir, Persia, Ceylon and Alexandria." They could have gone there only, if these countries were conquered by him (Pp. 273-5 with their foot-notes).

(20) Cf. pp. 291, f. n. no. 15 about "Upasak".

(21) Bh. Ba. Vr. Trans, pp. 168:—These two names are given here separately. They, however, represent the same mount. At that time the ascent began near modern Junagadh. They were two peaks of the same mount (like Udayagiri and Khandagiri). The two peaks separated from each other after nearly 200 years, in B. C. 57, when Palitana was founded by the monk named Pa^aliptasuri, who fixed the ascent from there (Vol. 3 and 4).

the meanwhile, the sixth Andhra king died and was succeeded by his independent-minded son, who rose in a rebellion against the paramountcy of Priyadarsin, who marched against him and defeated him, after fighting against him for nearly nine months; (A. M. 246=B. C. 281). When he returned to Avanti, he visited his mother, to pay his respects to her and to express his joy for his conquest of the whole of India, as well as foreign territory in the west. His mother however, turned her face away from him^{aa}, instead of uttering words of benediction. The emperor was taken aback at this and asked her to explain him her treatment of him; She told him that he had certainly achieved a great task in conquering such a vast territory, but he had done so, at the cost of countless human lives and he was thus not only nullifying the merit of his previous birth but was piling sin upon sin in his present life, instead of utilizing it for saving and uplifting his soul. Her words struck him and the king, respectfully saluting her, promised her that he would henceforth try to atone for his previous sins. After that he approached his preceptor and with his permission, took the eight vows of a Sravak²³ (see the rock-edict); (A. M. 246. at the end of it). He thus attained "Bohila" stage (Rock-edict No. 8). Shortly after this, died the elder brother of his preceptor³⁴.

Henceforth he directed his attention solely to putting into practice the vows taken by him. He issued orders for the building of Jaina temples. According to Jaina books, he had decided to rinse his mouth in the morning, only after hearing the news of a new temple having been built. Over and above building new temples, he got all the old and existing temples repaired and set up into all

(22) Paris'isthaparva, Trans. Bh. Ba. Vr. Trans. "Mahan Samprati", pp. 229.

(23) A Sravak has to observe 11 vows; but the last three are such that a king would find it nearly impossible to put them into practice. So I think that he must have taken eight vows.

(24) The name of his preceptor was Arya Suhasti. The name of his elder brother, who had also become a Jaina monk, was Mahagiri. He died on the mount, named Gajendrapad in Avanti. (Map no. I, details about Dasarna.)

of them the idols made of stone, gold, silver⁹⁵, brass and of a mixture of five metals⁹⁶ and performed their "Arijanasaltka" ceremony i. e. declared them fit for worship. Within three years and a half he got one hundred and twenty-five thousand new temples built, 36 thousand repaired, twelve and a half million idols³⁷ consecrated and 95 thousand metal idols prepared²⁸. Having accepted "Nakara"*⁹ from certain places and at some places having not taken even "Nakara", he consecrated idols in all the Jaina temples. European scholars have failed to understand the meaning of "Nakara" and have consequently ridiculously interpreted the rock-edicts. Two such instances of the many are given here³⁰:—
 (1) Samprati, having accepted the "Nakara"³¹, gave gold idols at

(25) M.S. I. pp. 148:—It is stated in Patanjali Mahabhasya:—"Mauryair hiranyarthibhi rachyah prakalpita bhavettasu na syat". Patanjali lived only 25 years after this time and hence his statement must be taken as authoritative. It means, "The Mauryas, fond of wealth, got many gold idols made for daily worship." J. R. A. S. 1877, vol. IX, pp. 207 and further.

(26) A man who consecrates an idol, generally gets his name inscribed on it at the foot. But Pri}adarsin has avoided this practice; so humble he was. (J. S. L. S. pp. 86).

Due to this reason, his real name, he has never got inscribed in his rock-edicts.

(Cf. f. n. nos. 40 and 41).

(27) F. n. nos. 28 and 32 below.

(28) J. S. L. S. pp.86, f.n. no. 127; Kalpasutra-vrtti:—"Samprati Nama-bhut. Sa cha jatamatra eva pitamahadatraniye rathayatra pravrtta Srl-arya-suhastidarsanajatajatisniftih sapadalak?ajinalaya—sapadakoti navlnabimba—Sattrimsat jirnoJdhara panchanavatisahasra-pittalmayapratima-neka satasahasra-satrasaladibhirvibhusitam trikhandamapi mahimakarot. (Kalpasutra edi. by Vinayavijayaji, and Com. pp. 127). For the interpretation of this extract from the rock-edict, read further.

(29) F. n. no. 31.

(30) There are many instances of the same kind. They need not be, however, mentioned here. For details, the reader is referred to the "Life of Samprati" shortly to be published by me.

(31) All persons devoted to religion, whether rich or poor, have the desire to perform religious deeds. The rich get many opportunities for this. What about the poor? One custom among the Jaina laity is, that for a particular

certain places. These scholars have interpreted that the Maurya kings sold the gold idols of their gods, because they were badly in need of money^{33*} (2) He had got countless Jaina temples built and idols consecrated into them. He has described this in his minor-rock-edict No. I. Different scholars have interpreted this in different ways⁸³. They have, however, frankly acknowledged that they are not quite sure of the correctness of their interpretation. The real interpretation is, that hitherto many people in Jambudvip worshipped false idols, performed sacrifices and superciliously believed in various gods and goddesses and were afraid of them. These people, thanks to the untiring and zealous work of the missionaries, now

religious ceremony the highest bidder get the chance. There is another custom also, specially provided for the middle class and the poor ranks of the society. A fixed sum is settled for a particular ceremony and whoever pays the sum is entitled to perform it. The sum thus charged is called "Nakara". Any person who wanted to consecrate an idol into a temple, could get it from Priyadarśin by paying this fixed minimum, and many times, only nominal amount. This does not mean that the idol is sold to him. The word "Nakara" (Na=not, Kara=tax), etymologically means, a payment made not as a tax, but as a voluntary contribution. It also means "Act according to the prescribed rules without making any changes in them." (Na=not, Karo=do).

(32) J. R. A. S. 1876, vol. 9, pp. 207 and further:—Professors Weber, Goldstücker, Bhandarkar and others say that Priyadarśin got many idols carved. They have, however, described the idols as, "Gods of the Mauryas, saleable images, idols etc." Mr. Thomas says:—"The multitudinous images of the Mauryas, which were so easily produced in the absolute repetitive identity and so largely distributed as part and parcel of the creed itself". (Cf. 28 above).

(33) Rama. A. Pref. pp. 3:—"He announced that the gods and the human divinities worshipped in Asia (Jambudvīp) were false".

C H. I. pp. 505:—"The people in Jambudvīp, who had remained un-associated with the gods, became associated with the foods".

'R. K. M. pp. 111, the sentence quoted above is interpreted in two ways:— (1) Within this interval in Jambudvīpa men who were "unmingled with gods" (i. e. had no gods or no religion) came to be mingled with gods i. e. became religious or worshippers of gods". (2) Within this interval in Jambudvīpa, men whose gods were disunited, had become men whose gods were united; in other words, the strife of gods and their worshippers (i. e. of the jarring sects) had largely ceased in the country*.

have come to know the true religion and have begun to worship the true god.

Most people are hitherto ignorant of these facts contained in the Jaina books. Others, who are either narrow-minded or jealous, dub them as myths. I hope that the rock-edicts of Priyadarsin will change their ideas and will make them think better of Jaina books. He completed this gigantic task in about 249-250 A. M.= B. C. 277. He was not satisfied merely with piling temples upon temples and idols upon idols but he also looked to the general welfare of his people. At numerous places he got alms-houses³⁵, public kitchens, hospitals, paddocks for animals unfit for work, and travellers' houses as well as caravansaries built. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads, at regular distances along which were also dug tanks and wells³⁷. New roads were built and old ones were repaired.

Places and institutions, like hunting-houses, slaughter-houses, castration and fight of animals, which encouraged the slaying of beasts, were summarily closed. Conferences were convened³⁸ and gatherings were made to divert the attention of the people from evil ways (See the rock-edict). He, in short, spared no pains to do everything in his power for the amelioration of his subjects.

All these activities took him nearly three years to be started and to be completed (see the rock-edict), in about A. M. 250, the 14th year after his coronation. Then the idea came into his mind to extend the benefit of his activities through the whole

(34) F. n. no. 33 above.

(35) He was a poor man himself in his previous birth. Hence he knew the hardships of the poor. (Pillar-edict no. 7. He repeatedly exhorted his kith and kin to give as much to the deserving as they could). Cf. 36 below.

(36) "Mahan Samprati", pp. 229. He established dining-halls everywhere, because he was well-aware of the hardships of the poor and disabled". Thus the fact that Jains supported and conducted such charitable institutions in very ancient times is proved on the evidence of the rock-edicts.

(37) Pillar-edicts nos. 5 and 7.

(38) As stated in Hathigumpha rock-edict, Kharvel had also begun such activities (Read further the chapter).

Jaipbudvipa, the people of which were Jains in the beginning. So , he decided to bring under his power the region about the Himalayas⁸⁹ and the territory upto Taskand, Samarkand and Murva in central Asia⁴⁰; which was situated at the Chulika of Mt* Meru. He started on his expedition⁴¹ and first conquered Nepal* Having appointed Devpal to look after it, he advanced towards Khotan and Tibet. Having conquered them he appointed his son Kusthan—the real name is not known; this name is stated in the book of Pandit Taranath, the Tibetan scholar—as the governor. (The Chinese emperor, afraid of an invasion, must have begun the Chinese wall at this time, B C 276-7=A. M. 251⁴⁹. Priyadarsin, who had, taken the eight vows of Sravak, had no territorial ambitions. He, therefore, marched towards Taskand, Samarkand and Murwa, in order to visit the Chulika of Mt. Meru. He returned to India, passing through Bactria of the yons and through Kasmir⁴⁸. He subdued both these countries also. This

(39) It will be clear from this that he did not go to Nepal, Khotan and Tibet with a view to territorial expansion, but to spread his faith in these countries. He would have, otherwise, invaded China also. (Pp. 275 to 278 and f. n. connected with them).

(40) We know why he invaded these countries. It was with the noble intention of spreading the Jaina gospel (The reader will see why he has not got his real name inscribed in any of his edicts). He had no territorial ambitions in China. (F. n. nos. 39 and 26 above).

(41) He visited the neighbourhoods of Nigliv and Rumindiai for the same purpose.

(42) Pp. 278 f. n. no. 120; R. I. S. Asoka, pp 81; J. B. B. R. S. Vol.26. (1921-23) pp. 265-273; the date stated therein is B. C. 217; i. e. the assumption of "emperorship*" was in B. C. 221. (Pp. 282 above and f. n. no. 132). The wall was built, four years later in 217 B. C. According to our calculations the date of the assumption of the title of emperorship is B. C. 278 and the date of the wall is 274 B. C

The number of the workers (seven hundred thousand people finished in three years) employed in building this gigantic wall, gives us an idea of the prowess of Priyadarsin. (Pp. 282-3 above).

(43) His intention was to spread his faith in these countries, This theory is supported by the author of Rajatarangini and by Mr. Thomas. (Pp. 271 & seq.; appendix on Dnarmasoka and on Jalauka).

expedition took him nearly three years (A. M. 254=sB. C. 270). Having returned to Avanti, he sent missionaries to these newly conquered regions to spread the Jaina gospel there. (Thus we see that every single activity of his, was completed at the end of three years,—an auspicious number in his case⁴⁴. It appears that he appointed missionaries at a place for three years only and then transferred them to other places), (Rock-edict No. 3). The next three years he spent in intense religious activities, A. M. 254 to 257=B. C. 273 to 270. His grandfather Asoka died in 270 B. C.⁴⁵

His social reforms were manifold and far-sighted. The religious preachers enjoyed certain powers and they used this power for the redress of the hardships of the people. The officers of the state dared not harrass the people in any way. The emperor personally heard all the complaints against them and dealt strictly with the defaulters⁴⁶. His reign was the unique in all respects and there was nothing short of a millenium to his people.

Devoted, as he was to his own faith and eager, as he was to spread it everywhere, his attitude towards other faiths was tolerant. He never persecuted any of his subjects who refused to be converted to his faith. A scholar says:—⁴⁷ "Religious as he was, he was not a bigot like Asoka or Siddharth. He never wielded the sword at people, who followed faith other than his own. His way of converting people to Jainism was that of peaceful persuasion." The rock-edicts⁴⁸ also support this. It is stated there:—"Pakhandis⁴⁹ i. e. people following other faiths, were to

(44) I. A. vol. 37, pp. 342; rock-edict no. 5 and 13.

(45) After 256 years, i. e. in 257 (see the rock-edict of Sahasram).

(46) See the rock-edict concerning it.

(47) Pandit Jinvijayaji, the professor of Archeology in the Santiniketan of Sir Ravindranath Tagore, in his *Jaina Sahitya Lekh Sangrah*, pp. 86.

(48) Cf. his policy with his heir-apparent Vrsabhasen and his religious activities.

(49) The word must have meant, "those belonging to a non-Jaina faith." Jainism itself was divided into two sects at this time. As long as Arya Mahagiri, the elder brother of Arya Suhastin was alive, the Digambara monks

be found in his territory. He never forced them to give up their faith. He, on the contrary, allowed them to preach their doctrines peacefully to the people. But if they used coercion, they were punished for that. He never hesitated to punish the guilty, kind-hearted though he was. He treated his vassal kings in the same way⁸⁰. Once he called them all at Avantī and told them that he would be more pleased by their efforts to spread Jainism in their respective countries than by any other kind of service of theirs⁵¹,

could come within his fold without making any change in their rites and rituals. But Ārya Sūhastin was of the opinion that these rules must be changed with the changed conditions of the times; and those monks who wanted to move about, in populated areas must cover their bodies with white pieces of cloth. This rule was first initiated by Māvājī. Sūhastin's sect was thus called Svetāmbar. Samprati was a follower of this sect. So this word may have also meant "those belonging to any sect other than the Svetāmbar sect." Again the Svetāmbar sect itself had no unity in it, and its followers were divided into numerous sub-sects, (Pari. Parva; S. B. East. pp. 22) though these sub-sects had not come into prominence as long as Sūhastin was alive. The word may have thus meant any of these sub-sects also. The followers of Mahāgiri had relaxed in the observance of their rules after his death. The followers of Sūhastin are taken as a separate class, though there was little difference between the doctrines of the two. (Details will be given in the life of Priyadarśin[^]). According to the opinion of some scholars this was the beginning of the division of the Jaina community into two sects:—Svetāmbar & Digāmbar.

(50) R. K. M. pp. 17:—"The chief conquest is not by arms but by Dhamma". (Cf* the Civil Disobedience Movement in India to-day).

M. S. I. pp. 448:—"He believed in conquest by religion and not in conquest by arms.*"

Cf. f. n. no. 52 below.

(51) Bh. Ba. Vr. Trans, pp. 178:—"If you are my true followers, enroll yourselves as Upasakas under the preceptors and monks."

J. S. L. Sangraha, pp. 86*—The author of Sampraticharitra'* says:—

Mahaprabhavanāṁ kurvāṁsā manuvrajyasamprati

TeSaṁ Rajfiam vidhim sarvatp darsayitvasgaman grhaṇ II (414)

Tataḥ sarvaṇ nṛpaṇ smāḥ nāṇaḥ karyaghane

Nevahmanyadhve svatninaṁ cchinmam II (415)

Tadbhavantōstra Sanipratih

Dharmaui pravartayantvenāṁ, lokadvayasukhavaham

Śvadesesu sarvatra pritiṛevam yato mama II (416)

-a glowing tribute to his zeal for and devotion to, his faith. He was by nature against the use of force and believed in the policy and effectiveness of peaceful persuasion.⁵⁸. So devoid of pride was he, that he never appended his real name to any activity, that is described in his rock and pillar—edicts⁵³, but only the name given to him by people.

He was one of the most magnanimous, kind-hearted and brave emperor that ever ruled India.

After the death of Asoka during the 19th year of his reign, he was once more obliged to go to Nepal. After his return from it, he decided to settle in his capital and to have no more travels**. He conducted his administration with wisely formed councils and ministries. The governors of provinces had to conduct the administration according to the statutes devised by him after sufficient forethought and had to submit reports at regular intervals. He never slackened his religious activities, personally as well as through the agency of missionaries who spread the gospel into every corner of the empire. Then the idea came into his mind that the gospel preached through the medium of speech would perhaps have only a temporary effect on the people. So he decided to perpetuate the teachings of the gospels by getting them inscribed on rock and pillar edicts. For his choice of particular places, details will be given later on. He seems to have begun

Tatastepi gatastatra, Jinchaityanyakarayan

Kurvate taya yatrascha rathayatrotsavodabhatah 11 (417)

Sadaivopasate Sadhunamarim ghosayanti cha

Fajananuvftya tatrapa lokoSbhutdharmatarparah 11 (418)

(52) F. n. no. 50 above.

(53) No idol or temple of Samprati, excavated at present, bears his **real** name* Such was his humility. F. n. no. 26 above.

(54) He always devoted more attention to religious propaganda **than** to political activities. He had become such a great emperor, only because he accepted the Jaina faith for the last three days of his previous life* So after this battle against the Andhra king, he never invaded any territory with a view to expanding his empire, but for religious purposes only.

this during the 26th year⁵⁵ of his reign. (A. ML 263=B. C. 264). Over and above these edicts, he got huge stone idols carved out of his predecessors⁵⁶ (See "Prachanda Pratima" further, at places chosen by him with a view to religious propaganda. Three years later his preceptor, Arya Suhastin died⁵⁷ (A. M. 265-6=B. C. 261). This he felt as a great loss to him, because now he was left alone in spreading his gospel, and could not do much, singlehanded as he now became. Even during the life time of Suhastin, Jaina monks had lost unity among them and had divided them into various sub-sects, with minor differences in rites and rituals. (These sects are called "Pasanda" in the rock-edicts⁸⁸.) They had, however, not risen into prominence during his life-time because they were suppressed by the force of his personality. After his death these sub-sects grew in number like mush-rooms and openly stated and quarrelled over their differences. Priyadarsin did not suppress them but informed them that as long as they settled their differences by the method of peaceful persuasion, he would not interfere. Anyone trying the method of coercion or intimidation will be removed into a Upasraya and will have to

(55) Asoka died during the 20th year of his rule. The next five years he spent in religious propaganda through the agency of missionaries. From 26th year of his reign onwards, he busied himself with getting rock and pillar edicts erected. A batch of missionaries stayed in a particular territory for five years and then that batch went to another province after being replaced by another batch, f. n. no. 81 below.

(56) Read the paragraph on "Gigantic idols," later on.

(57) We have not given details about him here, because they do not pertain to the subject in hand. They will be given in my "Life of Priyadatsin", to be published within a short time. According to some scholars he died in A.M. 290; the reason why I have stated A. M. 265, as the date of his death will also be given therein.

(58) On the authority of R. G. Bhandarakar's "Vaisnavism, Saiaivism and Minor Religious Systems", pp. 3. It is stated in M. S. I. pp. 272, "There existed numerous sects in India at that time." (Vaisnavism and Saivism were established several centuries after Jesus Christ. So this statement is not very authoritative. F. n. no. 49 for the meaning of "jPakbanoV".)

put on white clothes⁸⁹ and thus will be forced to follow the royal faith. He had issued a proclamation to this effect (see the rock-edicts), so that no one may have any cause to grumble afterwards. He had also devised means to keep the members of the royal family into close touch with the tenets of the faith.

Thus he spent his later years in peace, trying to spread his faith by peaceful methods. After reigning for 54 years, he died peacefully in A. M. 290-1 = B. C. 236, at the age of 68.

Scholars have hitherto attributed all the rock and pillar edicts to Asoka and consequently to Buddhism. They have erred in doing so, not of course with a view to favouring a particular religion at the cost of another, but because they honestly came to that conclusion. I attribute the fault to the followers of Jainism, who kept their literature a sealed book to all interested in the study of ancient history, with the results that the scholars, unacquainted as they were with the contents of these books, arrived at certain conclusions on the authority of the books of other faiths, particularly of Buddhist books. We have already shown in chap. I of this volume, how much similar to each other Buddhism and jainism are and how one of them was merely an off-shoot of the other. Again a historian is not expected to be able to distinguish between the minute differences of such closely resembling faiths. The result was that they interpreted these rock and pillar edicts, first assuming that they were all connected with Buddhism; and they frankly expressed their doubts wherever they were not convinced. Mr. Strabo's book has been taken by them as the most reliable piece of evidence. Mr. Strabo's book itself, be it remembered, is a compilation of extracts from the diary of Megasthenes. Now the diary, in fact, was in the most dilapidated condition when it came into the hands of Mr. Strabo⁶⁰.

(59) Dr. Bhandarakar, Asoka, pp. 92:—"He who tries to create a schism shall be vested in white garments, and shall be transferred to a place **where monks** do not reside." (It ought to be "Upasraya.")

(60) C. H. I. PP. 191.

Several pages were wholly missing, while several others were half destroyed; and the script was so dimmed, that it was difficult to decipher it. Mr. Strabo wrote his book on the evidence deduced from these pages and he added his own comments and conjectures wherever he found gaps and missing links. Thus Mr. Strabo's book is neither a true reproduction of the entire diary, nor a very reliable synopsis of it. Thus the very foundation, on which the edifice of the history has been built, is unsteady and wavering. We have already shown what injustice is done to the whole of Indun history by falsely identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, on the authority of this book. I have already tried to disprove this false theory, and I have quoted (f. n. 8 p. 212). an extract from, ' Pompei Trogi " Mr. Crindle—the extract which Prof. Hulczsch quoted on P. 32 of his *Inscriptions Corporatum Indicus*. In the original diary, the word written was " Alexandrum "; as the first two or three letters have been effaced in course of time,⁶¹ the word was read as " Xandrum " which has been considered synonymous with " Nandrum ". We know that Chandragupta defeated the ninth Nand king and came to the throne of Magadh. Mr. Strabo, thinking that the king who opposed Nand IX, was very brave—and indeed he was—must have been a fit adversary for Alexander, so he identified him with Sandrecottus, mentioned in the Greek history. Again, there was a similarity of sounds between the two names, which appealed to him as well as to subsequent scholars. We have prepared a regular chronological list of the kings that ruled over Magadh since 600 B. C. and have proved that Chandragupta*⁹ was never a contemporary of Alexander; and that it was Asoka who opposed the Greek emperor. The author of all the rock and pillar edicts, has been fixed up by them, a king who lived fifty years after Sandrecottus. When we have proved that Sandrecottus was none other than Asoka, the author of these edicts was certainly not Asoka, but the king who came to the throne of Magadh 50 years after him. This was none other than his grandson

(61) Pp. 213 above, f. n. no. 17.

(62) It is probable that Sandrecottus is derived from Chandraguptus, which, according to the rules of Sanskṛt Grammar, means, a descendant of Chandragupta*

Priyadarsin. When we thus prove that the author of rock and pillar edicts was Priyadarsin, we must admit that they were connected with Jainism, because, that was the faith he devoutly, followed.⁶³ Thus we come to the conclusion that all the rock and pillar edicts are connected with Priyadarsin.

The Hathigumpha edicts of king Kharvel contain preachings and other matter⁶⁴ which resemble the contents of his edicts. (G. V. S. Asoka P. 90). This proves that both Kharvel and Priyadarsin followed the same faith. It is an accepted theory by all that Kharvel was a Jain; so Priyadarsin was a Jain too. This theory is supported by the author of Rajatarangini (Appendix at the end of this Vol.).

Below are given some more proofs to show that Priyadarsin followed Jainism:—

(1) On P. 189 above, we have proved that Kautalya-Chanakya followed the faith which was also followed by the author of the rock-edicts.

(2) On P. 188 it has been proved that Chandragupta and Chanakya were followers of the same faith. This shows that these two and the author of the rock-edicts—Priyadarsin—followed the same faith.

(3) It has already been proved that Chandragupta was a Jain; the author of Hathigumpha edict was also a Jain.

(4) Both Chandragupta and Priyadarsin went on a pilgrimage to Girnar with a Sangha (Sudarsan Lake Inscription.)

(5) The Sudarsan Lake Inscription shows that it was Chandragupta, who played that chief part in getting it dug and built; it also shows that later on, it was repaired by the orders of Priyadarsin. This proves that both followed the same faith, (Appendix on the Lake at the end of the Vol.)

(6) Priyadarsin's edicts tell us that his predecessors had also paid much attention to the work of the propagation of the faith

(63) For details read appendix A at the end of this vol. verse no. 102 of Rajatarangini is quoted there. Cf. its meaning with the paragraph above.

(64) Pp. 296 and f. n. no. 38.

that he followed; but they were not as successful as he was. This clearly shows that he, as well as his ancestors followed Jainism.

(7) In short, Chandragupta, Priyadarsin, Kharvel, Chanakya—all the four were followers of Jainism. The coins also irrefutably prove this. (Chap, on coins). Details about his rock-edicts⁶⁵ and the manner in which they prove that he was a Jain will be given in "Life of Priyadarsin" shortly to be published by me.

* Priyadarsin's rock and pillar edicts unanimously proclaim that Jainism is an all-embracing and comprehensive faith worthy to be universally established.⁶⁶ Its tenets, scrupulously

**The greatness
of his faith**

observed, bring happiness and peace not only to the observer with regard to his this life and subsequent lives, but to all around him. It is for this reason that I intend to discuss in detail here, a point or two, though some readers might take it as a digression. The sheet anchor of Jaina philosophy is "Sy&dv&d", the theory of being and not being, or the theory of explaining an absolute truth or value in its various aspects of relativity. An instance will suffice. A woman is seen by various persons connected with her as mother, daughter, sister, wife, aunt and so on. None of the persons is entirely correct in his connotation of that woman, yet none of them is entirely wrong. (This is called "Naya" in Jainism). Again, many persons are prejudiced against Jainism because of their faulty notions about the Jaina principle of non-violence. They criticise that while the Jains are very kind to small insects like ants, they care little for human beings⁶⁷. Again, some others say that as the Jains follow the creed of non-violence, they cannot

(65) The author of these rock-edicts was Priyadarsin and not Asoka. So they are all connected with Jainism. Further details and proofs, together with extracts and translations, from rock-edicts will be given in the "Life of Priyadarsin"* shortly to be published by me.

(66) M. S. I. pp. 464:—"We understand that Asoka (it ought to be Priyadarsin), never offended the followers of any other faith; he propagated common tenets of all faiths in the name of religion."

(67) Such an instance is given in "Vanaraj Chavada" by the late Mahipataram Ruparam Nilakanth.

take part—are unfit for taking part⁶⁸—in wars and battles involving loss of human as well as of animal life* Those of them, however, who try to study and understand "Syadvad" will be disillusioned in these matters and will see that Jain tenets preach entirely a novel and invigorating philosophy. The Jains abhor all violence, which has any evil motive behind it; but whenever they find it necessary to resort to violence for some good purpose, they unhesitatingly do so, as is amply proved by the acts of Priyadarsin, Kumarpal, Vastupal, Tejpsil, Udayan, Munjal⁶⁹ and many others. All these tenets are clearly explained in the edicts of Priyadarsin; and that is, why the faith is acceptable and agreeable to all sorts of people. It was the universality of these tenets that made it easy for Priyadarsin to spread its gospel, not only in India but in Central Asia; and as he never practised coercion or intimidation, persons following any other faith, willingly accepted Jainism⁷⁰. I hope, this will remove the prejudice from the minds of those scholars, who believe that the East gave nothing to the West⁷¹ in point of religion, culture and civilization. Persons following any other faith, if they try to study Jain doctrines, will find that not only Jainism has all the tenets preached by their own faith, but some more—and those too necessary and illuminating—which are conspicuous by their absence in the faith that they follow. This is the reason why some faiths established before⁷² the time of Priyadarsin and others after⁷³ his time,

(68) Many scholars hold this opinion at present.

(69) He was the prime-minister of the powerful Solanki king Siddharaj, the son of Karnadev. (For details about him read "Patan ni Prabhuta" by Kanaiyalal Munshi).

(70) Dr. Bhandarkar—vide J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XX, pp. 367:—"He was not actuated by a sectarian spirit, but by a simple respect for faith." Cf. f. n. no. 79 below.

(71) M. S. I., pp. 485:—"Prof. Rhys David says that the Greeks are not in the least indebted to any Eastern faith, all talks about any such influence are unreliable." On what authority does the learned professor base his Statement? Ibid. Pp. 485:—"This statement of Prof. Rhys David is not free from racial partialism." Cf. further the paragraph on "Gigantic idols."

(72) Buddhism, the Sthavira sect add others.

(73) Christianity and Islam and others.

contain doctrines very similar⁷⁴ to those propounded by Jainism. The followers of these faiths consider themselves as belonging to a separate faith, because, the "Syadvad" of the Jains differs from the philosophy of their faiths, in some respects. Thus Jainism can very appropriately be established as a universal faith-

For the sake of clarity we shall divide his activities into four parts:—(1) religious (2) political (3) social and (4) economic.

Social reforms and other activities of Priyadarsin. All these activities were undertaken and successfully practised by him, in close relation with one another, with a view to a harmonious development of the society as a whole. We shall deal with them briefly here⁷⁵ and show how comprehensive these reforms and activities were and how happy people were under his rule. His reforms not only conduced to the happiness of human beings⁷⁶ but to those of other animals also.

(1) He divided his religious activities into two parts:—those pertaining to this world; and those two subsequent births. If a man's acts during his present life are meritorious, he will be able to lead a better life in his next birth. This means that every one should try to make the most of the present life in order to get a better future life. This was the doctrine which worked behind all the activities of Priyadarsin. He did not encourage the division of human society into castes⁷⁷ or classes, because he understood that such divisions were unnatural, arbitrary and harmful⁷⁸. He therefore put before his subjects only those tenets of Jainism which they could easily grasp and put into practice;

(74) Chap. I, for details about Buddhism.

(75) For details see ray "Life of Priyadarsin" which is to be published in a short time.

(76) The number of those who followed Jainism during his time was about 400 millions. ("Mahan Samprati," pp. 220),

(77) It seems that there certainly were castes during his times, though their number was not as large as it is at present. (Rock-edict 3). For the meaning of the word "Caste" see pp. 66 f. n. no. 17; and vol. I. Dp. 23 onwards.

(78) Cf, the evils of communalism that we see to day.

he avoided doctrines, involving intricacy; because he hoped that if people first began with doctrines, which were within their easy grasp, they were sure to come to finer doctrines by and by. With this idea in his mind, he taught them religious tolerance⁷⁹, mutual respect for one another, proper relations between the teacher and the pupil, service of the sick, the disabled and of all in distress, mercy towards all beasts, birds and insects, and building of public institutions like hospitals and others.

(Details will be given later on). He perfectly understood the significance of the proverb, " Example is better than precept", and so he and all his kith and kin took active part in all these activities. He created a regular class of officer-missionaries, called Dhamma Mahamatras⁸⁰, who travelled throughout the empire to preach the gospel of Jainism and to look to the general well-being of all the people. They were also given some powers, which they were to use with care, in measures conducive to the good of the society as a whole. They were required to submit reports of their work at regular intervals. They were transferred from one province to another at first⁸¹ every three years (rock-edict No. 3) and later on every five years (rock-edict No. 13), with a view to avoid evils, connected with the long time-stay of the same man in a particular province.

The whole of India was under his power. Hence the Jaina monks could go to any place in India and preach the Jaina doctrines, thus widening and supplementing the work of missionaries. Proper arrangements were made for their boarding and lodging, and for all the rites and rituals to be observed by them. But these monks could not go outside India, to the newly conquered territory in central Asia. According to the advice of his preceptors, persons were trained in all the Jaina doctrines and then

(79) He never got the flag of any non-Jaina temple lowered down. (Pp. 298 f. n. 47); no doubt his people dared not do anything of the kind. (F. n. 70 above).

(80) Rock-edict no* 14.

(81) It is probable that missionaries in countries near one another were transferred every three years and those staying in distant countries were transferred every five years*

they were sent to these countries as missionaries for the propagation of the faith. These persons were not regularly ordained monks, who have to observe the five principal vows of Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacharya and Aparigraha. The governors of these provinces were instructed to provide all facilities to these persons. Thus he spared no pains to spread his faith in India as well as outside India. As a proof of these activities, even to-day are found relics⁸² of Aryan civilization in Asia Minor and Palestine.

All his vassal kings were called together by him in Avanti and were informed that the propagation of his faith among their subjects would please him more than any other kind of service rendered by them. Indeed, there was no vassal king who did not want to please the emperor, and so all of them tried their best to fulfil his ambition as far as possible. Temples were built and idols were consecrated in large numbers in them.

Thinking that all his present efforts would be less effective in course of time, he perpetuated the doctrines of his faith and his devotion to them, in numerous rock and pillar edicts.

Now we turn to his efforts to protect animal life. Stringent laws were enacted against the killing of all kinds of animals without any special cause. The custom of game-keeping and hunting was entirely abolished. The number of peacocks butchered and cooked at his own kitchen was reduced to only three. Animal fights on festivals, were stopped, and castration of bullocks was prohibited. On certain days in the year, no fisherman was allowed to angle or to catch any fish⁸³. Thus various ways were devised by him to protect animal life.

(2) His social reforms were equally exemplary and far-reaching. A sufficient number of wells and tanks was dug for adequate water-supply to human beings as well as to animals. He got the Sudarsan Lake repaired. He turned the minds of his subjects towards religion and morality. Societies were established and regular gatherings were made and meetings held for the better

(82) Pp. 271 & seq. above and f. ns. connected with it,

(83) See his rock-edicts.

occupation of the minds of the people during their leisure hours. Gardens and recreation-grounds were to be found everywhere. In those places scenes from the lives of Jaina prophets were staged before the people to keep them constantly in touch with religion. Some of these scenes included the deva-viman, the elephant, the fire-pillar and others. (Rock-edicts No. 14). Hospitals for human beings as well as for animals were conducted in a sufficiently large numbers. Old and disabled animals were kept in separate places and were properly taken care of. All medicinal plants and herbs that grew in foreign countries, were imported and grown in India. Maternity hospitals and nursing-homes, in which women doctors and nurses worked, were opened at suitable places. The old and the disabled were fed and clad by a separated department conducted by the state. This shows that his social forms and activities aimed at the general amelioration and happiness of his people.

(3) Economic reforms: He understood fully well that trade is the chief source of the prosperity and progress of a nation. Trade-centres⁸⁴ of different provinces were linked together with a net-work of trunk-roads and other roads. Trees were planted on both the sides of the roads in order to provide shade and shelter to the travellers as well as to beasts of burden. Wells and tanks were dug at regular intervals. Travellers' houses and caravan-saries were not wanting. Milestones were placed along the roads in order to show distance from one place to another. Old roads were repaired. Excise rules and regulations were revised, laws derogatory to the development of trade were repealed, and others were enacted. He had directed his attention to water-routes also. Canals were dug from large rivers; and these canals were made navigable for ships. Irrigation canals were also dug for proper and timely supply of water to the crops.

For persons physically disabled, and for religious preachers and other mendicants, separated kitchens were conducted; and they were directly supervised by him. His interest in this was due

(84) He invited ambassadors from foreign countries, for cultivating political and commercial relations with them.

to his having undergone many difficulties in his previous life, when he was a mendicant himself. He also understood the merit of giving food to the needy and the hungry. He was particularly absorbed in giving food to the Jaina monks; indeed so much was the emperor's zeal for it, that though the Jaina monks are religiously prohibited to accept food from kings⁸⁵, yet many monks habitually did so. As a result Arya Mahagri, the religious elder brother of Arya Suhastin⁸⁶ severely reprimanded the latter for his negligence and such breach of rules and stop it.

An emperor like Priyadarsin must certainly not have lagged behind in extending educational facilities to all his subjects, though we find little allusion to them in either rock or pillar inscriptions. One more thing deserves notice here⁸⁷. Hitherto only cast coins were current; but he seems to have started die sunk coins, with only his suggestive sign. He was the first to do this. He had selected "Elephant" for this purpose, because when he entered the phoetus of his mother, she had seen in a dream a white elephant*⁸ entering her mouth. He got this sign embossed not only on the coins of Avanti but also on the coins of all provinces and vassal kings. The sign was embossed on the obverse side. This proves that those regions⁸⁹ from which we find these coins, must have been under the power of Priyadarsin.

(85) Food prepared at the expense of the king.

(86) Arya Mahagiri died in A. M. 246=B. C. 281, while these-kitchens were opened largely during A. M. 243 to 251=B. C. 284 to 276. However, some must have existed before that. Or Arya Mahagiri must have died earlier than A. M. 246 (pp. 293 f. n. no. 24). If it be so, Priyadarsin must have taken the eight vows under him, instead of under any other monk.

(87) We have reasons to believe that the observatory at Ujjain must have been established by him. S. J. I. D. pp. 247:—"Asoka (it must be Priyadarsin) made Ujjain the Greenwich of ancient India."

(88) Bhabra Vairat rock-edict and fig. no. 28 about the dream of Maya-devi; also pp. 130-1 f. n. no. 22.

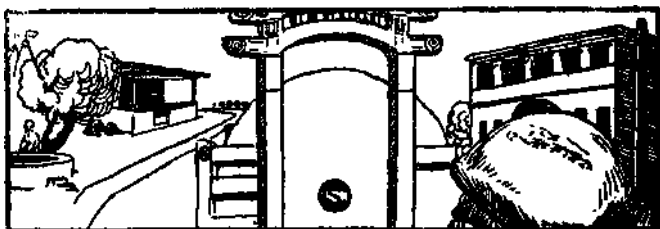
(89) Coins found near the Manikyal rock-edict in N. W. F. India also bear the sign. I do not know whether similar coins have been found out from Syria, Arabia or Asia Minor. I hope that experts will throw light on, it.

He must certainly have encouraged sea voyages for trade purposes in order to foster and develop foreign trade. Though the edicts contain very little reference to this, yet we know that in those times Indian merchants traded with countries like Greece, Egypt and China.

(4) He was very particular to see that proper justice was administered to all his people. Welfare of his people⁹⁰ was his first and foremost consideration. His own happiness and luxuries were a secondary consideration. People could approach him with a complaint at any odd time⁹¹. Details will be given later on.

(90) Cf. the lives of the modern native states' kings of India.

(91) See the pillar-edicts.



Chapter IV

Priyadarsin (contd.)

Synopsis:—Administrative changes introduced by Priyadarsin in the reforms, that were instituted by Chandragupta in compliance with the counsel of Chanakya, in the administrative system, first established by Srenik—His wisdom in associating his relatives with the administrative machinery—His twenty-one political divisions of his empire, the capital of every division and the governor over it—His numerous rock and pillar edicts and gigantic idols—It has been hitherto believed that they were erected from the political point of view; it is however not so; they are erected only from the religious point of view—Discussion, as to whether, who is indebted to whom, from the view point of civilization and culture, the east to the west or the west to the east—Sudarsan Lake was built only from a religious point of view—Comparison of the life of Priyadarsin with those of Indian, as well as foreign, emperor and philosophers,*

Srenik was the first to divide society into guilds according to different professions. These divisions continued with some changes of degree and not of kind, till the time of Chandragupta. Chatiakya introduced several changes and revised the whole system to suit the conditions prevailing in his own times. His four methods of executing any political activity, were thoroughly established. The marriage of Asoka with a foreign princess—daughter of Seleucus Nicator—western civilization began to wield influence over the court as well as over the society.¹ It specially influenced the organization of the army². Priyadarsin introduced still more important changes. These changes were, however, in conformity with the principles initiated by Mahavir. None of his changes impeded in any way to the all-sided progress of his people, but on the contrary, helped it.

The first important and political wise change that he made was to transfer the seat of his capital from Patliputra, which was situated in one corner of his empire, to Ujjaini-Avanti, which was situated just in the centre. This change⁸ was effected also, due to certain circumstances. After some time, he divided his empire into political divisions and appointed members of the royal family as governors over them⁴. (The system of appointing governors

(1) Inter-caste marriages were already allowed in India; now began the custom of international-marriages. Some historians believe that Chandragupta initiated this custom. I have not been able to find sufficient proofs to warrant this belief. (Pp. 251 above).

(2) Cf. the conditions prevailing during the time of Srenik and of Chandragupta.

(3) He selected this place in order that he might be able to keep watch over all the provinces from a central position. Again, Asoka had appointed Dasarath as the Governor of Magadh with Pataliputra as its capital, and Priyadarsin had no desire to disturb this arrangement.

(4) See Sudarsan Lake Inscription; Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, pp. 39 and onwards.

was initiated during the reign of Nandivardhan⁸. Chutukanand Maharathi⁶ over Kolhapur and the father of queen Naganika" over another region, are instances of the kind. These governors, however, were almost independent and the suzerainty of the **emperor** was only nominal. While the governors appointed during the Mauryan rule were under the rigid control of the central power.) Priyadarsin appointed governors over every province⁷, far and near. His aim in appointing members of the royal family as governors was two-fold. They might receive training in political administration and as well remain faithful to the central power. Again for the annuities given to them, this was the service exacted from, them. In times of difficulty their help, co-operation, and counsel⁸ would be valuable.

Details about all these political divisions, their capitals and governors over them, may be properly given in a book specially devoted to the life of Priyadarsin. A summary only is given below.

(5) For more details vol. I. pp. 352 to 356.

(6) The coins (nos. 47 to 52) tell us that Mulanand and Chutukanand were chiefs owing allegiance to Andhra kings and not to the Nanda kings.

(Their very names suggest their relations with the Nandas, while the type and provenance of their coins suggest their connection with the Andhras.)

(7) Asoka appointed governors over distant provinces only; while Priyadarsin appointed governors over all the provinces with a view to division of labour and responsibility.

(8) This system has been almost universally accepted in all the States to-day; e. g. the United States of America. Different departments are entrusted to different ministers, who hold the same political view, dictated by a party-code.

The same system was well adopted in vast commercial organizations. Some merchants hold the opinion that it is safer to entrust capital and administration to relatively strange persons than to one's kith and kin, because the latter are more likely to practise deceit than the former. It is an interesting and debatable subject. The reader will judge for himself which of the two methods is better.

No.	Province	Governor	Capital
	Avanti—Modern Malva, Mevaa, and a part of central India. (Territories of Scindhia, Holkar and Bhopal are included).	Personally ruled by the emperor; probably the governor was one of the princes—may be the heir apparent, (f. n. 12).	Ujjayini—of the west division and Vidisa-of the east.
	Anarta, Svabhra and Saurashtra. (The last consisted of modern North Gujarat and Kathiawar); probably Cutch also.	His younger brother Salisuk*, who was later on transferred to Magadh.	Probably Asthikagram; its name was changed into Wardhamanpuri in the 7th Cent. A. D.; modern Wadhwan.
	Marudes—Modern Rajputana, Cutch, if it was not included in no. 2 above.	Name unknown ¹⁰ (Probably it was taken as the province of the Bhojakas. ¹¹)	The capital was situated at the place, near which is found out the rock-edict of Bhabra-vairat; the name was probably Trambavati or Haria-puri.*

(9) J. O. B. R. S. 1928, Sept. pp. 416; Buddhiprakasa pp. 76 and 7B and further. Pdt. Jayasval says that Salisuk was the son of Suyasa, (on the authority of a certain manuscript of Bhagavat puran). But Suyasa is only another name of Kunal; hence Salisuk was the younger brother of Samprati; pp. 236, f. n. no. 63 for the chronological list.

(10) Whenever it is stated, "The name is not known," it is probable that at member of the royal family was not appointed as the governor; but am "-Sryakumar*" must have been appointed there.

(11) F. n. no. 24 below.

For the situation of this vide Vol* III.

4	S i n d h-Sauvir— (Modern Sindh, the desert of Jesalmir, & the northern portion of the desert of Cutch); Baluchistan, southern Punjab, which con- tains the state of Bhawalpur.	Prince Vrsasen, (Vrsabhasen) the heir appa- rent. ¹³	Cannot be defini- tely located; it was probably in the Lar- khana district or near it, in the vicinity of the Mohan-ja-Dero excavations. The capi- tal in ancient times was Vlttabhayapattan, which was later on destroyed.
5	Gandhar-Kamboj, nearly the whole of Punjab; North-West Provinces and Afagha- nistan.	Name not known; probably one of the brothers of the emperor. ¹³	Probably Taxila; it may not have been the old Taksasilfi, but the new one founded at a little distance in the west.
6	Kasmir ¹⁴ —The whole of modern Kasmir and the region about the HindukuS and the province of Bactria. (It was called Yon at that time).	Prince Jalauk (son of Priyadar- sin).	Srinagar was founded as the capital.

(12) It is probable that Vrsasen was not the heir-apparent at first; he must have been raised to that position due to the death of his elder brother, while suppressing 9ome rebellion. (Pp. 265, f. n. no. 49). The name given to him by some, is Sobhagasanus (M. S. I. pp. 654):—"According to Taranath, Vfsasen was the governor of Gandhar." (C. A. R. pp. 512); "Probably he was the governor of "Gandhar." Tibetan Buddhist books tell us that V?Sasen was the successor of Samprati."

(13) This prince seems to have been murdered or died in that province, while suppressing a rebellion there. Then provinces nos. 4 and 5 seem to have been amalgamated.

(14) H. U. Chho. (G. V. S.) pp. 117;—"Mauryan Empire included the valley of Kasmir within its fold, during the reign of Asoka (it ought to be Priyadariin),

	Persia, Arabia and some portions of Asiai Turkey; it is not known, what name was given to them as a whole.	Vassal kings.	Names not found.
10	Khotan and Tibet; the areas as they are at present.	Prince Kus-than (the real name is not known).	Name not known.
11	Nepal ¹⁵ —Bhutan and modern Nepal; it included the valleys of the Himalayas.	Devpal, the son-in-law of Priyadarsin and husband of princess Charumati. ¹⁶	Lalitapattan was founded as the new capital; ¹⁷ it was also called Devpattan.
12	Magadh—Modern Bengal and almost the whole of Bihar. (It is not definite whether Asam was included or not ¹⁸).	Prince Dasa-rath, the first cousin of Priyadarsin; he was made the independent governor of the province; when he	Pataliputra

(15) H. U. Chho. (G, V. S.) pp. 109:—"Rock-edicts and other relics, found near Dev-pattan and attributed to Asoka and his daughter, prove that the region around it, was a part of the Mauryan Empire."

(16) H. U. Chho. (G. V. S.) pp. 110:—"The ruling dynasty in the 7th century A. D. was a Licchhavi family. It cannot be definitely stated what relations they had with the Lichchhavis of Valsall." It is possible that the writer was unaware of the details given in this book. The readers, of course, will now clearly understand it.

(17) F. n. nos. 15 and 16 above.

(18) The mountain ranges, which began with the Himalayas and ended with the Andamans constituted the boundaries of the empire of Samprati as well as of India itself. Assam and Burma were not included within the empire as well as within India.

died without any heir, Salisuk, the younger brother of Priyadarsin, was appointed in his place.¹⁹

13	Allhabad-Kasi. Its ancient name is not known; consisted of modern United Provinces, the kingdom of Kausambl, the eastern portion of the Central India Agencies and a portion of the Central Provinces.	Prince Tivar, the second son of Priyadarsin; his real name ²⁰ is not known.	Cannot be definitely stated; some place near Allhabftd-Prayfig, near which, is found out the Kosam edict.
14	Hastinapur:-U. P. (Its ancient name is not known; the region situated between the Sutlaj and Kanoj; upto the Himalayas in the north and the Jamna in the south.	Name not known.	Probably Hastinapur or Indraprastha; which was near modern Meerut.
15	Satyaputra—Sata-patra- Satapata - Satpudo:-the region about the Satpuda ranges; it included Berar and the southern part of the central provinces.	Name not known.	Probably near modern Amraoti; or Tripuranagar near Jubbulpore (The father of Queen Naganika of the Nasik edict fame, ruled over this region.) ⁹¹ .

(19) No. 2 province above.

(20) This prince may have been appointed as the heir-apparent; he may then have assumed the name of V??abhasen. Cf.pp. 265 "sons and daughters" para.

(21) Malvika, whom the Sunga king Agnimitra married, was the daughter of the governor of this province.

- 16 Kaling²²:-modern Tosaliputta, Tosali nagari-on
Chhota Udepur; the (The capital was the banks of the
Northern Circars of Tosalinagari; one lake Chilka near
Madras Presidency; who was the go- Jagannathpuri.
some western portion vernor over that
of Bihar* capital, was called
Tosaliputta.)
- 17 Andhra:—r e g i o n Andhra ki- Paithan * :—situa-
between the source of ngs²³ as vassals. ted near the source of
the Godavari to the the Godavari.
Krsna and some
portion south of it.
- 18 Chola kingdom:— Chola kings as Probably Arkatt-
Sea-coast east of the vassals- a branch (Amaraoti near Bez-
modern districts of of the Mauryas; vada:— (for details
KadappS. and Belarey Aryakumar⁹⁴. about Anaaraoti, Vol.
in the north and from 1. pp. 147 & seq.)
the Krsna to Kanji-
varam in the south.

(22) At the beginning of Samprati's rule, this province was under the power of the Andhra kings. When the Andhra king rose against him, he defeated him and conquered this province. (The chief aim in defeating the Andhra king was religious; the Andhra king was not a Jain, and so persecuted the Jaina pilgrims, who travelled through his territory. For details vide the account of Andhra kings).

(23) These vassal kings' coins bear Priyadarsin's sign, "The Elephant" on the obverse side. Jaina books tell us that Samprati re-instated on the throne some kings whom he had defeated; one of them was the Andhra king. A federal system of government existed at that time. (F. n. no. 24 below). It is stated in the Sudarsan Lake Inscription that the king of this country was a relative of the emperor, and hence, though he defeated him twice, he did not dethrone him. After the second conquest, however, Kaling was taken away from him and was annexed to the empire. A "Devkumar" was appointed as a governor over it.

* There are two Paithanas (more clearly, one is Peinth and the other is - Python) of these two which was the capital, see the description under the Andhra Dynasty Vol. IV.

(24) Over some conquered territories, members of the royal family were appointed as governors and they were part and parcel of the empire; over

19	Pandya kingdom: South of Chola upto cape Comorin on the west coast.	Pandya kings as vassals ²⁵ ; in the same posi- tion as Cholas above.	MadurS.
20	Keralputta:- Mo- dern Mulbar, Cochin, Trivendrum and the district of Kurga, (Southern portion of the Sahyandries).	Keralputta:- Aryakumar gove- rning the province and named after the province.	Isalipattan:—its present situation can* not be definitely located.
21	Suvar nabhumi:— Modern Mysore and probably southern Canara.	Name not known.	Probably Chittala- durga.
22	Aparant:—from the south of the Tapti to the south Canara; region between the Sahyandries and the Arabian sea.	Name not known.	Soparak — near modern Nalasopara,

Governors, who were members of the royal family were called "Devakumaras;" while others were called, "Aryakumaras" or "Sryaputtas." These governors had to conduct the affairs of the administrations according to rules and regulations framed for the

some conquered territories. The defeated kings were established as vassal kings with independent powers as regards internal administration. This is why Priyadarsin called them "Bordering Countries."

(25) At first Nandivardhan appointed governors over this province; then Kharvel conquered it and included it within Kaling. His descendant, Vakragrhlv, while dividing the spoils of the victory with Chandragupta, after the defeat of the Ninth Nanda king, died because of coming into contact with "Vi?a-kanyeu" From that time Kaling, Chola and Pandya and other territories were annexed to the Mauryan empire. Priyadarsin inherited them, as they belonged to the Mawya dynasty; Priyadarsin called them "Bordering Countries,"¹ though they were only in the south of the ndhra territory.

governance of the provinces, in Avanti by the ministers. **The** provinces themselves had councils of their own, to help the governor in efficient administration. Details about other officers have already been given in the account of Chandragupta. Over and above them, he had appointed missionaries in every province, for the work of religious propagation and for social welfare. He used to pay visits to provinces, to inspect the work going on there.

One thing deserves notice here. An emperor did not usually annex the territory of a particular king, because he had defeated him in the battle²¹. If a vassal king died without any heir, his kingdom was annexed to the empire. Priyadarsin introduced the custom of re-instating some dethroned kings on their throne³⁷; he used to invite them to Avanti for counsel and conference. His empire, thus was a perfect net-work of federal states in which amicable relations existed between the ruler and the ruled.

The edicts of Priyadarsin have made him immortal, more than anything else. They have been of the greatest help in keeping

His edicts.

the chain of the true history unbroken and in dispelling darkness and errors in the vast abyss of Indian history. Want of space does not allow us to dwell at length upon every aspect connected with them. We shall rest content with giving only an outline and salient points:-

(26) Lord Dalhousie had promulgated the system of "Lapse.**

(27) F. n. no. 22 above; Jain books state this. Though no instances are given, yet looking to the character and exposition of Priyadarsin, it is not unreasonable to believe that he might have adopted this system. The edicts also do not contain any allusion to it- (It is just likely).

Another possibility is that the chiefs of Chola, Pandya and other were Jains from the beginning. The Andra kings, when they came into power, may have subdued them (duriDg the time of Vilivayakur ndhra). Samprati brought the whole of Daksinapath within his power and restated the chiefs in their original positions.

This shows that the Chola, the Pandya and the other dynasties had been ruling over their respective territories even before the time of Priyadarsin. They were in a'wayjjndependent and so Priyadarsin has mentioned them as Bordering Lands in his rock-edicts. But these do not mean that they were not under the paramountcy of Priyadarsin. (Pp. 270 to 277, and f. nos. about them)*

His edicts consist of Rock-edicts; Minor Rock-edicts, Pillar edicts and many others. These last have not been mentioned by any historian, because of the false theory of identifying Chandragupta with Sandrocottus and thus attributing all these edicts to Asoka, who was a Buddhist. Hence many edicts of Priyadarsin, which they could not convincingly fix up as having connection with Buddhism, have been ignored by them. Again in his edicts only, he has mentioned his name as "King Priyadarsin". While the countless Jaina temples and idols, erected and set up by him, bear no trace of his name. Such was his humility. The relics of his devotion to history will draw high encomiums of praise from all subsequent generations, as they have done in the past.

Details about the arts of these edicts will be given later on. Here we shall concern ourselves with the "places where they have been erected, their subject matter and; the purpose.

Let us first turn to the question of the selection of the place. Some scholars have come to the conclusion that, his edicts were erected on the boundary line of his empire and thus are indications to its extent. We know, however, that his empire stretched throughout the length and breadth of India. The Siddhagiri and Brahmagiri edicts, on the other hand, are situated in Mysore; the Sahbazgrhi and Mumsera rock-edicts are found in the Punjab, while his empire extended upto Syria. Again "the edicts like Sahasram, Rupnath and Bhabra-vairat are situated within the very centre of his empire. Hence we come to the conclusions that the places of his edicts, have no connection with the boundaries of the empire.

His aim in erecting these edicts, as we already know, was the propagation and perpetuation of the gospel of his faith. Hence the places, which he selected were those, where deaths had taken place of various religious prophets and also of the members of the royal family. People might pass by them and be reminded of the sad, ever-lasting truth that death is sure to lay its icy hands sooner or later upon them. These might turn their minds from "affairs terrestrial to things spiritual" and thus make them more devoted to religion. They might read religious tenets beautifully **Carved on the edicts, understand their far-reaching significance.**

accept them and put them into practice, and thus become devoted Jains. And this actually happened many a time. (See the rock-edict of Sahasr&m). Such was the idea behind the selection of these places.

Next, he began to think about the material, on which the eternal truths of his faith might be inscribed. Metal sheets would not be as lasting as rocks. He specially selected the granite rock for the purpose, so that his edicts might be as ever-lasting as the sun and the moon (" yavachchandradivakarau.")

Let us see what were the places he selected and who died there. He was a Jain. Twenty, out of the twenty-four Tirthankars, the Jaina books tell us, died on Mount Sametasikhar in Bihar.⁹⁸ Of the remaining four, the first Tirthahkar, Rsabhdev died on Mt. Astapad, Neminath on Mount Girnar; Vasupujya on a peak near Champanagari²⁹; and Mahftvir in Pav&puri. Naturally Priyadarsin selected these five places, first and foremost. He got large Rock-edicts erected at these places and his sign " the elephant " is found in all of them. He got Minor Rock-edicts³¹ erected, at places where took place deaths of the members of the royal family⁸⁰. These do not have " the elephant ". One of the Minor Rock-edicts, which was erected by him to show his birth-place-Virat, however, does contain " the white elephant " because,

- (28) Astapade Sri Adijinavar I
 Noma Revagiri varu it
 Vasupujya Champanayar siddha I
 Sri Vira Pavapuri varu it (1)
 Sametasikhare visa Jinavar 1
 Moksa pahotya munivaru tl
 Chovisa Jinavar nityavandu t
 Sakala sarigha suhanikaru ll (2)

(29) Pp. 327 for details about Rupanath; f. n. no. 35.

(30) Jaina¹ books have stated the number of temples and idols erected and repaired by Priyadarsin. They do not, however, contain information about rock-edits, because the places of death are not considered places of pilgrimage.

(31) For reasons why there are rock-edicts at gahbajagrhi and Mum sera see pp. 328 to 329.

when he entered the phœtus of his mother, she had seen in a dream, a white elephant entering her mouth³³.

Let us take up Rock-edicts (R. E.) and minor Rock-edicts, (M. R. E.) one by one:—

Place³³

Purpose of erecting and other details

(1) Kalsi (R. E.) has " the elephant".

The foot of Mount Astapad, the place where Adisvar, the first Tirthankar, attained moksa (died). (The Astapad Mount had already been destroyed by the gods before the time of Priyadarsin, during whose time the place was selected for the memorial).

(2) Junagadh-Girnar (R. E.) (It has an allusion to the " white elephant "³⁴ and two lines).

The place, where the 22nd Tirthankar, Neminath attained salvation (died). The foot of the mountain has somewhat receded in course of time. It was at this place during the time of Priyadarsin. As a proof, see the Sudarsana Lake inscription; in which it is stated

(32) This rock-edict had been a bit broken like the edict of Rupnath, Looking to the reasons of Priyadarsin, having got the Bharhut Stupa repaired, and to the places of the deaths of his relatives, I have come to this conclusion. Avanti was the place of the residence of Kunal, only after he became blind. The merchants of Virat, a flourishing town, had trade relations with Avanti. The mother of Kunal was the daughter of a merchant of Vidisa and so was his wife. These are logical conclusions.

(33) At three of these five places "the Elephant" is found even to-day. For the remaining two, read what I have to say in their accounts. If we get proofs to that effect, the reasons and the purposes, which I have stated for the selection of the places and for the matter to be inscribed* will be proved to be true*

(34) On Pp. 228 of "Asoka Charitra", G. V. S. it is stated that the Girnar R, E, has an "Elephant" in it, (No. 4).

that, the lake was dug at the foot of the mountain.

(3) Dhauli-Jaguda (R. E.)

(The foot of the mountain was near this place in ancient times. During the time of Priyadar&n it was near the place called " Bhuvanesvari " near which is "Hathigumfa" of emperor Kharvel ". It has an "Elephant" at the entrance).

The place where twenty Tirthankars attained salvation (Sametasikhar mount). Like Girnar's, its foot has also receded. It is situated in Bengal. The summits are now found separated from one another. In ancient times they formed a connected range and the foot of the mount was in Orrisa and Bihar.

* Some take him to belong to this Ajivik sect just as Prince Dasarath; and so I have included this word here.

The author of Hathigumfa and the inscription in it, was emperor Kharvel. The Ajivika* sect is only a branch of Jainism; the monks of this sect were therefore, equally devoted to Mount Sametasikhar. Kharvel had got this cave carved for these monks to put up there, while on a pilgrimage to the mount. Priyadarsin got " the elephant" carved out at the entrance of the cave. At other places there is merely a picture of the elephant or an allusion to it. This place being far more important than others, he has got the elephant carved out of Stones.

(4) Rupnath³⁵ (M. R. E.).

• The place where the 12th Tirthankar, Vasupujya attained salvation; Champanagari was situated here. (Vol. I. the paragraph entitled, " Champanagari, the capital of Kunik."

It is a M. R.E. at present. Further researches will, however, probably result into rinding out more remnants of the edict. The inscription on it consists of only two to three lines; the remaining portion together with the " elephant " seem to have disappeared or been destroyed in the course of time. The archeological department tells us that there probably flourished a large town between Rupnath and Bharhut. This town was, in all probability, Champanagari of Kunik. At the foot³⁶ of the mountain near it, this M. R. E. was erected.

(5) Pavapuri:-The place where Mahavir attained salvation. The R. E. there, has not yet been found out; it will be unearthed sooner or later, as all other rock edicts have been. It must have been situated at the foot of one of the hills near the Sanchi Stupas.

While other Tirthankars attained salvation on mountains, Mahavir attained it in a horse paddock *, that lay vacant in the town. His cremation ceremony was however, performed on a hill-top³⁷. The R. E. must have been at the foot of the hill with the Elephant sign on it. One of the Stupas in this place is known as "Siddha-ka-sthan" Vide pp. 187 and is considered more important than others. Was it erected in memory of Mahavir ? Probably it was.

* Somewhere it is written a clerk-room.

(35) If the remains are excavated, it would be changed into R. E. in place of M. R. E.

(36) F. n. no. 29.

(37) These details are concerned with Jainism; so they will be fully dealt with in the book entitled "Life of Priyadarsin."

There are other rock-edicts also; but they do not bear the "Elephant" sign and hence are not religious in their significance. They were probably erected in memory of the members of the royal family, who died at these places. Some of these memorials are however, rock-edicts; while others are minor rock-edicts. Why so? The answer is³⁸ that, wherever the region was rocky, it was easy to procure as large a boulder of stone as was required. If this was not the case, the rock available in the place was used for the purpose; and sometimes such a rock had a ridge in it. (e. g. the Kalsi R. E.³⁹) The place, where a person would die, cannot be foretold; if his death took place in a level region, the rock or the boulder had to be brought over there, from other places. Hence there was a difference in sizes.

(6-7) Sahbajgrhl and Mumsa (R. E.).

One of them was erected in memory of Susima, the eldest son of Bindusara. He was killed in Punjab, where he had gone to suppress a rebellion. The other was probably erected in memory of the younger brother of Asoka (though he is said to have slain all his brothers) or it was erected more probably, in memory of the prince, who was sent there during the rule of Priyadarsin. His name was Suman.⁴⁰

(38) F. n. no. 31.

(39) Some might argue that the ridge in the slab may be the result of the subsequent natural forces and that the slab must have been intact at first.* Had that been so, however, some of the letters of the inscription must have also been split up due to it. The fact that, it is not so, proves that the stone had a ridge in it, when it was selected for the inscription*.

(40) This place I had fixed up as commemorating the death of Tissa, alias Madhvasimha, the body-guard of Prince Kunala and the brother of Asoka. I am* however, not quite definite now, which member of the royal family died there. Read the description of the Maski R. E., f. n. no. 41 below.

- (8) Bhabra Vairat or
Bhabra Calcutta.

Birth-place of Priyadarsin

For details P. 324 last lines
and f. n. no. 32 below it.

- (9) Sahasram. (M. R. E.)

The place where Asoka died,
in A. M. 256 ("256 Viyutha".)

As the edict was erected by
Priyadarsin he made use of the
M. E.; number 256 represents
that Era. For proof of this vide
the account of Asoka. It is
stated therein that Priyadarsin's
age was 32 at that time (A.
M. 223 + 32J = A. M. 256)

- (10) Maski. (M. R. E.)

Probably in memory of Asoka's
brother Tisya⁴¹, who stayed in
Ujjaini as the body-guard of
Kunal. In Jaina books his name
has been stated as "Madha
vasimha".

- (11-12-13)-Siddha-giri-Brah-
magiri-Chittaladurga. (M. R. E.).

For details see the Munisera
R. E. above.

One of them was probably
erected in memory of Chandra-
gupta and the other two, in
memory of those monks, who
died with Chandragupta, by
observing the vow of Sanilekh-
ana. One of them may also
have been in memory of Bhad-
rabahu, the preceptor of Chandra-
gupta; or for other members
of the royal family.

(41) It has been stated in the account of the 6th Andhra king that
Priyadarsin's younger brother was killed in the battle here. Cf. f. n. no. 40..

From which it follows that, at one of the places died the brother of
Asoka and at the other died the son of Priyadarsin—either the heir-apparent
or some other*

[About the three colossal idols found in the vicinity of these M. R. E., please refer to the article " colossal idols " Nos. 1, 2 & 3 on pp. 335.]

(14) Soparft. (M. R. E.)

The governor of Aparant, probably died here.

The Pillars are made of various materials and vary in size and height. Like the Rock-edicts, the selection of the places for their erection must have also been actuated by religious motives. Scholars have hitherto held the opinion that Pillar-edicts are connected with certain episodes in the life of Buddha. If a keen student, however, tries to investigate facts about them, he will surely come to the conclusion that the opinion is ill-founded, due to reasons which we have already stated.⁴² They have no connection with Buddhism. They are erected by Priyadarsin and have connection with Jainism. On the top of every principal Pillar-edict, is perched the Lion⁴³, which is the sign of the last Jaina Tirthankar, Mahavir. The matter inscribed on them refers to episodes in the life of Mahavir, a glance at which might remind the lookers of the fact that even Mahavir had to undergo and struggle against so many difficulties and impediments.⁴⁴ So they might grasp the

(42) Read the arguments given at the end of chap. I. Cf. f. n. no. 43 below.

(43) I think all the pillar-edicts must have had the Lion at their top; but these "Lions" might have been destroyed in course of time. Or, just as the R. E. have been erected at places where the Tirthankars died, so the P. E. must have been erected at places where any one of the five main stages of a Tirthankar's life may have taken place. These stages—Kalyatiakas—are Chyavan=entering the phcetus, birth, ordination, attaining knowledge and attainment of salvation. So a pillar-edict may have had the sign of that Tirthankar, the stage of the life of whom, may have been commemorated at a particular place* (e. g. Saranath P. E.). These P. E. may have been many in number *at first, and many of them may have been destroyed in course of time, or they may have been few in number from the first.

(44) As long as a Tirthankar does not attain the Kaivalya stage, he avoids publicity. During this time he undergoes many hardships, sometimes

fact that if they want to liberate their souls from worldly shackles, the only way to do so is, to follow implicitly the gospel preached by Him. Such was the purpose of their erection.⁴⁵ Thus we see that both the Rock-edicts and the Pillar-edicts were erected from the same view-point, namely perpetuation and propagation of religious doctrines.

The Pillar-edicts are erected at places where Mahavir had to undergo great physical persecution and hardship,—called *Upasarga* in Jainism.—Details as to, at which place he underwent a particular form of hardship, are not given here, because they would be out of place in a book like this. Those readers who have a desire to know them are referred to "The Life of Mahavir" to be published by me.

There are certain Pillar-edicts which do not have the lion upon their top. Two explanations can be forwarded for this (f. n. nos. 43, 44):—(1) There must have been the lion at the top, but must have been destroyed in course of time;⁴⁶ or the emperor must have issued orders that such pillars must be erected at places where there are found slabs or boulders⁴⁷. (2) If a pillar does not have this distinguishing Jaina sign, it may have connection

self-inflicted, to mitigate his sins; but none after the *Kaivalya* stage; however Mahavir had to undergo many such hardships. Details about them are given in the "Life of Priyadarsin" and in the "Life of Mahavir," to be published by me.

(45) The custom of erecting memorials prevails in our times also.

(46) As these pillars are, however connected with Jainism, so no. 1 is a more probable reason than no. 2.

(47) At the end of the pillar-edicts it is stated:—"Wherever there are slabs or boulders, inscriptions must be made." No rock-edict or cave inscription ends in this way. So scholars have concluded that cave and rock inscriptions were effected after the pillar edicts. (G. V". S. As oka, pp. 247-87). This may be true or may not be. However it supports my conclusions stated above.

The rock edicts do not end in this way because they represent the places of the deaths of religious prophets or of the persons of the royal family—both of which are distinguished from each other by different signs. In the case of pillar edicts, those that were connected with the life of Mahavir, were crowned with a lion at the top. While others were erected at places where-ever slabs were found. Hence, I suppose, there are two kinds of pillar edicts,

with Buddhism. Buddhist books tell us that Asoka had got 84000 pillars erected for the spread of Buddhism. (It is not, however, stated whether any one of them had any inscription upon it or not). Of course 84000 must have been an exaggeration. The true number must have been 84, as also Sir Cunningham believes. If the number had been really 84000, the famous Chinese Hu-en-Tsang, a staunch Buddhist, must have alluded to it some where in his account. But he has not. (Records of the Western World, Pts. II; translated by Rev. S. Beal from the Travels of Hu-en-Tsang). He has mentioned pillars whenever he came across them in his travels from one province to another. But their number does not exceed 150. His predecessor Fa-he-yan has stated matters to the same effect. Thus we come to the conclusion that the pillars erected by Asoka had no inscription upon them and that they were smaller in size than those erected by Priyadarsin.

We have stated on P. 323 that over and above his Rock—edicts and Pillar edicts, there are two more kinds of relics to his credit. No scholar's attention has yet been drawn towards them, because Priyadarsin, out of humility, did not get his name superscribed upon them. But the purpose and the place of their erection prove that it was Priyadarsin to whom they owe their existence. They are (1) Stupas⁴⁸, and (2) Gigantic stone idols.

The motive behind erecting the Stupas was religious⁴⁹. Whenever any chief monk in the line of Mahavir died, his ashes were preserved in a box⁶⁰ and that box was deposited in a hollow place, over which was erected an edifice of a particular shape and size. These are called Stupas. They were raised in memory of other monks

(48) All the Stupas have not been erected by him. Some of them have been erected by his predecessors. He was, however, the only emperor who got so many of them erected. Cf. the statement given at the end of the next paragraph.

(49) Pp. 57, where are quoted the words of Dr. Bulhar, cf. f. n. no. 73.

(50) For details about the preservation of ashes, see K. S. S. Com. pp. 123*

also. They were not necessarily built at the place where a particular monk died. (Otherwise Priyadarsin would have erected R. E. at those places, because when he has erected R. E. in memory of the members of the royal family, he would certainly have done so in memory of those whom he revered with much more devotion, namely the monks.) So the stupas were erected for the Safichay⁵¹—collection of the ashes, e. g. the Bhilsa Topes.⁵³ Why this place was given preference to all the places is a question particularly connected with Jainism. The Jains believe that Mahavir attained salvation—his Moksa-kalyanak—^{B3} in Pfivapuri. The name Pavapuri is right but there is no mention of its spot; it is supposed to be in Bengal⁵⁴. No proof is forwarded in support of this belief. Priyadarsin has tried to commemorate the place where Mahavir attained salvation and has given ample material at one single place for the Jains to visit it and show their devotion to it. This is one of the many benefactions of Emperor Samprati over the Jaina community.⁵⁵ All the Stupas have not been raised for the preservation of the ashes. Some of them, when opened, revealed the boxes, while others did not, though they were in a sound condition. What the difference is, between these two kinds⁵⁶ of Stupas is again a question specially connected with Jainism and hence we shall not discuss it here.

We have stated that most of the Stupas have been erected in memory of various monks, and that their ashes are preserved

(51) For details about the aptness of this word, vide pp. 185 and onwards.

(52) For details see the publication "The Bhilsa Topes" by Sir Cunningham.

(53) F. n. no. 43 above, for these "Kalyanakas."

(54) The followers of both the Svetambar and the Digambar sects have squandered thousands of rupees for the ownership of this temple. Really speaking this place does not represent the Moksa—Kalyanak=the place of salvation.

(55) History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith, 1911, pp. 14:—"The huge mass of solid brick masonry known as the great siupa of Saftchi may be his (Asoka, but we have to take it as "Priyadarsin") work.

(56) Details as to whose ashes are preserved in these stupas, and as to why other stupas have been raised without any ashes, will be given in my "Life of Priyadarsin."

in them. These monks, of course, died at different times. Even then, the language and the script on all of them are the same, i. e. those that prevailed during the time of Priyadarsin. This means that these ashes must not have been properly preserved before his time; but Priyadarsin looking at their deplorable condition, must have got them collected and erected the stupas over them. Or we can explain the sameness of script and language on all of them due to the continuation of the script and the same language right from the time of Mahavir. This conjecture is more probable than the first, because the Bharhut Stupa, which has been erected by Ajatsatru, has the same script as those of the Sanchi Stupas. The Prasenjit Pillar and many others support this theory. This proves that, though the Stupas were erected at different times, they have the same script because they are connected with one religion, namely Jainism.

Priyadarsin's aim in getting such gigantic idols prepared must have been none other than religious, though we cannot assert this with full authority of evidence.

Colossal idols Scholars, who have devoted much time and energy to his rock and pillar edicts, have paid little attention to these idols, though they are not a whit inferior to the former from the view-point of art. Those explorers and antiquarians who have paid a visit to them, have eloquently praised them.⁵⁷ As far as I know, there are seven such idols:-

Place	Details
(1) Sravan Belgol:-- (Mysore State) ⁵⁸	Height 57 ft; in Hasan district in Mysore; time of setting 977 to 984 A. D. Mr. James has taken a likeness of this and

A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith, pp. 14. "For the safe custody of relics or to mark a spot associated with an event, sacred in Buddhist or Jaina legend. Until a few years ago, the stupa was universally believed to be psuculiarly Buddhist, but it is now matter of common knowledge that the ancient Jains built stupas identical in form and accessories with those of the rival religion."

(57) F. n. no. 56 above.

(58) For similar opinions vide Epi. Ind. vol, VII, details about tiravan. Belgol*

No. 3 with an inked paper. No-body is allowed to touch them. It is considered very sacred. Mr. James was given special permission. The script is Canarese, and the dialect is Tamil.⁵⁹

(2) Karkul:-

Height, 41 ft. 5 in.; in Canara district in Madras consecrated in 1432 A. D.; the words were photographed by a servant of Mr. James; the script is Canarese. weight 80 tons; seems to have been removed from its original place.⁶⁰

(3) Tripur-Venur:-

Height 35 ft; in the southern Canara district of Madras; consecrated in 1604 A. D.; the imprint of the inscription taken on an inked paper by Mr. James, together with that of the first; the script is Canarese, while the language is Sanskrit.

If it is proved that one of these three idols was erected in memory of a Tirthankar, that Tirthankar was Mahavir. The other two represent Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta. The sizes of these idols, in all probability represent the relative proportions of the bodies of the persons whom they actually represent. (Further research will prove this.).

(59) Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, pp. 108:—"Mr. Rice thinks that these inscriptions are undoubtedly of the period when that work was complete"

(60) It is to be understood that idols were prepared out during the time of Priyadarsin. The dates given here refer to their being consecrated only. Cf. f. n. no. 81. In course of time the idols might have fallen or might have been removed from their original places* (Same has been the case of the Alhibad-Kausarnbi Pillar of north India). (Priyadarsin's humility is responsible for the absence of superscriptions upon them).

(4) On the top of a summit of the Satpuda ranges; near Jubblepore on the banks of the Narmada:- Read pp. 208-9 for details about this idol.

(5) Near the town of Mahu:- In the hilly region near Indore. Height 20 ft.

(6) Bhangar (Alvar State):- 57 ft. in height.⁶¹; oldest among all the idols in Gwalior and south India.

(7) Gwalior⁶²

Both the pillars and idols erected by Priyadarsin are models of the finest art. The materials used in building them are so durable that the passage of 2200 years has made very little effect upon them. They are a glowing tribute both to the religious ardour of the emperor⁶³ and to the engineering skill, craftsmanship and the art of ancient India. No wonder it is, that he called artists from the remotest corners of his empire for this purpose. The European scholars, though they admit that most of the craftsmanship was Indian in origin, insist that artists from foreign countries of Europe had to be called for the original planning and conception. There is little truth in this. The Bhilsa Topes and the Saiichi Stupas were erected before the advent of foreigners in India or before any contact with them, except that one or two of them were appointed as governors of some provinces⁶⁴,

(61) *His. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture**—(James Fergusson, London, 1910, vol. II, pp. 55). "Anterior to any of the colossi at Gwalior or in the south of India." (it is said to be the most ancient from the view point of the inscription on it, not from the view point of its having been prepared. It must have been prepared out in very ancient time). Cf. f. n. no. 60 above.

(62) *Ibid.* Pp. 48 to 55 for details about nos. 6 and 7.

(63) Cf. his face in fig. 29 with this description.

(64) Tususpa, the governor of Saurasfra has been wrongly taken to have been a foreigner. He was of the Pallava branch of the Samvriji clan. The "Pallnvas" are confused with "Palhavas,"^v which were of the Persian origin. (Pp. 101, f. n. no. 107; f. n. 134 on pp.23). So this argument has **no truth** in it.

because of their being related with the Indian emperor. Most of **the** European scholars have been bred with the rooted belief that, the West has been the initiator of anything new, in every branch of life and that the East has always sat at its feet and humbly imitated it.⁶⁵ True it is, that Greece was at the zenith of civilization and culture some 2500 years ago and that Egypt enjoyed the same pitch much earlier than that; but does this mean that there was nothing of the sort in India much earlier than that or during the same time? Certainly not. On the other hand, the time when Indian-Aryan-civilization and culture had reached their high water-mark, Europe was mostly semi-barbarous. What was the direction of the flow of civilization and culture \ From East to West or from West to East ?⁶⁶ All the religious books of India have unanimously voiced the fact that the world is eternal⁶⁷—has neither a beginning nor an end—and that India has always been the cradle of civilization.⁶⁸ Seasons are regular here only and it is teeming with mines of all kinds. Only the old can be called gold.

(65) M. S. I. pp. 484; Prof. Rhys David's opinion has been quoted there. We quote it below together with the comments of the author:—"

"Prof. Rhys David holds the opinion that Indian civilization or religion never reached the shores of Greece. Asoka only exaggerated things when he got this inscribed." (Why does the learned Professor not advance any proof in support of his statement?) The author says, (pp. 485):—"in those times India led the whole world from the view point of civilization and religion. Neither the impassable Himalayas, nor the intractable valleys of Pamir, nor the mountainous billows of the mighty main could prevent the powerful flow of civilization and religion in all corners of the world. India's contribution to the civilization of the whole world, not to talk of Greece only, is incomparable. Prof. Rhys David's statement is actuated by a false sense of racial superiority only." (Cf. pp. 306 f. n. no. 71).

(66) J. R. A. S. 193 2, the statement "made by Mr. P. R. C. supports this opinion.

(67) The Westerners believed that, life on the earth had not begun very long ago, though the Bible states the origin of the world to be very old. Science has proved that the world must have been millions of years old. Some excavations in Egypt have forced them to agree to this fact.

(68) Details about this! are given in the first 3 chapters, of vol. U

There, being no superscription on the idols, it is doubtful who raised them.⁶⁹ We know, however, that it was Priyadarsin who got the Rock-edicts and the Pillar-edicts erected. The tact, the craftsmanship and the engineering skill that we find in the edicts, we also find in these idols. This means that they were erected by the same person, namely, Priyadarsin. All of them alike have successfully withstood all the onslaughts of all the inclemencies of weather.

Neither the pillars nor the idols have been built by laying brick upon brick or slab upon slab. They seem to have been made out of one single unbroken piece of material. This is what has baffled the best engineers and craftsman of to-day. What baffles them still more is, the engineering skill with the help of which such gigantic and weighty pillars and idols—weighing several tons—could have been lifted and perched on the hill-tops and at such other heights. We have to admit that, in India of those times, machinery was in full force and that there were very clever mechanics. Even at present the removal of an object of similar dimensions and weight costs a considerable amount of labour and money. Some time ago⁷⁰, an instance of this kind occurred in London. Below is given an extract from a newspaper^{7x}, about it:-

" The largest stone slab in the world;
Length 68 ft.; weight 98 tons:—

A new hotel is being built near Marble Arch. The above mentioned slab took four hours to be brought over there from a distance of 2 miles.

Its length is 68 ft. and its weight is 98 tons. Its length together with that of the lorry in which it was brought was 107 ft; and its weight, with that of the lorry was 164 tons.

(69) Some are of the opinion that the gravana Belgola idol was carved out in the 9th or the 10th century B. C. This is not true. Chamurwjarai only consecrated it at that time; while it had been lying there from very ancient times. No proofs, also, are available to the effect that any craftsman of that time carved out another similar idol.

(70) These pages were written in 1931; the original book was compiled in 1929; while the date of the publication is 1939.

(71) "The **Bombay Samachar**," Dt. 20-10-31, Tuesday, pp. 1.

It was brought by a separate route; several walls on the way had to be razed to the ground. A large number of workers was employed for the purpose; it took them 24 hours to carry it over. •It cost £ 20000 to be brought from the Middle-borough where it was made."

(Imagine the labour and the money required in raising idols much heavier than this to the tops of hills⁷⁹; though here it was a question of removing the stone slab from only one level-space to another).

We can now confidently assert that Priyadarsin got Rock-edicts, Pillar-edicts, Stupas and idols erected for the propagation and the perpetuation of his faith. We know that Chandragupta and his preceptor Bhadrabahu spent the last years of their lives at Sravan Belgola. Hence we can come to the conclusion that the giant idols at the place are connected with them. The two idols which are near each other, probably, represent Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu. At one of the places Bhadrabahu may have died, and at the other Chandragupta may have died (Nos. 1 and 2 on P. 334-5). Idols Nos. 4 and 5 may represent the occasion of the ordination of Chandragupta by his preceptor. Be that as it may, we can now reasonably say that these idols⁷³ have connection with the founder of the Maurya dynasty and his preceptor.

One conjecture in connection with Suklatirtha and Chanakya has already been stated. If that is proved as an established fact, we can safely conclude that Priyadarsin erected rock-edicts in memory of those members of the royal family, who had not renounced the world and had erected idols in memory of those, who had renounced the world and had been ordained.

Many scholars are of the opinion that India is indebted to Greece for all her fine arts like painting, sculpture etc. and that everything refined or civilized here is of the Hellenic origin.

(72) Think of the engineering skill, labour and money required in raising such gigantic idols on hill-tops at Sravana Belgol. Read the paragraph above for the craft required in preparing and raising huge pillars also. Engineering must have been developed to a great extent in those times.

(73) Cf. pp. 192, f, n, no. 146 and'pp. 206 & sea.,

We have already discussed this question at some length on pp. 336 to 338.

The foreigners came into contact with India for the first time,⁷⁴ according to their own opinion, during the rule of Chandragupta; while according to our opinion, during the rule of Asoka. The question of the identification of Sandrecottus with Chandragupta or with A^oka, though a vital one from many other points of view, does not concern us here, because the interval between the time of these two is not more than 75 years. We have also proved that Alexander's power over a portion of India lasted only for 20 years⁷⁵. Is it reasonable to suppose that India borrowed everything in point of fine arts from the Greeks during this short interval? Again, only some border territory of India came into contact with the Greeks, while practically the whole of India had no idea of what kind of people the Greeks were and what the state of their civilization and culture was ?

We have explored the possibilities of the Greek civilization being adopted in India. Let us now look to the other side of the question. It has been proved that merchants of India used to go to foreign countries⁷⁶ for the trade purposes, used to stay there for long intervals of time, and then returned to India. This had been going on long since.⁷⁷ They visited almost all the foreign countries within their ken⁷⁸, details about which we shall give later on.

If we try to find out the reasons of the rooted belief of the modern scholars about the flow of civilization from East to West

(74) The Persian civilization resembles in more ways than one the Indian civilization; because Persia was inhabited by the Aryans in ancient times. Again, Persia is a part of Asia and so its customs and manners differed from those of Europe.

(75) Pp. 211 to 221.

(76) Vol. I, pp. 19-20 and f. n. thereof.

(77) In Egypt many things have been unearthed, which resemble the Indian ones; this is due to the visits of those people to that country in Ancient times.

(78) Vol. III, chapi on foreigners.

or from West to East, we shall come upon two main ones. Most of the modern scholars are educated according to the western system which was introduced a century ago by the British in India. Indians were bred and educated in this environment by the western scholars, who wanted to impress upon the young minds of India that everything fine or civilized here had its origin in Greece, the cradle of European civilization. It was this idea that provoked the learned Professor Rhys David to make the statement which we have already quoted⁷⁹, though he has not tried to substantiate his observation by forwarding any evidence. Fortunately the tide has begun to turn the other way and scholars have begun to realize the "glory of Ind" that was some two or three thousand years ago. We have quoted below a passage in support of this⁸⁰:—"His (Alexander's) expedition was an organized one and had historians, geographers, scientists, merchants⁸¹ etc. One object of Alexander's conquest was to spread Greek civilization abroad; but we regret to see that he himself and his men were orientalized⁸² in Persia⁸³. No Indian work (Hindu, Buddhist or Jain) makes the least mention of Alexander⁸⁴. The Indians probably regarded Alexander as a mighty robber and his expedition and conquests as a political hurricane.⁸⁵ India was

(79) The principal of Kangadi Gurukul, Satyabhusan Vidyalkar, had added his own comments over this, which we have quoted above*

(80) H. H. pp. 510.

(81) Such people do not form part of an army generally. So it is supposed that these invasions had a motive behind them, other than conquering the territories.

(82) He was himself orientalized when he entered Persia. The civilization of Persia resembled (as we have already stated), the civilization of India. So Alexander was already more or less Indianized by the time he put his foot on the Indian soil. (Cf. f. n. no. 74). This itself excludes the possibility of India coming under the influence of the Greek civilization.

(83) Ibid. Pp. 512.

(84) This means that none attached any political significance to these invasions.

(85) Compare these words with the extract from Mr* Crindle quoted on pp. 212 referring to the behaviour of Alexander towards Asoka; the reader will be convinced¹ that the statement of the author of H. H. and the views of the Greek historians convey the same sense,

not changed, India was not hellenized.⁸⁶" Another passage is quoted below:—⁸⁷ " In those times India led the whole world from the view point of civilization and religion. Neither the impassable Himalayas nor the intractable valley of Pamir, nor the mountainous billows of the mighty main ever deterred the powerful flow of civilization and religion in all the corners of the world. India's contribution to the civilization of the whole world, not to talk of Greece only, is incomparable."

The reader now will judge for himself, which continent is indebted to which, for civilization and religion.

His ardent desire for public welfare and for religious propaganda is writ large on his edicts and topes and idols described in the foregoing pages. One more piece of work The Sudarsan lake remains to be mentioned and that is the Sudarsan lake. Though, now in a ruined condition yet the inscription upon it, is eloquent of the contribution of Priyadarsin to its upkeep. It has been proved on the authority of rock-edicts that the lake was at first dug at the then-existing foot of the Girnar by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, in order to facilitate water-supply to Jaina pilgrims visiting the holy mount. (P. 179). Some repairs were made upon it during the time of Asoka. Then the lake was almost destroyed by gale and storm and other vagaries of weather. Then it was repaired by Ksatrap Rudra-daman, according to the opinion of some scholars. I have proved that the credit of these reparations goes to Priyadarsin. For further details, I refer the readers to Appendix B. He had dug numerous wells and lakes for proper supply of water to his people. At present we have no means to prove their existence. Some of the pieces of evidence may yet be unearthed; others may have been irrevocably destroyed.

(86) In reality, struck with the Indian arts and civilization, the Greeks adopted as much as they could grasp and carried it over to Greece. It was with a view to study Indian art that the Greek sculptors came to India fifty years later, and having studied all the models, they returned to their own country, full of admiration for the Indian art.

(87) M.S.I., pp.485; f. n. no, 78 above and the matter connected with it

Every sane reader who has gone through these pages will certainly form a very high opinion of Priyadarsin, both as a ruler and as a man. Scholars have tried to compare him with various rulers, Indian as well as foreign. Some of the rulers with whom he is compared are:—Charles the Great, Charlemagne; Constantine; Napoleon Bonaparte, Caesar the Great, Alexander the Great, Marcus Aurelius and last but not the least, Akbar. Though individually taken, any one of them might stand close to Priyadarsin in any single quality of mind or character, yet none of them holds a candle with him in the aggregate. To institute a comparison between Priyadarsin and any one of them is as ludicrous as the story of "six blind men of Indostan" who went to see an elephant and then gave their individual ideas of what an elephant was like. Below is given an extract which will give the reader an idea about Priyadarsin's character and achievements.^{8*}

"Once Mr. H. G. Wells was asked the question as to who were the six greatest men of the world. He replied that they were, Jesus, Buddha, Asoka, (whom we have proved to have been Priyadarsin), Aristotle, Bacon and Lincoln. Of all the powerful emperors like Alexander, Caesar, Charles and others⁸⁹, he gave the palm only to Asoka. (The reason is stated on P. 612). He had shaken off territorial ambitions and had successfully devoted himself to the noble task of religious propagation (P. 613). All other kings in his time had no ambition beyond the expansion of their territories. They never thought of the amelioration of their subjects. Under such circumstances he worked, undaunted by difficulties, for the perpetuation of his faith; and the wonderful thing about it is that he achieved this task without shedding a drop of blood and with love and sympathy (P. 613). Countless battles have been recorded on the pages of history,—battles which were fought

(88) M. S. I. pp. 610.

(89) Of these six, Jesus and Buddha are religious prophets; Aristotle and Bacon are philosophers and writers; Lincoln was the president of a republic i. e. not an emperor; so among the six greatest men of the world, according to Mr. Wells, the emperor was only one.

for the acquisition of territories; but there has been no emperor in the history of the world, who achieved such unique and true victory; and who established an empire of love and religion. He did things, even to-day believed to be impracticable and ideal (P. 614). He never persecuted those who followed another religion, though he could have oppressed them if he wanted to do so (P. 617). His private life also was spotless and ideal. He never indulged himself in luxuries or amours like other emperors (P. 619). Looking to all his attainments, any one who tries to find out any other person in history, who can stand comparison with him, shall meet with disappointment only. Constantine was a cunning and confirmed rogue. He had no religious ideal in his life. His foresightedness was the only redeeming feature of his otherwise black character. No doubt he extended his empire and tried to spread Christianity every where. But we should remember that, patronized by the state, Christianity expanded in bulk—mere numbers and declined in spirit. Churches began to be hoarding places of riches and luxury; and restraint, sacrifice and other ideals began to evaporate. The private life of Constantine offers a sad contrast to that of Asoka. Constantine can not stand even a remote comparison with him. To compare the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius with Asoka is to compare a lamp with the sun. (In the same way, Asoka, has been proved by the writers to have been head and shoulders above Alexander, Caesar, Akbar and others (Chap. 24, P. 610 to 624 should be gone through by all the readers). In short, in the realms of history, Asoka shines like a sun. Then is quoted a passage from Wells " Outlines of History " P. 212, which is also quoted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarker in his " Asoka, P, 225:—" Asoka has been compared by various scholars with Roman emperor Constantine the Great, with Marcus Aurelius, (A. D. 121 to 180), with king Alfred, Charlemagne, Omer Khaliff and others. Mr. Bhandarker has compared him with Akbar the Great; while some European scholars have put him in the same scales with Caesar and Napoleon ".

Having quoted the foregoing passage, Acharya Vidyabhusan Alafckarji, has quoted another passage by Mr. Wells, from the

Strand Magazine, Sept. 1922 P. 216, in his book P. 610:—'
 " Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graces and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan, his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne ". I strongly recommened my readers to go through pp. 610 to 624 of Acharya Vidyibhu sari's book.

Scholars have instituted comparisons between Priyadarsin and various other emperors, Indian as well as foreign. I am inclined to compare him with one, who preceded him on the throne of Magadh, one or two centuries ago. This emperor is none other than Srenik, the founder of the guilds. There had been several other emperors, who succeeded him (Kharvel and others) and who can also hold a candle with him. We have selected Srenik because his account has already been given.

Though marvels of to-day are the common-places of to-morrow, it is a well-known fact that the pioneer in every branch of life has to work against practically insurmountable odds. Again, history always records only the achievements and not the efforts of a person, though the magnitude of the latter may far exceed that of the former. Looking from this point of view, Srenik carries the palm because, while he had to classify society into various guilds-an original palm-, Priyadarsin had nothing to do of that kind. ^But, if we look at the question from the view point of which of the two took measures conducive to the general welfare of the society, the laurels will go to Priyadarsin. Again Srenik was aided by an able minister like Abhayakumar, while Priyadarsin had not this advantage.

Both achieved the task they had begun.

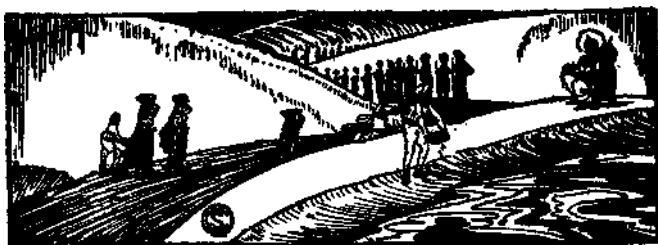
Both of them worked for the welfare of their subjects, though in different ways. Srenik worked from the worldly point of view, while Priyadarsin from the spiritual point of view. But a worker

in the spiritual field has to keep in view, social and worldly happiness of the people also. Thus the achievement of Priyadarsin was more solid than that of Srenik. On the other hand, the social Structure raised by Srenik lasts even to-day, the way of life propounded by Priyadarsin is not extant; thus showing, the most people in the world have their eyes fixed on the ground.

Srenik did not direct his attention to religious propaganda. Priyadarsin left no stone unturned for it; as to general welfare he rested content with dining places, alms-houses, wells, recreation grounds etc.

Both were powerful and intellectual Both lived for nearly 67 years, and the reign of both lasted for nearly 52-54 years, and had happy family lives. The extent of the kingdom of Srenik was not as wide as that of Priyadarsin. This does not mean that the former was less valorous than the latter. In his times, kings paid little attention to the expansion of their empires. During the time of Srenik, people were devoted to religion; so he worked for their social welfare. During the time of Priyadarsin, people had drifted away from the religion and had enmeshed themselves into the tangle of various sects; so he took up the task of uniting them under the banner of true religion.

Thus, though their methods of work were different and they worked for apparently different purposes, yet both had the same end in view-the well-being of their subject and their amelioration in all possible ways. In short, both of them tower high, over any other emperor, Indian or foreign.



Chapter V

Synopsis:—

Appendix A:—Dharmasoka; scholars have fixed up Kalasoka as the name of the 2nd Nand king; and Chandasoka first and then Dharmasoka as the name of Asoka—Both the hypotheses are wrong and misleading—Dharmasoka was the name of a different individual altogether—though a scion of the Mauryan dynasty, he was the ruler of Kasmir and was a Jain—all this has been proved on the authority of books like Rajatarangini.

Appendix B:—Sudarsan Lake—it is commonly believed that it was repaired by Ksatrapa Rudraddman for political purposes—evidence against this false belief.

Appendix C;—Prince Dasarath and prince Salisuk—They were contemporaries of Asoka and Priyadarsin and were Mauryan princes—new light upon them.

*Appendix D:—Jalauk, the king of Kasmir; not mentioned in any book on Indian history; he was a Mauryan prince; details about him**

Appendix A

In the account of Nand II, I have stated that Dharmasoka was the name of this king and of nobody else. Later researches have, however, made me change my opinion and come to the conclusion that this title belonged to nobody else but Priyadarsin and that Jalauk of Kasmir was none other than his son.

Dharmasoka

The author of R&jatarangini has made several contradictory statements. Upto the first three Tarangas,¹ i. e. upto the origin of the Karkotaka dynasty, the dates seem to have been fixed according to the Kali era. These dates are not very trustworthy. But the details given by him about the king deserve notice.

The word Dharmasoka makes one think of Asoka. In ancient Indian history two kings bore this name:—Nand II and Asoka, the Mauryan emperor. At first I held the opinion that the title belonged to Nand II, because it has been stated that the founder of Dharmasoka's dynasty was Gonand², from whose name the dynasty probably derived its name. When we are, however, confronted with the fact, that his son Jalauk was a mighty king, we have to give up this theory, because of the seven sons of Nand II, six were hopeless and only nominal kings. Then the thought struck my mind that Jalauk was probably Nand IX, because he was also the son-seventh-of Nand II; and that the author of R&jatarangini might have omitted the names of six predecessors, because they were unimportant from the historical point of view. **But** we know that the seat of the throne of Nand IX was Magadh; while Jalauk has been described as conquering countries, **one** by one, from north to south upto Kanyakubja. Had he been

(1) K. Chr. Ch. Stein, vol. I. pp. 134; parisista I:—"There Dharmasoka's account is given in the first Tarang. Asoka has been stated as the 48th king, the total number of kings whose accounts are given, is 52. Their time has been stated to have been L. S. 628 to 1894=K. E. 653 to 1919; turning them to the Christian Era, we would have B. C. 2552 to 1286, because K. E. 1=3. C. 3201; if this is true, Asoka lived nearly in the 15th century B. C.

(2) Ibid; at the top of the chronological list is written "Gonaad I."

the same as Nand IX, he would have been described as extending his empire from east to west. Hence, I had to do away with the theory of identifying Dharmasoka with Nand II and of Jalauk with Nand IX.

Now I turned to explore the possibilities of identifying Dharmasoka with the Mauryan emperor Asoka. No doubt the emperor, who fought several successful battles against powerful foreign adversary like Seleucus Nicator and ultimately forced him to sign a humiliating peace treaty, must have easily conquered a small country like Kashmir. On the other hand, no historical evidence is forthcoming to prove that he had ever invaded and conquered Kashmir. Again, his son Jalauk cannot, then be described as conquering territories one by one, eastwards from Kashmir, because he was already the emperor of India. (Again, Asoka was succeeded by his grandson, and not by his son; but we might take it as a mistake of the author of Rajatarangini). Hence again, the question of Jalauk obstructed the path of coming to a final conclusion; and further when I came to verse 102, all the lingerings in favour of the theory had to be shaken off. It is stated therein:—"This king (Asoka) who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina⁴, covered Suksaletra and Vitastara with numerous Stupas ". It is a well-known fact that Asoka had converted himself to Buddhism even before he came to the throne;⁵ and that he was a devoted follower of that faith throughout his life. So he must not have built the Jaina Stupas*. The words " had embraced the doctrine of Jina ", guided me to the conclusion that the king in question, must have been first a non-Jaina and then must have accepted the faith. There was one such emperor and that was Priyadarshin.

(1) Mr. Thomas' assertion that the king of Kaimif was a Jain is applicable to Priyadarain only.

(3) Ibid: Tarang I, pp. 114, verse 117.

(4) So the king of Kashmir, Dharmasoka by name, was a Jain. Pp. 271, f. n. no. 87.

(5) Pp. 241-5 above.

(6) This proves that the Stupas in Kashmir are connected with Jainism (and not with Buddhism as many scholars believe).

(2) Samprati came into close touch with Jainism during the third year of his reign and accepted it as his faith. Then he went on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places; during the 8th year of his reign, after his conquest of Kaling, he took the eight vows of a Srfivak. All these details agree with the sentence above:—"had embraced the doctrine of Jina".

(3) This king is described as "Pious"⁷; Asoka, on the other hand, had not only slain his brothers⁸ but conducted the institution of "Narkalaya"⁹ upto the 18th year of his rule when he convened the third Buddhist conference. Hence, he has been appropriately given the name, "Chandasoka" "Asoka the Fierce."^{5*} Dr. Bhandarkar has conjectured that Asoka had turned a new leaf in his life after his conversion to Buddhism; but this is no more than a conjecture, as it is not substantiated with evidence. So far as I know, in no Buddhist book is Asoka called "Dharm&-soka"¹⁰; (see No. 4 below). Again, Asoka had accepted Buddhism even before his accession to the throne¹¹ and had conducted an institution like "Narkalaya" for 18 years—facts which ill agree with Dr. Bhandarkar's conjecture.

(4) The word Dharmasoka is mentioned in Tibetan books only; and this Dharmasoka's reign has been stated to have lasted for 54 years. We know that it was only Priyadarsin who invaded and conquered Tibet and that his reign did last for 54 years. Asoka, on the other hand, had not conquered even Kasmir, not to talk of Tibet; and his reign lasted for only 41 years.

(7) Rajatarangi[^]i, Tarang I, pp. 20, verse 107.

(8) Modern writers prove this to be false on the authority of the fock-fdicts; but the rock-edicts, as we have shown, have no connection with Asoka. (Pp. 228, f. n. nos. 12 & 13).

(9) Pp. 240 to 244 and f. nos. connected with them.

(10) "Many Buddhist works represent him Kalasoka (Black Asoka) and as Dharmasoka or Pious Asoka after his conversion to Buddhism." We have shown above that the latter half of the sentence is mere a conjecture of the author. The Buddhist books have described him as "Chandasoka" upto the 17th year of his rule, while he accepted Buddhism long before that.

(11) Pp. 240 and f. n. no. 95 on pp. 245.

(5) The atrocities perpetrated by Asoka have rightly earned for him the name "Chandasoka"; while "Dharmasoka" is the aptest title for Priyadarsin, looking to his achievements. The author of Tararigini describes the king as one, " who had renounced the killing of living beings"¹²; this description fully agrees with the life of Priyadarsin (R. E. I; his vow after his conquest of Kalifig).

(6) His son Jalauk, a valorous king, conquered vast territories to the east of Kfismir and had extended his kingdom upto Kanoj.¹³ This proves that the Mauryan power had begun to decline after Priyadarain's death and that Vraasen, who succeeded him, could not manage matters. The governors appointed by Priyadarsin must have begun to break their allegiance to the paramount power and assert their independence. Jalauk was one of them; and not satisfied with Kasmir only, he began to expand his territory eastwards and conquered the region about Kanoj during the 26th year of his reign¹⁴ (According to my calculations Jalauk's rule lasted from B. C. 236 to 190=46 years. A. M. 290 to 336.¹⁵)

Thus we come to the following conclusions:—

(1) Kalasoka:-This title does not belong to Nand II. (I had ascribed the name to him because he had married a Sudra girl; but such interclass marriages were common in those times; and so the Brahmins must not have given him the name on that account). The name was given to his son, Nand IX, because of his ill-treatment of the Brahmins, viz, the insult of Chanakya, the death of Sakdal, etc. That is why the date of this king has been calculated in the Puranas according to the Kali era instead that of Udhisthir.

(12) First Tararig, verse no. 133. The details given in it though ascribed to Jalauk, are really about Priyadarsin. (Isvaradevi has been described as **the** wife of Jalauk, though, in all probability, she was his mother). The Rajatarangini contains several such contradictory statements. On the other hand, even if we take it for granted that the vow of non-violence was taken by Jalauk, there is nothing inappropriate about it; he was also a Jain like his father Samprati.

(13) Rajatarangini first Tarang, verse 127; M. S. T. pp. 643 and 654.

(14) M. S. I. pp. 655.

(15) See Appendix D,

(2) Chandasoka—This title belongs to Asoka.

(3) Dharmasoka—The title belongs to Priyadarsin¹⁶, the grandson of Asoka.

(Probably there were only two kings, who bore the name Asoka,-Asoka and Priyadarsin. No historian has affirmed that either Nand IX ever bore the name "Asoka". Indeed the name dates from emperor Asoka only. Hence, I come to the conclusion that "Chandasoka" was the title of Asoka and that "Dharmasoka" was that of Priyadarsin. "Kalasoka" seems to have been the interpolation or invention of some wiseacre of a historian.

Appendix B

The Sudarsan Lake Inscription¹⁷ has been translated in many books. One of them is:—"Bhavanagar State Inscriptions, Sanskrit and Prakrit," by Peterson. Another is "Epigraphica Indica," vol. III, pp. 32 and further. Prof.

Sudarsan Lake phica Indica," vol. III, pp. 32 and further. Prof. Peterson states that the lake was dug by Visnugupta during the time of emperor Chandragupta. Its banks were repaired by an officer named Tupasa or Tususpa during the time of Asoka; it was repaired again during the time of the person-meaning Priyadarsin. The author of Epigraphica Indica, on the other hand, has given all the credit to Kstrapa Rudradaman. I agree with the interpretation of Dr. Peterson and differ from that of Epi. Ind. for the following reasons:—

(1) There is a blank space between "vistrta" and "na agarbhat prabhrtiya avihita samudita rajalaksmi" in line no. 9. The meaning of the line is:—"From the time he entered into the phcetus of his mother, the kingdom had steadily expanded and prospered." History tells that many of the countries conquered

(16) G. V. S. Asoka Charitra, pp. 20 : "Kharvel's activities were like those of Priyadarsin." This means that both of them followed the same faith. (See Hathlgumfa Inscriptions). It has been proved that Kharvel was a Jain. So Priyadarsin was also a Jain. Pp. 304.

(17) The fact that it has been carved out on the very boulder of the Qirnar rock-edict of Emp. Priyadarsin throws ample light on the subject.

by Chasthan, were lost by Jayadaman, the father of Rudradaman¹⁷. Hence the above description cannot be applied to him. Even if we suppose that at the time of his birth, the kingdom was progressing under Chasthan, the subsequent downfall agree ill with the "steady advance." The description, on the other hand, quite agrees with the childhood of Samprati.

Again, line no. 8 contains the mention of "Chandragupta" and of Asoka. It is natural that the blank space must have contained the name "Priyadarsiin," who was the next in the order of succession. Or, the blank space may be due to the humility of Priyadarsin. ("Some corrections" at the end of the book; no. 3). The Maski rock-edict, though erected by Priyadarsin, does not contain his name, but has got a blank space. This was because Priyadarsin did not like to get his name superscribed upon such edicts or inscriptions as long as Asoka was alive, out of respect for him. In the same way he might have kept a blank space in Sudarsan Lake Inscription, because Asoka was alive at that time.

(2) The same line (9th) states:—"He has taken a vow that except in battles¹⁹, no human being should be killed by him *," This also agrees more with Priyadarsin than with Rudradaman. Rock-edict no. 8 tells us that he had taken such a vow after his fight with Andhra king. The accounts of the life of Rudradaman contain no mention of any such vow. Moreover, he came of an uncivilized tribe⁹⁰, which had migrated to India only a few years ago.

(3) It has been further stated in the inscription:—"He conquered by the prowess of his arms, eastern and western

(18) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edi. vol. III, pp. 73 and further.

(19) He had taken this vow in order to avoid battles as far as possible in future* He took the eight vows after his conquest of Kaling (See R. E.).

He cannot be said to have broken his vow in his conquests of Tibet and Khotan and others.

* See the R. E.

(20) They had degenerated into such condition about the time with which we are concerned. In ancient times they were Jains (see their coins) and were of the Aryan origin. They perpetrated cruelties for the sake of conquering territories; but they were not barbarous from the first*

Akaravanti²¹, Anupadesa²², Anarta²³, Surastra, Svabhra²⁴, Meru, Cutcha, Sindhu-sauvir²⁵, Kukkur²⁶, Aparanta, Nisada²⁷ and other countries⁹⁸.

Even if we take it for granted that Rudradaman had conquered many countries (though our sole piece of evidence for this is the inscription in question), yet it is certain that he never became master of such a vast territory as stated above. Some of the northern countries, which were under his power, he directly inherited from his grandfather, i. e. had not conquered by the prowess of his arms. The conquest tour of Samprati, on the other hand, included the countries enumerated above²⁹.

(4) The inscription contains the mention of Salisuk ("Buddhi-prakasa" pp. 76,1936, quotation from Varaha-samhiha, Yugapuram,

(21) These divisions have political significance only. We see many such divisions to-day. Etymologically it means Akar=a mine, and Avanti>=territory around Ujjain.

(22) The region south of Berar. (R. A. S. B. vol. VII, pp. 341).

(23) It must have been a border province of the Punjab, as it is mentioned with the provinces like Kamboj, Sindh and Yavana districts. (R. A. S. B. vol. VII, pp. 351, and A. R. vol. VII, pp. 339).

Anarta has been stated to have another name, namely, Vadanagar in "gatrunjaya Prakasa" (published in Bhavanagar, 1929, pp. I. f. n. no. 2). Vadanagar is at present the name of a town in north Gujarat. Thus Anarta means Gujarat and a portion of north Malava (A. G. I. by Nandalal De). This is more probable than the first, because it is based on the evidence of rock-edicts.

For the situation of Anarta vide "BucMhiprakasa," no. I, 1934, G. V. S. the article is written by me.

(24) The region about the Sabaramati. Svabhra is one of the names of Sabaramati.

(25) The region N. E. of Cutch, N. W. and W. of Rajaputana.

(26) The region about Benares. (J. R. A. S. vol. VII, pp. 341 & its footnotes).

(27) It is said that the Cutchhavah katriyas of Rajaputana belonged to Amba. The Ambaras are considered to be a branch of the katriyas residing in Nisad (Nirvur). Nala, the husband of Damayanti, belonged to this clan. (Tod Rajasthan, vol. I. pp. 149). According to some, this country consisted of Gwalior and Jhansi states.

(28) We have no other piece of evidence about the extent of the territory of Rudradaman.

(29) Pp. 271 above and further.

by Kesavalal Harsa Dhruv). Salisuk was a brother of Priyadarsin. He had no connection with Rudradaman.

(5) The inscription has two divisions. Both the divisions have different scripts. The first of them was inscribed by Salisuk (no. 4 above) and the second seems to have been inscribed by Rudradaman.

Details about coins No. 23-24 will show that they do* not belong to Ksatrapa kings and that having taken them to belong to these kings, scholars have arrived at wrong conclusions about their dates. The belief that the inscription is connected with Rudradaman may have been due to this.

F. N. no. 33 will show that the first part of the inscription is connected with Priyadarsin. Again, we have already stated that Priyadarsin used to visit Girnar every year with Jaina Sangha.³⁰ He might have found that, or the people must have brought it to his notice, that the lake was in need of repairs. He was always eager to do anything for the general welfare of his subjects³¹ and he must have ordered the reparations. There was an interval of three hundred years between Priyadarsin and Rudradaman;³² and the Litter may have included his name with the list of Maurya kings with a view to show that he was as powerful as any of them.³³

In short, the blank space must have either contained the name of Priyadarsin at first and the name may have been effaced in course of time; or the space may have been kept blank by Priyadarsin himself for reasons already stated above. The sentences³⁴ quoted above in Nos. 1, 2, and 3, agree with Priyadarsin only and with none other.

(30) R. E. no. 8.

(31) Pp. 305 to 312 above. (Parisisthaparva, Trans, published from Bhavanagar, pp. 210 to 218).

(32) Samprati died in A. M. 290; Rudradaman lived in 606 A. M.

(33) Had the lake been dug at his own instance, he would have got a separate inscription there, just as did Samudragupta. He would not have merely appended his name to the names of the Mauryan emperors.

(34) Cf. the countries conquered by Priyadarsin. (Pp. 270 to 277 above), & E. DO. 2; Bh A. pp. 156, 148; I. A. 1911, pp. 11

Appendix C

The Nagarjuna cave inscription tells us that Dasarath, of his own accord, performed charities during the Dasarath and Sahsuk 27th year of his reign. This means that Dasarathi was an independent king and that he ruled for at least 27 years.

Some details have already been given P. 265 to 268 He was a grandson of Asoka, who had appointed him as his successor to the empire, because his eldest son Kunal had become blind; because Kunal had no son, and because the other son of Asoka, Mahendra by name, had entered the Buddhist holy orders.

What was Dasarath's father's name ? Asoka had a younger brother named Tisya who had been sent to Ujjaini to look after Prince Kunal who was sent away from the capital because of the fear of the mean tricks of Tisyaraksita. We had first supposed his son to be Dasarath. Had it been so, however, Asoka would not have called him his grandson but his nephew and would not have, probably, appointed him heir to his throne.

We know that Kunal was born at Vidisa, of the daughter of a Vaisya merchant; Asoka had married her while he was the governor there. Two years later, Mahendra was born of Tisyaraksita. When Asoka came to Patliputra, he brought all the members of the family with him except, the mother of Kunal, because she was far advanced in pregnancy. She must have given birth, thus, to another son in about A. M. 200=B. C. 327. She must have died soon after; Tisyaraksita was raised to the position of queen-consort after her death.

This prince was junior to Mahendra by 4½ years (Mahendra was born in 332 B. C.), and to Kunal by 7 years (Kunal was born in B. C. 335). Kunal became blind at the age of thirteen, and was married after he lost his eyes. Samprati was born in A. M. 223=B. C. 304. At this time Kunal's age was 32. This means that either he had no issue for the first 18 years of his married life, or if he had, the child must have died, or he must

(1) Pp. 316 f. n. no. 9, for his relationship with Asoka*

have had daughters. Hence Asoka had to appoint some one; as his successor, so that after his death there may be no quarrels for the throne. Now the younger brother of Kuntl may have been married at the age of nearly 14, i. e. in B. C. 314, and may have had a son by, say B. C. 312, i.e. 8 years before the birth of Samprati. This son may have been Dasarath and as he was⁹ the next, only to the son of Kunal, he may have been appointed' ar successor by Asoka. After the birth of Samprati, the right heir, he may have been appointed as independent ruler-governor of Magadh. That is why, we have the words "regnal years"⁰ in the inscriptions⁹.

Thus in B. C 304^s he ascended the throne of Magadh and ruled upto at least 27 years, i. e. 277 B. CA It is said that neat' the mouth of the Ganges in Bengal, in the city of Tamralipti, Asoka (i. e. Priyadarsin) had got a pillar-edict erected. He could have done this only when that territory came under his power. It is stated in the Vayupuran that Samprati transferred his brotfyer Salisuk from Saurashtra to the governorship of Magadh⁸. Samprati's reign lasted for 54 years and upto 26th year Dasarath was alive.

(2) Thus Dasarath was the first cousin of Priyadarsin. Again, he was ail independent king. Due to these two reasons, the adjective "Bandhupalit/* which has been appended to the name of Dasarath by Vidyabhusanaji (pp. 134-5), on the authority of the Puranas, is inappropriate. The adjective property belongs to Salisuk, because he was thus protected and appointed governor by Priyadarsin,

(3) Samprati was born in B. C. 304=*A. M. 223; he was proclaimed heir apparent, ten months after his birth. His coronation ceremony was performed when he was 14, in B. C. 290=B. C. 237. For these fourteen years, Asoka conducted the administration as his regent. During this period neither Priya⁴ darfiri nor Dasarath was appointed.

(4) Mr. Dhruv has made the statement on the authority of Valyupurafi and Yugapuran. "Buddhiprakasa," vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 88 to 94. Both Samriratf and Dasarath ascended the throne in the same year; Dasarath died first. For' details cf. f. n. no. 9 below.

(5) Vide "Buddhiprakasa," vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 89. The statement is made on the authority of Vayupuran. Salisuk can be called "Bandhupalit" due to many reasons, (F. n, no* 2 above), and the chronological list on pp. 144),

Hence Saslisuk's transfer must have been effected after that and pillar-edict must have been erected sometime during his regime* Though different scholars hold different opinions about the date of the pillar-edict in question, yet they all agree in the fact that it was not erected before 26th year of his reign and not after 33rd year. The pillar-edict thus may have been erected any time within this limit of seven years.

When, after the death of Priyadarsin, the Mauryan empire began to fall to pieces, Salisuk must have broken his allegiance to the paramount power and must have declared himself independent. His descendants must have continued to rule over the province for a long time; we are not concerned here with the question, as to for how many years the rule of his dynasty lasted. It is however well-known that the Mauryan dynasty was ruling over the province in 8th century A. D. In the 7th century A. D. a Jaina king named Sasanka (the Mauryas were Jains) had killed Grhavarman, the brothdr-in-law of Emperor Harsa of Kanoj. King Amra (Indrayuddha) of Gwalior, who ruled for 44 years from A. D. 790 to 834, and Dharmapal, king of Gauda, were contemporaries of Sasanka. These kings must have been either descendants or relatives of the dynasty of Salisuk.

Some time ago, I held the opinion that Dasarath was none other than Priyadarsin, because he is described to have performed charities during the 26th year of his reign. But the continuance of the Maurya dynasty in Bengal upto 8th century A. D.⁶, the appointment of Salisuk as the governor of Magadh, on the authority of Vayupurari, the continuance of the rule of the direct descendants of Priyadarsin over Avanti and its end only after 30 to 40 years, the beginning of the Sunga dynasty over Avanti after that and burning of Patliputra by Pusyamitra, the first Sunga king—all these details lead us to the conclusion that Dasarath and Priyadarsin must have been names of different individuals though they may have the same family relations with Asoka.

(6) "Descendants of the Great Asoka continued as unrecorded local subordinate Rajas of Magadh for many centuries. The last of them and the only one, whose name has been preserved, being Purijavarman, who was nearly a contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim Hu-eu-Tiang in the seventh century,"¹

In the Yugapuran of Garga:umhita, Salisuk has been described as an impious⁷ and cruel king. The Buddhist books also mention a brother of Asoka, about whose cruelties his subjects had approached him with a complaint. Asoka had ordered his brother to be shut up alone for eight days and had shed tears while inflicting the punishment. This incident took place before he was appointed as the governor of Saurashtra.⁸ During his governorship of Saurashtra, the Sudarsan lake was probably repaired (A. M. 244 to 247=B. C. 283 to 280) By the time he was transferred to Magadh, he must have sobered down.

Pundit Jayasvalji (]. B. O. R. 3. Sept. 1028, P. 416), states that Salisuk was the son of Kunal or Suyasa, i. e. he was the younger brother of Samprati. Then he divides the Maurya dynasty into two branches. Over the first (eastern) was Dasarath as the king of Magadh, and over the western was Samprati; then he gives name of four or five kings in each branch. They are:—

Eastern branch	Western branch
Dasarath	Samprati
Salisuk ⁹	Brhaspati
Devdharma	Vrsasen
Satadhanva	Pusyadharmā
Brhadrath	Pusyamitra

(on the authority of Divyavadan)

(7) M. S. I. pp. 653-671 and Gargasamhita verses 16 to 21; (Translation in Buddhprakashā, vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 88; it is as follows:—"Salisuk was Destroyer of Yagna?, perpetrator of cruelties; of a wicked nature and impious; he persecuted the people of Saurashtra. He made his elder brother Samprati famous among the Jains.* (As Salisuk was a Jain, he is very much despised by the Puranas).

(8) Before his appointment, the governor of Saurashtra was "Visakha"/a Palhav; so it can be deduced from the Sudarsan Lake Inscription, Vide B. I. P. pp. 18 to 20.

(9) Salisuk has been stated as fourth in descent to Asoka, in Gargasamhita. (E. H. I. 3rd ed. pp. 214 and pp. 194, f. n. no. 1). "He ruled for 13 years." (Vayupuran by Pargiter). It is stated in the Puranas that both Dasarath and Samprati ascended the throne in the same year and that

These lists, however, cannot be taken as authoritative, because they are contradictory. It is well known the Pusyamitra became the ruler of Avanti after killing Brhadratha. Thus Brhadratha must have been put in the western branch and not in the eastern. Again Brhadratha must have been placed just over Pusyamitra, who killed him and came to the throne. There we find the name «Pusyadharm». Thus we see that the lists contradict each other.

Appendix D

We have seen on P.....that Priyadarsin had divided his empire into several political divisions and had appointed governors over each of them. Over Ka mir and Gandhar he had appointed his son named Jalauk. No other book except Rajtaramgini—which is, however, the most authoritative book on Kfismir—contains any details about him. These details, though at several places contradictory, are on the whole reliable. We have given below an extract from that book:—\

" Jalauk, the name of this alleged son of Asoka cannot otherwise be traced."³ (2) According to Rajtarangini, king Jalauk of Kasmir was valorous, and had conquered all the territory upto Kanoaja. He was succeeded by Damodar who was succeeded by Huska, Javiska and Kaniska respectively (3) He invaded and conquered Kanoaja during the 26 th. year of his reign.³ (4) Even this connection⁴ (this is about Damodar who succeeded J&loaka) with Asoka's family is characteristically enough left doubtful by

Dasarath died a year before Samprati. It was probably galisuk who died a year before Samprati, because Dasarath had died much earlier*

Thus Priyadarsin ruled for 54 years; of which, contemporarily,

Dasarath	„	„	40	„	= B. C. 237 to 277
galisuk	„	„	13	„	a B. C. 277 to 299

53

(1) Rajatarangini, Tarang I, pp. 75. para. 73.

(2) M. S. I. pp. 654.

(3) Ibid. Pp. 655.

(4) Kajatanmgini, Tarariga I, pp. 76, para. 74.

the chronicler. (5) Huska, Juska and Kaniska—Kalhati gives an account of the reigns of these kings who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. (6) It clearly describes them as princes of Turuska i. e. Turkish nationality. Kanishkapur, Hushkapur and Jushkapur, which were founded by them, survive till to-day. (7) **That** illustrious king^G (the Pious Asoka) built the town of Shrinagar, which was very prosperous with its 96 lacs of houses resplendent with wealth. As the country was overrun by Mlechchhas⁷, the pious king (Asoka) obtained from Bhutesh, whom he had pleased by his austerities, a son, in order to exterminate them*⁸ This son is called Jalauk. (8) Upto that time⁰ there were seven main officers, then the number was raised to 18 and the administrative system was based on the model that existed during the time of Udhishira."

In short, there was a king of Kasmir named Dharmaloka, **who** had a son named Jalauk. This Jalauk drove out the Mlechchhas from his kingdom and ruled over a vast territory extending upto Kanoaja. Jalauk¹⁰ was succeeded by Damodar. After him¹¹ there were three kings, each of whom founded a city after his own name. These cities are extant at present.

Let us now examine the details. We have already proved on P. 348 to 352 that Dharmasoka was none other than Priyadarsin. Let us start our calculations with this as the starting point. Jalauk was a valorous king who conquered territory of Kanoj, and

(5) F. n. no. 4 above.

(6) Rajatarangini, vol. I. pp. 19, verse 104.

(7) Ibid. Verse 107.

(8) Ibid. Verse 108.

(9) Ibid. Verses nos. 118, 119, 120.

(10) J. O. B. R. S. XX, nos. 3 and 4. Tp. 284. "Jalauk is a nick-name (leech)*.

(11) We have not stated here whether they came immediately after him, or some other kings of dynasty intervened between Damodar and these kings. Another dynasty had intervened and ruled for nearly two centuries. The author of Tarangini has not mentioned this because he was concerned with only the Hindu kings of Kasmir. (F. n. no. 19 below).

ruled for more than 26 years. Before his time, the Mlechchhas ruled the territory. He drove them out and brought the territory under his power. Srinagar was founded by his father Dharmas*oka, who observed severe penance for having a son. That son was Jalauk, who was succeeded by Damodar. After him, three Turkish kings ruled KaSmir¹², namely Huska, Juska and Kaniska.

The details given above are based on the authority of Rajatarangini. They are contradicted by details given in other books. We have now to decide which detail from which is reliable. (1) It is stated in the Tarangitti that Jalauk's reign lasted for more than 26 years and that his kingdom extended upto Kanoj. We know that Priyadarsin died in 237 B. C. Jalauk could have become the independent king of Kasmir, only after that and not before that. Priyadarsin was succeeded by his son Vrsabhasen, due to whose weakness and religious bigotry, governors of various provinces declared themselves independent. Jalauk must also have broken his allegiance to his brother. Considering that his reign lasted for 30 years, he ruled from 237 B. C. to 207 B. C. During this time he drove the Mlechchhas out of his territory and established his sway over it. But the accounts of Pusyamitra and the Bactrian general Euthidemos tells us that¹³ all that territory was under their power at that time. Euthidemos had established his power over the Punjab and Surasen—(B. C. 230 to 205, Vol. III.) Pusyamitra's grandson Vasumitra, had fought a bloody battle against the Yavan chiefs and had conquered Pftlchal and Surasen from them, in B. C. 203. Thus Jalauk must have wrested only the Punjab from the Mlechchhas and certainly not Surasen and Pafichal. But if this were so, how could Demetrius the son of Euthidemos, have established his seat of capital in S&ket (Sialkot) in about B. C. 190-195 ? It can have been possible, (1) only if the Punjab had been under the power of Jalauk only for a short time and then reconquered by the Mlechchhas. Surasen must have been conquered by Vasumitra, i. e. must have come under the power of Agnimitra Sunga and then must have been conquered

(12) F. n. no. 11 above.

(13) Vide his account,

by Demetrius from him. Thus these provinces must have been under the power of different kings within a short span of years. (2) Or, Jalauk never conquered these territories and the statement of the author of Tarangini may be false. In either case Jalauk cannot be called a valorous king.

Jalauk is stated to have been succeeded by Damodar, who was succeeded by the three Turkish kings. It is not stated in the Tarangini whether Damodar came on the throne immediately after Jalauk or some time had elapsed between them. It may be taken for granted that he must have come to the throne immediately after Jalauk and that he must have been his son. His territory, however, must not have extended beyond Kasmir because the territory surrounding it was under the power of Demetrius and after his death under Menander, from whom it was wrested by the Suiiga king Bhanumitra. (Vol. III, for their accounts). Damodar probably ruled from B. C. 207 to B. C. 177=30 years; or, if Jalauk's reign may be taken to have lasted for 40 years, i. e. upto 197 B. C, then Damodar must have ruled from B. C. 197 to B. C 167.

Now we turn to the three Turkish kings. The extract given above states that they ruled "simultaneously." This seems to be ill-founded. They have, each of them founded a city after their names. These cities are distant from one another; but all the three are in Kasmir. This leads us to the conclusion that they did not rule "simultaneously" but succeeded one another.

Let us look to their dates. Damodar's reign ended in 167 B. C. Historians say that Kaniska flourished about 78 A. D., about which time he started the Saka era. Hence his rule must have begun in 78 A. D. or some what earlier than that (if we suppose that he did not start the era with his accession to the throne but in commemoration of some glorious victory). There is an interval of about 250 years¹⁴ between these two dates. It is not possible that the reigns of Haviska and Juska lasted for these many years. This means that after the death of Damodar,

(14) F, n. no. 11 above.

several other kings¹⁵ must have ruled Kasmir before these kings. These other kings may have been descendants of Damodar or some others.¹⁶

Thus the two sources of information about Kasmir—the Puranas and the Tarangini—differ from each other in several respects. The Puranas were composed in about 4th or 5th century A. D., the Tarangini was written in the 12th century A. D". Thus from the view point of antiquity, the Puranas may be taken as more reliable. Again the Puranas state details about the whole of India, while the author of Tarangini was a native of Kasmir and may have made some partial and coloured statements in his book. So from this point of view also, the Puranas are more reliable. But the Puranas may have omitted details—and sometimes important details—which the author of Tarangini may have included in his book, because the former were concerned with the history of the whole of India, while the latter is exclusively devoted to the account of Kasmir. The details given in Puranas—e. g. the province of Mathura was exchanged by the Yavans and the Sungas only and there was no third party—are substantiated by details about other countries. Hence I incline towards them. I hope that scholars will throw more light on this question.

A portion of Khotan is on the border of Kasmir and one can go to Tibet through it. Priyadarsin had invaded and conquered Khotan and had appointed his son Kusthan as governor over it¹⁷. Buddhist books state that his birth was the result of the favour of gods. The author of Tarangini has stated that Jalauk was born as the result of the favour of Bhutes.¹⁸ What is the truth? If Jalauk's kingdom included Khotan and Tibet, his descendants must have stayed and ruled these countries. By coming into contact

(15) This is substantiated by the history of foreigners. Kadaphasis I & II and others ruled this territory during this interval of 100 to 125 years. Vide Vol. IV.

(16) F. n. no. 11 above.

(17) Pp. 316 above and f. n. connected with them*

(18) No* 7 is the extracts quoted above.

with the people there, they must have adopted their customs arid manners. Hence the kings Haviska, Juska and Kaniska, whom we suppose to have been of the Turkish origin, may have been these descendants of Jalauk, who must have stayed in Khotan and Tibet for a long time and then may have come to Kasmir.¹⁹

These questions demand full inquiry.

Now we shall state some details about the administrative system of Jalauk. It has been stated above that upto his time there were only seven officers. During his time the number was raised to 18 and the administrative system was based on the model of Yudhisthir. The seeds were sown by his father. The officers either could not cope with work or must have been persecutors of the public, extorting bribes from the people. We do not know why the number of the officers was seven. Certainly the custom is not of the Indian origin. It may have been of the yona origin or of the ^{*}yu-chi (Chinese) ^{*}origin. ^{*}

Further research work has made me institute the following corrections in the conclusions stated in the foregoing pages.

(1) It has been stated that Asoka married Tisyaraksita some time before he came to the throne in B. C. 330 and that she was raised to the status of queen-consort after being called to Patliputra before his accession. Some corrections At that time Asoka changed his faith due to the force of the beauty of Tisyaraksita.

Kunal was appointed as the heir-apparent because he was two years elder than Mahendra. The former was born of the Vaisya girl of Vidisa and the latter, of Tisyaraksita. On the authority of the dynastic list of the Ceylonese kings, the date of Mahendra's

(19) Thus Kani?ka and others who are supposed to have been of the Huna origin, were really descendants of either Jalauk or of Kusthan; they may have been mixed with the Turkish.

Jalauk, being a son of Samprati, was a Jain. The Turks were also Jains because their country was situated near mount Meru, the central point of Janibudvipa.

Though they mixed with each other, yet both of them were Jains. The Hunas on the other hand were only partially Jains,

birth has been fixed up as 332 B. C. (p. 236). Thus Kunal was born in 334 B. C; and when these princes came to Patliputra, they were respectively six and eight years old.

That Mahendra was born in B. C. 332 means that Asoka must have married Tisyaraksita at least in 333-34 B. C. i. e. when Asoka ascended the throne in B. C. 330, nearly four years had elapsed since the marriage.

As regards Kunal who was born in B. C. 334, it has been found out that his mother had given birth to him a year after her marriage with Asoka, i. e. in B. C. 335.

Asoka was born in 352 B. C. (p. 227). He was fourteen when he was appointed governor in B. C. 338. He could not possibly have remained unmarried till 335 B. C. when he married the Vaisya's daughter, i. e. he must have married some other girl before his marriage with her and she must have been raised to the status of the queen-consort after she gave birth to Kunal. (This means that the queen-consort is not always the woman whom the king married first of all, though that must have been the usual custom before another queen gave birth to a son). As no other name is forthcoming, we can conclude that Asoka must have married Tisyaraksita before he married the Vaisya girl and that she must have been the queen consort till the time when Kunal was born. This must have excited her jealousy towards the Vaisya girl. When Asoka went to Patliputra, Kunal's mother could not accompany him because she was far advanced in pregnancy. After giving birth to the child she died and after her death, Tisyaraksita, who had by this time already given birth to Mahendra, must have been made the queen-consort at the time of Asoka's accession to the throne.

In short, Asoka had married Tisyaraksita shortly after he was appointed governor of Ujjain in 338-7 B. C. Nearly three years later, in B. C. 335, he married the Vaisya girl, who, a year later, gave birth to Kunal. Two years after that, in B. C. 332, Tisyaraksita gave birth to Mahendra. When Asoka's coronation ceremony was performed in B. C. 326, these princes were **Respectively eight and six years old.**

(2) Priyadarsin had two issues by queen Charuvaki:--prince Tivar and princess Charumatl. We do not know which of them was the elder of the two. It is certain, however, that Charumatl was married with Devpal.

During the 14th year of his reign (B. C. 276), Priyadarsin visited Nepal for the first time and appointed Devpal as its governor. On his second visit in B. C. 270, during the 20th year of his reign, he took his daughter Chilrumati with him. This means that Charumatl was certainly married by 270 B. C., though we cannot definitely say whether she was only betrothed in 276 B. C. or was married at that time. Any way, her marriage ceremony took place not later than 270 B. C. Considering her to have been fourteen years of age at that time, her birth-date would come to 284 B. C. i. e. Priyadarsin must have married with Charuvaki at least in 285 to 286 B. C. Now Priyadarsin conquered Kalirig during the 9th year of his reign, i. e. in B. C. 281. So the Andhra princess, whom he married at that time, could not have been Charuvaki. Hence queens No. 2. and No. 3, stated on p. 263-4 above, are to be taken as separate persons and the statement made in f. n. no. 42 below it, is to be taken as false. In short, prince Tivar and princess Charumatl were not the issues of the Andhra princess. For details read No. 3 below.

(3) The Allahbad—Kausambi P. E. tells us that prince Tivar and princess Charumatl were born of queen Charuvaki. We have not yet considered what the connection is between P. E. and any member of the royal family. We have also disproved the statement made on P. 263 that Charuvaki was the Andhra princess.

On the other hand it has been settled that those of the R. E. and M. R. E. which do not bear the "Elephant" are erected in memory of the members of the royal family who died there. Of these only two are doubtful; one is in the Punjab—either Sahbajrghi or Munsers and the other is Maski in the Nizam State. At the former place, most probably died Tisya, the brother of Asoka and the guardian of Kunal. (P. 328-9). Maski, thus, probably is place where died prince Tivar,

It is not known whether Tivar was the heir-apparent or not. Probably he was never installed on that title (P. 263) and probably he died before he came to age. Otherwise his title would have been mentioned in the Allahbad R. E. Again he must have died some time before the P. E. was erected. (during the 26th year of the reign in B. C. 264). Asoka died in 271 B.C., i. e. seven years before the erection of the P. E. One question arises here. In the P. E. the names of the queen and of the prince and the princess are clearly stated; while in the Maski R. E., a blank space has been left after the word "Asokass". What is the reason of this, when the same person got both of them erected? We have to arrive at the conclusion that Maski R. E. must have been erected during the life time of Asoka and that Priyadarsin only showed his reverence towards his grandfather by keeping the space blank, where the word "Napta" egrandson ought to have been inscribed. As Asoka was already dead by the time when the Allahbad P. E. was erected, there was no question of keeping any blank spaces, (c. f. argument No. I in the appendix on the Lake Sudarsan). Thus the prince died about 270 B. C. or before that.

Why had the prince gone there? As he was too young to lead an expedition, he must have gone there to see some relative. In No. 2. above, it has been shown that there were no relatives of his mother there. Who can have been the relative? We can not help concluding that Princess Charuvaki must also have been an Andhra princess, but not the same as one whom Priyadarsin married after his conquest of Kaling in 281 B. C. Priyadarsin must have married her before that time and she may have been the sister of the 6th Andhra king, while the second princess may have been the sister of the 7th Andhra king.

(4) Now we have to rule out the conjecture that Tivar died while trying to suppress a rebellion. Hence the rising of a rebellion described on p. 276-7 is to be dropped as improbable, together with f. n. no. 112 connected with it.

(5) On p. 266 it has been stated that Priyadarsin's mother died shortly after giving birth to his younger brother; while on

p. 293 it has been stated that after the conquest of Kaling, he went to pay his respects to his mother. Of these the latter alternative is correct. It was Kunal's mother who died shortly after giving birth to another son whom we have proved to have been the father of Dasarath. The reader, I hope, will excuse this oversight.

(6) Observatory:—On p. 311 f.n. no. 87 it has been stated that the observatory must have been started in Ujjain in about 280 B. C. by Priyadarsin; while on p. 269 f. n. no. 71 it has been stated that there were observatories during the times of Yarihamihir and his elder brother Bhadrabahu (i. e. during the reign of Chandragupta B. C. 372). What is the truth ? For the statement made on P. 311, there is no evidence forthcoming. I made it in order to stimulate the thoughts of my readers and also thinking that a progressive ruler like Priyadarsin, who introduced wide and varied reforms may also have started a useful institution like this. Again it was very near his capital, just as Greenwich is very near London. But, on the other hand, solid proofs are obtainable of the existence of observatories during the reign of emperor Chandragupta, and even five to six centuries B. C. (Coins No. 27 to 32; the cross and ball sign Q+P is an irrefutable piece of evidence). In short, observatories existed in India as early as the 6th century B. C. and the central place was Ujjain.



Chapter VI

Sudden decline of the Mauryan Empire and the branches that were its off-shoots

Synopsis:—Stibhagasen succeeds Priyadarsin—his desire to follow the foot-steps of his father in religious propaganda, but subversive means adopted by him for that—Comparison with the religious orthodoxy of Aurangzeb—establishment of independent power by various vassal kings—disunion and dissension—the increasing power of Satakarni kings in Daksinapath and aggressive religious propaganda by him—riots and rebellions everywhere resulting into the separation of various kingdoms from the empire—the murder of his master by the Commander-in-chief Pusyamisra with the help of his son Agnimitra and the establishment of the Sunga dynasty in that province.

*The list of the weak successors and corrections in it—inquiry into the question as to who were Indrapalit and Bandhupalit—Many writers have fixed up Kunal as an emperor; inquiry into the possibility of the truth—A correct list of **the Mauryan kings.***

Everything in this world ends sooner or later and so did the Mauryan empire; and institution ends either gradually or at once.

Reasons of the decline If one dynasty immediately supersedes the other, the former can be said to have ended all at once. If, on the other hand, no such

invasion takes place, the rule of a dynasty can be said to have declined gradually. The Mauryan empire is an exception to this general rule, because it collapsed all at once even without the onslaughts of any other power. The account of the successors of Priyadarsin will make it clear how this happened.

Priyadarsin died in A. M. 290=B. C 237. He was succeeded by his eldest son who has been variously named Vrsabhshen,

Vrsabhshen Subhagsen and Virsen¹. He ruled for eight years only, B. C. 237 to 228. The reasons for this are stated below, in the words of a learned

writer². "The Indian history is comprised of a series of centralization and decentralization of power each supplanting the other. Religion, culture and literature—their unity—lead to the former while disparity of languages, races and geographical and climatic differences lead to the latter. The notion that India is one and indivisible existed in ancient times³; but the opposing forces stated above succeeded each other, as one or the other proved more powerful. As a result, no empire ruled steadily and for a long time in ancient India. " " There were many independent kingdoms which could be brought together under a federal structure*. During the times of Mahabhfirat, powerful federal unions like those of Andhaka or of Vrsnis existed. They were the most powerful empires. But dissensions again arose among the composite states and tended towards decentralization." "Certainly⁵ Chanakya's

(1) M. S. I. pp. 669, and f. n. no. 21 below. The "Sofagsen" of Greek history is called "Sobhagasen" by Pandit Taranath of Tibet. (Vol. II. Coin no. 93).

(2) M. S. I., pp. 662.

(3) Ibid. Pp. 663.

(4) Ibid. Pp. 665.

(5) Ibid, Fp. 605,

political creed was to establish a centralized empire. But he had to "recognize the independent existence of autonomous states within its fold, because he found them powerful. He tried his best to instigate quarrels among such states, but in the end he found it wiser to incorporate such states within the empire without disturbing their autonomy in internal affairs. The rock-edicts of Asoka (i. e. Priyadarsin) clearly declares this autonomy of federated states within the Mauryan empire⁶.

We quote a similar passage from another writer⁷, " There existed two kinds of constitutions in India:—(1) Unitary, and (2) Federal. Chanakya tried to establish the Unitary form of government and thus to destroy the autonomy of various independent states. This means that right from the time of Srenik upto the time of Chandragupta, the federal form of government existed. Chanakya was not wholly successful in his efforts. So he rested content with a mixture⁸ of the two forms⁹, which continued upto the time of Priyadarsin as his edicts make it clear.

It is possible that Priyadarsin introduced certain changes. We shall again quote the learned writer.¹⁰ " The states under the Mauryan empire were not quite autonomous. " This state of affairs deserves notice while accounting for the fall of the Mauryan empire "¹¹ This means that the religious mindedness of Priyadarsin was not the cause of the decline as some writers try to show. "It is a mistake to think¹³ that the policy of Aloka i. e.

(6) Coins found from this region tell us that though they were under the suzerainty of Priyadarsin, (They bear the Elephant"), they were autonomous as regards their internal administration. (Other signs on the coins indicate this). For evidence vide chap. III, Pt. III.

(7) Puratattva, vol. I.

(8) For instance, the kingdoms of Andhra, Pandya and Chola; while the kingless ones were "Keralputta, Satyaputta, Yon" etc During the rule of Chandragupta only Andhra had a king over it.

(9) This was the reason why Chandragupta's power was restricted, and so he was called "Vrsala". (Pp. 170).

(10) M. S. L, pp. 666.

(11) Ibid. lp. 667.

(12) Ibid. Pp. 668,

Priyadarsin) had so much weakened the empire that the army—the army which had defeated Seleucus and which had checked the progress of Alexander—was easily defeated by foreign powers. The army was as powerful as ever. Jalauk defeated the Greeks With the same army. It was unfortunate for the Mauryan empire that jalauk established a separate kingdom of his own in **the** north-western territory"¹⁸.

In short, it is untrue to attribute the decline of the empire to the religious devotion of Priyadarsin and consequent disappearance of the fighting spirit from his army wlvch thus could not withstand the onslaughts of the foreigners¹⁴. This reason, therefore, though advocated by certain writers, is groundless. The decline was due to disruptions among the members of the royal family and due to the religious bigotry which resulted into the persecution of the people* Various vassal kings declared themselves independent and thus decentralization began¹⁶. Had the successors of Priyadarsin pursued his policy of religious propaganda tempered with tolerance¹⁷, the empire would have remained intact. We quote a passage below from the same writer in support of this¹⁸:—"Rajatarangini tells us that there was a war between Magadh¹⁹ and Kasmir, and Jalauk, with a superior army, was the victor, and extended his territory upto Kanoaj³⁰. The weakened condition of the

(13) Appendix D. Pp. 360-5, where is given an account of Jalauk.

(14) Cf. the discussion about the Jaina philosophy of "Syadavad/" on **Pfc.** 305-7.

(15) See further.

(16) Cf. the details given further on.

(17) It is well-known how the great Mogul emperor Akbar adopted the policy of religious tolerance, while Aurangzeb was a religious bigot. **The** results of their policies are well-known. Read the paragraph, "Detailed inquiry into the reasons." This shows us the wisdom of Priyadarsin's policy.

(18) M. S. I., pp. 668.

(19) The word "Magadh" is not given in Rajatarangini, but has **been** used by the author of M. S. I. They were no longer the emperors of Magadh; they were the emperors of Avanti.

(20) M. S. L., pp. 669.

Mauryan empire was taken advantage of, by the Greeks who invaded India. Antiochus the Great⁹¹ invaded the territory of Subhagasen or Vrsasen⁹⁸ in B. C. 206, but soon after a treaty was concluded between them." "He again³³ invaded India, and this time Subhagasen had to conclude a treaty according to which he gave 150 elephants to the Greek invader who then returned to his country." Thus the Bactrian chief invaded India twice and was more successful in his second attempt. Thus the empire declined because J&lauk separated himself from the Mauryan empire and established his independent kingdom and because the policy of religious tolerance was dropped by the successors of Priyadarsin, whose empire, as his edicts proclaim it, extended over the vastest territory that ever was under any Indian emperor.

We have now come to the conclusion that there were two main causes of the decline:—(1) dissensions among the members of the royal family, and (2) religious persecution.

The Mauryan empire was the vastest of all the empires that ever existed in India. Why did it collapse so suddenly and within a short span of the quarter of a century when its foundations had just been strengthened and deepened by emperor Priyadarsin? Had it not been for his immortal edicts, the period of the rule of the Mauryan dynasty would, perhaps, have been

(21) M. S. L., pp. 669. The writer has thus taken Antiochus and Subhagasen to have been contemporaries. But Antiochus was dead long since. The mistake is committed in the same way in which Asoka has been mistaken for Priyadarsin. All these mistakes are due to identifying Sandrocottus with Chandragupta, and hence the date of Subhagasen has been stated as B. C. 290 because that was the date of Antiochus.

The real date of Subhagasen is B. C. 236. At that time Bactrian chief Deodotus II ruled over the territory about Afghanistan and about mount Hindukush. (See further the dynastic list of the foreign rulers).

If Antiochus and Subhagasen had been contemporaries, the time of the latter also must have been 280 B.C. because that of the former is B. C. 280 to 261. (The dynastic list of the foreigners). In short, the events are fine but they are connected with wrong names and dates of the foreigners*

(22) M. S. L., PP. 657.

(23) Ibid. Pp. 657.

swallowed up in the abyss of time. The first cause of su6h' gigantic and immediate downfall was family disintegration and the second was religious orthodoxy²⁴. Subhagsen and Jalauk were sons of the same parents²⁵, yet Jalauk separated himself from the empire proper and established his independent kingdom in Kasmir, which he extended by and by. Subhagsen began religious persecution in the empire, as if to hasten the calamity.

One of the causes of this sudden rise of the idea of the decentralization of power w.is the precedent²⁰ established by the neighbouring foreign rules. In Yona territory, the ruler of which had formed friendship with Priyadarsin, Euthidcrnos had established his independent power and had already begun to invade India after passing through Kabul and had conquered the Punjab. He did not, however, think it wise to stay personally in India for a long time, because his own kingdom was in danger of the invasion from the ruler of KaSmir in the north and other kings in the south, though it is difficult to explain why he did not invade Kasmir himself. There must have been the following two reasons for that:—(1) Kasmir did not lie in the way of a foreign invador and (2) at that time Kasmir was ruled by a powerful king like Jalauk, who, beginning with the territories round Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ambala, and Delhi, had expanded his kingdom upto Kanoaj*⁷. Seeing that the emperor's brother had thus separated himself from the empire, the Persian rulers began to annex

(24) These very two reasons, as we all see, are causing much misery and a great setback to our fight for freedom in India. The end to communal disturbances actuated by many interested parties, seems to be very far.

(25) They may have been born of different mothers.

(26) When one becomes mad after freedom and liberty, one usually uses little discretion as to the means he employs for getting them. Again, desire for freedom spreads with the quickness of an epidemic. Hence, the cycle of centralization and decentralization goes on for ever, working on the principle, "action and re-action are equal and opposite*" Again, Jalauk may have seen the Yon chief establishing his independent power over the territory and may have been actuated by the same idea to establish his own sway over Kasmir and other provinces.

(27) Read the matter above.

territory after territory from the Indian empire, with the result that the boundaries of the empire which extended upto Syria and Asian Turkey during the rule of Priyadarshin, narrowed down to the limits of the Sulej. In provinces like Rajputana and Sind, on the other hand, the Sakas and other races who had settled⁹⁸ there since the 5th century B. C., were preparing to rise with a body against the religious persecution of the emperor but had, not actively stirred themselves because of the want of a leader³⁹. In southern India, the Andhra king, the most powerful of all, had already asserted his independence. At his instances the semi-independent chiefs like Chola, Pandya, Kadamba, Keralaputta and others, who were consorts of the Mauryan rulers, also broke their allegiance to the emperor. They had rightly thought that the

(28) This was due to the transformation of the territory around Jesalmir into a desert and due to the Persians migrating into India. (Why they did so is yet to be found out).

(29) After some time they came under the power of Bhumak, the Kshatrik. He himself was first under the power of the Bactrian chiefs-Demetrius and Menander. When Menander died leaving no heir behind him, he assumed the title of Mahakshatrik and established his independent power over the territory. (See the chap. on Foreign Invaders and Kshatriks). At first I was of the opinion that Bhumak himself may have been a Saka-chief and may not have been a general of Demetrius or of Menander; he may have established his independent power taking advantage of the opportunity of the death of Menander without any heir. Other chiefs, like Rajuvul, the father of Sodas had done the same thing. So, Bhumak may have declared himself as ruler of the territory comprising Bhinnamal, Jodhpur and Sirohi states. Two reasons, however, made me drop this idea, (1) The coins of Bhumak and Nahapan have the Kharosthi script, which, as we know, was the script of Kamboj. (Cf. the language in the time of Panini, vol. I. pp. 36 and vol. II, pp. 23). This means that he must have been a Kshatrik. (2) The queen-consort of Rajuvul had convened a meeting of the kings at the time of the opening ceremony of the Lion-pillar of Mathura. The presidential chair was given to Nahapan, as he was the representative of Kshatrikas like Bhumak. This proves that Bhumak was a kshatrik and a native of Kamboj. Thus Bhumak must have come to India when Demetrius and Menander came to India, and must have been appointed over Bhinnamal. (This statement is supported by other details in the account of Bhumak and the era used by him. Vide his account further).

emperor was the least likely to disturb them, because of their remoteness⁸⁰ from the seat of the capital and because the emperor would have first to confront a power adversary like the Andhra king, before he could invade their territory. The same condition prevailed in eastern India. In Magadh, as we already know, a branch of the Mauryan dynasty ruled; but, like Jalauk, the ruler saw nothing wrong in establishing an independent kingdom there³¹. Thus decentralization of power had begun everywhere in India, and consequently the empire dwindled down gradually.

This decentralization was accentuated by religious persecution also. Subhagsen was not the heir-apparent by birth³³. So, like other members of the royal family, he was appointed as the governor of the frontier provinces which were under the sway of Avanti³⁸. Hence he had not received the training which would make him fit to discharge the duties and responsibilities of an emperor, much less to cultivate and put into practice the idea of religious catholicity. Again, he was appointed governor over such provinces^{3*} which developed in him autocratic tendency. As a result of this, though he had already passed over the haughty years of youth and was fairly advanced in age⁸⁸, when he ascended the throne, and though he had not fallen a victim to any major vice, yet the want of the positive cultivation of virtues combined with an autocratic tendency, made him enforce strict measures

(30) Cf. vol. I. pp. 313. Where it is stated, how Kaling and small kingdoms of the south became independent of Magadh.

(31) That the Sunga king Agnimitra had invaded it, proves that it must have become independent at this time. (Vide the account of Agnimitra).

(32) The heir-apparent was murdered in some province, probably Takṣila, where Priyadarsin had sent him to suppress a rebellion. (Pp. 265 etc.).

(33) These territories had been annexed to the Indian empire when Asoka married the daughter of Seleucus Nicator.

(34) Not only had the Persians inhabited this province, but the Yavanas had come to it after the invasion of Alexander the Great. They had mixed with the Bactrians, the Kharatas of Kabul and the Sakas of Baluchistan.

(35) Coin no. 93 in plate no.16 and pp. 131 for details about it. It tells us that he must have been sixty by the time he ascended the throne.

with regard to the propagation³⁶ of his faith. In this he was **goaded** by an ambition to "out-Priyadarsin Priyadarsin" in religious propaganda; but having neither been trained under Priyadarsin nor being aware of his intentions and policy, he began ruthlessly to practise religious terrorism. Hence, though the aim was the same, namely religious propagation, yet the means adopted by him being quite different, discontent among his people knew no bounds. The above-quoted writer says:—³⁷, "Religious propaganda effected by wrong means³⁸ or for wrong purposes leads to untold harm; and when the state lends its force in this³⁹, one cannot say where the things will go and how far. Asoka's policy (i. e. Priyadar&in's) was not to spread Buddhism (i. e. Jainism) by any means, fair or foul. His successor could not maintain this policy of religious propaganda without persecution and with persuasion." We can compare this policy with that of Aurangzeb or of the Roman emperor Constantine. Instances to the contrary and similar to that of Priyadarsin, are also not wanting. Every reader of history cherishes the memory of the benign rules of Queen Victoria and of Akbar. It was not Subhagsen's policy to follow the footsteps of his father; the result was, he led a miserable life, made his people unhappy and lost the empire his father had gained and established.

The same condition prevailed in Daksinapath. The seventh king of the Satavahan dynasty, known as Satakarani II, was in the prime of his youth with all the shortcomings of youth, when he came to the throne. He was also autocratic like Subhagsen. But as long as Priyadarsin was alive, -we know he had defeated the king of Kaling⁴⁰ and brought him under his power, -he could do nothing in opposition

(36) Read further.

(37) M. S. L., pp. 671.

(38) The communal riots taking place in modern India are also due to these religious differences. Another instance of such turmoil is the atrocities of Aurangzeb. (Cf. f. n. no. 17 above).

(39) Every ruler and ruling community should learn a lesson from this.

(40) The Sudersan Lake Inscription tells us that he had ~~twice~~ defeated the king of Daksinapath.

to 'his policy, as Priyadarsin's R. E. there tells us. When, however Priyadarsin died and when the weak rule of Subhagsen began, he first declared his independence and began by force the propaganda of the Vedic religion⁴¹, which he had accepted as his faith. 'He, performed the Asvamedh sacrifice, gathered a large army, -invaded Vidisa-Ujjain, the capital of Subhagsen, defeated him (and perhaps killed him), ascended the throne of Avanti and performed another Asvamedh sacrifice. He got there a pillar erected in memory of his victory and made the people pay the expenses of its erection⁴⁹. Then he gave the throne of Avanti to Brhaspatimitra,⁴³ who was either the son or the brother of Subhagsen, as his vassal and returned to his country. To keep a watch over him, he appointed his general named Pusyamitra, who was also a follower of the Vedic religion. Thus, because Satavahan king was powerful, he forced his religion everywhere for a short time, while Subhagsen's empire dwindled down because he was weak and was not supported by his own brothers. He was defeated (and probably killed) in A. M. 299=B. C. 228. Thus within ten years after Priyadarsin's death, the mighty Mauryan empire was no more on the surface of the earth.

We 'have already stated in what circumstances Brhaspatimitra succeeded Subhagsen. We have also stated the names of the remaining kings and the durations of their reigns in the first chapter on the Mauryan dynasty. We shall state below the events that took place during the rule in the aggregate.

**Brhaspatimitra
and the remaining
three kings**

Pusyamitra was a staunch follower of the Vedic religion and was the representative of the powerful Satkarani king. When

(41) His forefathers were Jains. He must have been a convert to the Vedic religion under the influence of Patanjali, the royal preceptor. The Jain religion had reached its zenith during the rule of < Priyadarsin. According to the eternal cycle of rise and fall, it is no wonder that its decline may have begun.

(42) See the conquest-pillar of Vidisa and the inscription over it.

(43) This statement requires correction. I have made it here because sufficient evidence is not available to change it. It is probable that Brhaspatimitra will have to be dropped altogether from the list and the rule of Subhagsen would have to be calculated upto B. C. 301.

Satkarani died in A. M. 301=226 B. C, his intention was to become king after killing or driving out Bjhaspatimitra; but he waited a while to see, how the successor of the Satkarani king conducted his rule. So he became the prime-minister⁴⁴ and made his son—Agnimitra—the Commander-in-chief. Seeing that the Satakarani king was formidable, he postponed his idea for some time.

The subsequent kings of Daksinapath held nominal power. But Pusyamitra was by that time too old to actively engage himself. His son, Agnimitra who was the Commander-in-chief of the Mauryas, was very powerful and tried his best to spread the Vedic religion in northern India. In the meanwhile, the powerful Jalauk died in A. M. 320=B. C. 207, and was succeeded by his son Damodar. Though not a weak king, he was not as powerful as his father. So the Bactrian chiefs, who had hitherto rested content with spurious attacks on India and plundering of provinces, now began regular invasions over India through Pesavar, the western gate of India. After conquering the Punjab they annexed territory after territory and thus wrested from Damodar all the territory upto Kanoja. Agnimitra saw the immediate danger of foreign invasion over Avanti; hence he persuaded Brhadrath⁴⁸ to let him train and enlarge the army. After doing so, he once invited the king to inspect the military parade. While the parade was going on, he killed the king with one stroke of his sword, wiped off the disgraceful title " Bhrtiya " which was given to his iorefathers and proclaimed himself the emperor of Avanti, thus establishing the Sunga dynasty in A. M. 323=B. C. 204. The JMauryan dynasty ended.

Most of the writers have stated these two names in the dynastic list⁴⁶. We have not stated them in the list given on p. 146. The reason is that it cannot be difinitely ascertained to

(44) The authors of the Puranas have declared him king from this time and have said that the gunga dynasty began from this time. Though he was king-de-facto, he had not become king-de-jure. In theory he was yet a "Bhrtiya* of the Mauryas as well as of the Satavahan kings.

(45) Cf. pp. 146 the dynastic list of the Mauryas is given there.

(46) Pp. 144 the dynastic list of the Mauryas,

whom these two names can be applied. In historical researches, however, the general method is first to start with a hypothesis, then to establish it as a fact or drop it altogether, as we get evidence in favour or against.

The word Indrapalit means "one as powerful as or one protected by Indra"; while Bandhupalit means "one who is protected by his elder brother." Of the two brothers, Who were Indrapalit Indrapalit must have come to the throne first; and Bandhupalit? while the latter may have come to the throne or may not have come to the throne at all. Let us see to which members of the dynasty from Chandragupta to Brhadrath these names can be applied.

Upto Asokavardhan these names were applied to none. Of the remaining members of the royal family the following pairs of brothers are found:—(1) The two grandsons of Aaoka, namely Dasarath and Priyadarsin; (2) Priyadarsin and Salisuk the governor of Saurashtra (3) Subhagsen and his successor Brhaspatimitra (4) Satadhanva or Satadhanus and Brhadrath (5) Jalauk of Kashmir and Kusthan the governor of Tibet⁴⁷; (6) any two of the three successors of Brhaspatimitra. Of these pairs, nothing is known about no. 6; and no. 5-brothers were born under auspicious circumstances⁴⁸. But as they took part in the affairs of the empire (taking for granted that they were separate individuals), we cannot say that one succeeded the other. If the two names represent the same individual, there arises no question here* Coming to no. 4, we cannot say that any of them was powerful enough to bear the title of Indrapalit. Turning to no. 1; though we can say that Priyadarsin was born under auspicious circumstances, yet Dasarath being many years his senior cannot be appropriately given the name "Bandhupalit." Again both of them ascended their respective thrones at the same time and ruled over separate and independent territories* Hence by the method of elimination, we rule out pairs nos. 6, 5, 4, and 1.

Let us now turn to the claims of no. 3 and no. 2.

(47) Pp. 318 the account of Priyadarsin; details about Tibet,

(48) Appendix D, account of Jalauk.

Pair no. 3 consists of Subhagsen and Brhaspatimitra; and no. 2 of Priyadarsin and Salisuk. Subhagsen may be considered to have been fortunate because he became emperor even though he was not the heir-apparent by birth and may probably and plausibly be given the name "Indrapalit." But it is not certain whether Brhaspatimitra was the brother of Subhagsen or was connected with him in some other way. We have stated his name because other writers have included it in the list. Even if we start With the hypothesis that they were brothers, yet Subhagsen has little claim to the title Indrapalit, because he was neither a powerful king nor in any way he has expanded or made prosperous his empire. On the contrary, he lost what his father had gained, by his misguided policy of religious persecution. So we come to pair no. 2 and consider its claims. Priyadarsin was born under very auspicious circumstances. Ten months after his birth, he was proclaimed heir to a vast empire. His career was long, uniquely successful and studded with manifold glorious achievements. Thus, he justifies in every way his claims to the name "Indrapalit." Salisuk also lived happily under the protection of his elder brother. Gently chidden for his misdeeds by his brother, he was appointed as the governor of Saurashtra⁴⁹. After the death of DaSarath, he was appointed as governor of Magadh. Throughout his life he was protected and made happy by the loving elder brother, Priyadarsin. Thus we see that his claims to the name "Bandhupalit" are equally justified. When we come to this conclusion, the reader will easily understand that⁵⁰, these names cannot be included in the dynasticlist of the Mauryas. I have purposely avoided them, because they are pet-names and because they might give rise to some confusion.

One thing remains to be mentioned before we close the chapter. Some writers have included the name of Kunal in the dynastic list Some others have stated that he was appointed as the governor of Taksila by Asoka and that he had become blind there. From the details already stated in his account, it is clear that both these things are impossible. He lost his eyes while he was studying

(49) Pp. 266 above.

(\$0) F, n. no. 46 above

as a boy in Avanti. There- had been no occasion for him to go to Taksila. Had he not lost his eyes, the history of the Mauryan. dynasty and consequently of India, would have taken a different turn. Hence we cannot include his name in the dynastic list.

We have given below the correct list of the dynasty.

No.	Name	A.M. to A.M.	Years		B.C. to B.C.
1	Chandragupta	146	„ 155 = $9\frac{1}{2}$	} = $23\frac{1}{2}$	381 „ 372
		155	„ 169 = 14		372 „ 358
2	Bindusar	169	„ 197 = $27\frac{1}{2}$		358 „ 330
3	Asoka	197	„ 237 = $40\frac{1}{2}$		330 „ 289
4	Priyadarsin	237	„ 291 = $53\frac{1}{2}$		280 „ 236
	or				
	Samprati				
	or				
	Indrapalit				
5	Vrsabhasen	291	„ 300 = 9		236 „ 227
	or				
	Subhagsen				
6	Puspadharman	300	„ 307 = 7		227 „ 220
7	Devadharman	307	„ 314 = 7		220 „ 213
8	Satadharman	314	„ 316 = 2		213 „ 211
9	Brhadrath	316	„ 323 = 7		211 „ 204

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Appendix

In the appendix D, which is exclusively devoted to Jalauk, we have already stated that after the death of Priyadarsin, Jalauk established a separate kingdom over Kasmir and broke his allegiance to Subhagsen with whose policy he did not agree. Thus his dynasty was only another branch of the Mauryan dynasty. The author of Rajatarangini have called them the descendants of Gonand. Their account deserve a place in any book on Indian history. But nothing except a detail or two is found, as to what happened of the dynasty after the reigns of Jalauk and Damodar. These detail are given below.

On p. 361 eight points have been stated about Jalauk. Baring the 26th year of his reign, he drove out the Mlechchhas and

expanded his territory upto Kanoja. Who were these Mlechchhas ? We have said that Jalauk ruled for about forty years from B. C. 237 to 197 (p. 363 above). During that time, the Bactrian kingdom included within it the Hindukush on the north, Afganistan on the west and the Punjab on the south (Read further for details). Like Alexander, they could never take their eyes off India. Time and again, they led spurious invasions over India, plundered the Indian provinces and returned to their native place, laden with the spoils of war. But later on they adopted the policy of consolidating their possessions in India. Hence Jalauk had to confront them in the Punjab and as it is stated in the Rajatarangini, he was successful in his task. Details will be given in the account of Demetrius, the Bactrian king¹.

As to the duration of Jalauk's reign, some writers say that it lasted for 30 years and some others say that it lasted for 40 years. We shall take nearly 32 years as the duration of his reign³, from B. C. 237 to 205. Then the duration of the reign of Damodar must have been 30 years, from B. C. 205 to 175.

Jalauk had driven out the Mlechchhas and had expanded his territory upto Kanoja. His successor Damodar was defeated by the same Mlechchhas and lost all the territory conquered by his father. It is doubtful whether he could maintain his sway over Kasmir. The Rajatarangini is silent on this point. It states that the trio of Huska, Juska and Kaniska ruled Kasmir after him. Later on (vide Vol. III) we shall prove that these three kings belonged to the Kusana dynasty, which was founded by Kajul Kadaphasis and his successor Vima Kadaphasis, known in history as Kadaphasis I and Kadaphasis II respectively. Again nearly 150 years intervened between the end of the rule of Damodar and the beginning of the rule of these kings. It is not

(1) These details refer to Euthidemos, the father of Demetrius. As his kingdom was outside India, his account has been given together with account of Demetrius.

(2) Some proofs about this will be given in the account of the Sunga king, Agnimitra. For a clear understanding, however, the reader is referred to the account of Demetrius in vol. III.

known whether Kasmir was ruled by the descendants of Kasmir or by some other dynasty during these years. As long as further proofs are not available, we may accept it as a working hypothesis that Kasmir was ruled by the descendants of Damodar and that the Kusana kings must have wrested power from them. Again, evidence is not available as to whether there was any blood-relationship between the descendants of Damodar and the Kusana kings. The members of the royal family were appointed as governors of Khotan and Tibet by Priyadarsin. It is generally accepted that some Hindu clans mingled with the Kusanas, giving rise to mixed races. These two things lead us to the conclusion that the descendants of Damodar and the Kusana kings must have had some blood-relationship between them. The dissimilarities between them were due to their inhabiting different regions having different cultures and civilizations. The Kusanas were the natives of Khotan and Tibet. The kings of the Sisunaga dynasty, Nand dynasty and of the Maurya dynasty came of the Samvriji clan (some of the subdivisions of which are Lichchhavi, Malla etc.). The people who inhabited Tibet, China and Mongolia descended from the Lichchhavi clan. Again we shall see later on, that the original place of the Aryans was the region between the two rivers of the Asian Turkey, namely, the Sirdaria and Amudaria, both of which flow into the sea of Eral. This region included within its area cities like Murva, Bukhara and Samarakand. From this region, one batch of the Aryans, migrated towards the east, i. e. towards China and Mongolia; another migrated towards Khotan and Tibet; the third migrated towards India by the route of Afganistan and so on. These things strengthen our conclusion about the blood-relationship between the descendants of Damodar and the Kusana kings.



Chapter VII

The extent of the territory of every emperor

Synaptic—The extent of the territory of the Mauryan kings:—

Chandragupta:—His establishment of the Mauryan dynasty in an unknown territory—his request to the king of Kaling after having established his authority over Andhra king—Defeat of Ashoka and the foundation of the Mauryan empire—sudden death of the Kalinga king while dividing the spoils of war—the suspicion of the Kaling king and consequently the establishment of Chandragupta's power over Kalinga—Compilation of "Arthashastra" by Chanakya—his retirement and his pilgrimage to Vimalagiri with the Sangha, the digging of the Sudarsan Lake—prediction of a famine in his dream and his conquest ordination.

Bindusara»—His doing away with Chanakya at the instigation of the new minister—riots and rebellions and consequent decline in the extent of the territory—the attractions of the foreigners towards India because of the misrule prevailing here—conquest of Persia by Alexander and his invasion of India.

Asokavardhan:—Failure of Alexander to suppress the power of Asoka in the manner in which he did that of Ambhi and Pauras—various unsuccessful efforts of his successor to establish power over India and the disgraceful treaty concluded by him with the Indian emperor—His misdeeds in his family life and his consequent indifference to matters political—his repentance and his devotion to religion—his happy end.

Priyadarsin:—the greatest emperor that ruled over India—decline of his empire after his death and its reasons—historic aphorisms about the evils of bad company to which many Indian kings fall victims.

1. CHANDRAGUPTA

Historians have hitherto given the account of the extent of the territory of Chandragupta commencing with the year in which he became the emperor of Magadh. But as we have already stated on p. 144 the rule of the Maurya dynasty began when Chandragupta established his power over an unknown territory. The map no. 54 at the end of vol. I shows his territory.

We know that nearly 8J years elapsed before Chandragupta rose to the emperorship of Magadh, from the chieftaincy of the unknown territory. He started with plundering the territories on the border of the Magadha empire. Chanakya had adopted him as his protegee in order to wreak vengeance over Nand IX. The map no. 54 given at the end of vol. I will at once make it clear that the southern border of the empire was selected for these raids, because there stretched a rocky region between the Magadha empire on the one hand and the Kaling and Andhra kingdoms on the other hand. This region was inhabited by the barbarous race. He established his sway over the region and recruited his soldiers from the tribe inhabiting it—the tribe which had sturdy youths full of fighting spirit. The "old dame and the child" incident (p. 167 above), which took place in about A. M. 154-373 B. C., incited Chanakya to take the next step.

The region under Chandragupta's power was surrounded by three big kingdoms of Magadha, Kalinga and Andhra (vol. I, Map no. 54). Though all the three kings were powerful, yet the comparatively weak king was the Andhra, whose territory also was smaller than that of the other two. Again the king, Vabhishaputra Kanha-Krsna, the third in the line, was very old and rather unpopular among his own people, because he had usurped the throne by driving out the rightful heir, who was the son of his own nephew the second Andhra king, Yagnasri Gautamiputra by the queen Naganika. Taking all these things into consideration, Chanakya gathered together his army under Chandragupta and invaded his territory. The Andhra king was

killed in the battle. Chanakya, however, did not annex the territory to that of Chandragupta but proclaimed the son of Naganika as the king and thus won the love of the people. This conquest encouraged them very much and they began to devise ways for the invasion over Magadh. They took the wise step of combining their own forces with that of the Kalinga king by concluding a pact of mutual help with him. Vakragrlva, the king of Kaling was powerful and cherished the desire of taking revenge over the emperor of Magadh for the insult that was inflicted by the former Magadha emperor by carrying away the gold idol from his forefathers⁹. Hence they combined their armies and marched over Magadh. The result of the conflict is well-known (vol. L, pp. 357 and vol. II pp. 167 and further). Thus the Nanda dynasty ended in A. M. 155=B. C. 372 and Chandragupta became the emperor of Magadh. We have already described, under what circumstances Vakragrlva died while dividing the spoils of the war³. The victory over Nand IX gained Chandragupta the whole of northern India. His power was already established over Andhra. The successor of Vakragrlva was so disheartened by the death of his father (Vol. IV, for his account) that Chandragupta easily conquered that country also. Hence we can say without exaggeration that Chandragupta became the emperor of the whole of India by about B. C. 362=A. M. 165.

After thus having brought the whole of India under his power, Chanakya busied himself with compiling the marvellous treatise

(1) This may be due to two reasons:—(1) It may have been a custom in those times not to annex the kingdom, the heir to which may have **been alive**; or (2) Chanakya must have intended **to** win popularity there. We **can-not** say, which of these was the major reason. Chanakya attempted to **introduce the** unitary form of government in order to limit the power of kings. **For** this reason, he addressed Chandragupta as a Vrsala. He was **not** entirely successful in his aim.

(2) At that time the idol was in possession of the king of Kaling. (**Details** about this event are given in the Hathigumpha Inscriptions. Vol. IV, the **account** of Kharvel; vol. I., pp. 171 and pp.350).

(3) Pp. 168, f. n. no. 15 above.

on economics⁴. Though a detailed account of the book would be a digression here, yet we shall here take stock of the doctrines and ways that contributed to, and maintained the solidarity of the empire.

At the beginning of his rule, there prevailed a famine in the country; and when his reign was about to end, famine was again looming large over northern India. When he became emperor, he had little wealth to boast of. He had generously allowed Nand IX to carry away a large amount of wealth with him. Thus right from the beginning, the financial condition of the empire was always unsound and strait. Means and ways had to be devised to procure money to keep the machinery of administration going on smoothly. Sources of revenue had to be found out without over-taxing the people⁵. Both he and Chanakya had thus passed through the thick and thin of life. Rich with such wide and varied experience, they put their heads together and chalked out a net-work of rules and regulations based on sound economic and political doctrines⁶. The result was the immortal treatise, 'Arthashastra.'

The "Arthashastra" is, in many ways, an original contribution to the world of thought. It was the outcome of the variegated experience of Chanakya, who was himself a close disciple of the prime-minister of Nand IX⁷. The father of the whole science was however Srenik⁸, the builder of the guilds. Little wonder it is, that the most of the doctrines stated in the "Arthashastra" obtain even to-day, with a little change here and there.

(4) Cf. Pp. 167, f. n. no. 9 above.

(5) Some writers have said that he hoarded wealth even by **persecuting the people** in many ways. (Pp. 169-170 above). This does not seem to **be true**. The statement seems to have been made to justify the meaning of "Kautilya."

(6) That is why the book is called "Akarah sarvasastrana'mV' Pp. 175. and pp. 195 to 204 above.

(7) Vol. L, pp. 337 and further, where details are given about Sakadal,

According to his doctrines, Ch&nakya was inclined towards the centralization of power, and give a wide birth to the system of autonomous provinces within a federal form of government*. He was not wholly successful in this. He sometimes indulged in the pleasure of calling Chandragupta, "Vrsala" for this reason¹⁰. Again he was also strongly inclined to change the seat of the capital, but he hesitated to put into practice this idea involving a great change. Hence, he sought a compromise in the formula that while the king stayed in the capital proper, the heir-apparent should stay at Avanti, where it was his intention to have the seat of the capital, because it was situated in the centre of the empire and because it was gifted in many ways by nature. The heir-apparent was, however, only eight years old at this time and hence could not be sent to Avanti as its governor. Hence it was decided that the king himself should stay for some time in Magadh and for some time in Avanti every year. In Ujjaini, the capital of Avanti, royal palaces were built for this purpose¹¹. Thus Ujjaini, which was the prosperous capital of the kings of the Pradyota dynasty and which had lost its importance when Avanti was annexed to the Magadh by Nand I, once more was received as an important seat of the capital¹³, in about 362 B. C. In southern India, over the provinces which were formerly under the power of the Andhra and the Kalinga kings, Mauryan chiefs were appointed as governors. The Kadamba, Cholfi, Pandya and other chiefs¹³, who were, like the Mauryas, the descendants of the Lichchhavi clan, were continued as rulers of the territories which were already under their power. In the Telugu books of

(8) Vol. I., pp. 254 to 257, and their footnotes.

(9) Pp. 170 and pp. 372 and pp. 389 f. n. no. 1.

(10) Cf. f. n. no. 1 on pp. 389 and pp. 149, f. n. no. 26; pp. 170.

(11) Vol. i'. pp. 177.

(12) Vol. I, pp. 179.

(13) Vol. I. pp. 295, and pp. 347 to 349; pp. 352 & seq.

of the Madras presidency they are called "New Mauryas"¹⁴. Thus the idea of delineating responsibility and of the division of labour was first introduced by Chandragupta, though it originated during the time of Nandivardhan.

One thing remains to be mentioned before we close the account of Chandragupta. His first years were passed under great stress and strain. Hence, after his conquests were consolidated and the administrative machinery began to run smoothly, his mind began to be inclined towards renunciation of worldly affairs*. The two famines during his rule¹⁵ added to this and strengthened his inclination. So he had gone on a pilgrimage to Vimalachalagiri in Saurashtra, the holiest mount of the Jains. The ascent to the mount did not begin at Palitana as it does at present. The Vimalachal was yet united with the Raivatagiri¹⁶ and the common ascent to both of them began near Jirtiadurga—Junagadh. For the facility of the pilgrims, he got a great lake dug at the foot, namely the Sudargan¹⁷, in about B. C 363=A. M. 164. On his return to Ujjain, he dreamt several dreams while sleeping in his palace. He recounted them to his preceptor Bhadrabahu, the Srutakevali. According to his advice, he renounced the world and got himself ordained¹⁸. Then he went to Sravasthi Belgol in the south, which was under his power¹⁹. How he spent the rest of his life is already described in the foregoing pages.

(14) Vol. I. pp. 288, f. n. no. 55.

(15) Vide his account above.

(16) Pp. 180 above and the paragraph, "Though eternal yet in the clutches of time."

(17) Pp. 179 and further above, and the paragraph "Chandragupta's devotedness to religion."

(18) See the life of Chandragupta and specially the paragraph "The cause of the abdication of the throne." on pp. 192.

(19) This supplies us with the proof that southern India was under the power of Chandragupta.

2. BINDUSAR

Bindusar ascended the throne immediately, after the ordination of Chandragupta. The latter died twelve years later; but during these twelve years he kept himself quite aloof from the affairs of the kingdom because Jaina monks are prohibited by a religious edict from taking any part in worldly affairs. Bindusar's rule therefore lasted from B. C. 358 to 330.

Bindusar was fourteen—the age of discretion in those times—when he ascended the throne. He conducted the affairs of the administration in conformity with the advice of Chanakya, who shielded his defects arising from feebleness of body and other infirmities. As long as Chanakya was alive, Bindusar's sovereignty over the whole of India continued unimpaired. During the 9th year of his reign, however, Chanakya died (B. C. 350) and Subandhu—formerly a minister—was appointed in his place. He was jealous of his predecessor, but did not introduce any changes as long as Chandragupta was alive even as a monk. When he died in 346 B. C., all the restrictive and wholesome influence was removed from his path. The inefficient and unwise rule of both the minister and the king, began to have its weakening effect on the integrity of the empire. The fourth Andhra king who was a vassal of Chandragupta (Coins Nos. 67-68), declared himself independent. The Cholas, the Pandyas and others in the further south broke their allegiance to Magadh and probably submitted to the power of the Andhra king, as the coins found on the west coast show. Even Kaling was under his power. In short, the whole of southern India was wrested from the Magadha empire, by about B. C. 348 to 346. Even over northern India, the hold of the empire had begun to weaken and he would have lost it also; but the custom of appointing governors over Avanti saved him from this catastrophe. The heir-apparent stayed in the capital to help his father in administration, but the brightest of his sons, Asoka, was appointed as governor over Avanti. He rigidly maintained authority over Avanti and Saurashtra. The ksatriya chiefs of the Punjab had already begun to create dis-

turbances; and had they made a united effort, Bindusar could not have subdued them. They, however, quarrelled among themselves and the Punjab was again in a state of turmoil and agitation. Bindusar sent his eldest son and heir-apparent Susima to suppress the rebellions. He successfully suppressed them and having established peace, returned to Magadh. Three years later in 331-0 B. C, there again broke out riots in the Punjab and Susima was sent again. This time he was murdered there. When this sad news reached the king, he forthwith sent Asoka to establish quiet there. Asoka took action with a firm hand and peace was established once more in the Punjab. This incident so much excited Bindusar that the artery in his brain burst, causing his death (B. C 330).

3. ASOKAVARDHAN

Upto this time, it has been a general belief that Asoka wielded sway over the largest empire of all the emperors. This requires correction as we shall just now see.

When Bindusar died, only northern India was under the power of Magadh, while southern India was under the rule of the Andhra king. Even in northern India, the power was not very firm and especially it was so in the Punjab. Asoka ascended the throne in such circumstances.

Hearing of the weak rule of Bindusar, Alexander the Great had invaded India and had crushed the Persian Empire while on his way to India. We have already given details about this on p. 211 to 221. Taking advantage of the riotous condition of the Punjab, he marched forward and came to the western boundary of India in B. C. 328. His progress into the interior was checked by Asoka, who was sent there to suppress the rebellion. But Alexander was no common raider or invader. He persuaded king Ambhi of Taxila to accept his suzerainty and marched into the territory of Paurus; though Paurus offered brave resistance, yet at last he was defeated and the Greek Emperor's power was established over his territory. At last in B. C. 327 he confronted Asoka on the banks of the Sutlej. Thus we can see that the

north-west portion of the empire was yet to be recovered from the hands of a powerful foe, when Asoka ascended the throne.

Alexander had hitherto fought against and defeated smaller chiefs like Ambhi and Paurus. The meeting of the Greek emperor with Asoka has been described on p. 213. It shows that his policy of acquiring territory must have been that of bluff. Hence, when he found tougher material in Asoka, he seems to have decided to stop further progress in India. The Greek historians have stated that the main cause of this retreat was, that the Greek soldiers were tired of their stay in India—they had already been here for seven years and that the Indian climate did not suit them at all. This hastened his departure. On the way to Greece, many of his soldiers died. Shortly after this, Alexander also died. The route selected by him at this time was different from the one selected on his entry to India and this route was longer and full of difficulties. Why did he do so, when the delapidated condition of his army required speediest return by the shortest and the safest route? The reason may have been that while setting out towards India he must have given to his soldiers a glorious description of India and must have induced* them to accompany him, telling him that the conquest was not difficult. In India, however, he found that his ambition, strengthened by his easy victory over the Persians, would be far from realized. But he did not want to arouse discontent²⁰ in his army and wanted to persuade them that they had not conquered only a small territory²¹. So the longer route, which was through the territory that belonged to nobody in particular was taken, in order that the soldiers might be satisfied that they had conquered a large territory in India. Be that as it may, we come to the conclusion which concerns us here that Asoka, at the beginning of his reign, had lost much territory.

After his meeting with Alexander, his coronation ceremony was performed. But it was not his luck to settle down quietly.

(20) The conquest over Persia was only incidental. His chief aim was to conquer India.

(21) The Greek historians themselves have declared that he took this route in order that there may not be any discontent among his soldiers.

The Greek generals, whom Alexander had left behind him, to rule over the conquered territory, began to quarrel and fight with the native chiefs. In B. C. 317, Paurus was murdered by a Greek general and there broke out a serious riot. Asoka went to the place, slaughtered the Greek generals, drove Eudemos with bag and baggage out of India and annexed the territory once more to the Magadha empire (B. C. 316). But this did not mean peace of Asoka. Seleucus, the great and favourite general of Alexander, heard of this massacre. He had established himself as the ruler of Syria after Alexander's death. He led invasions over India one by one. The number of his invasions from B. C. 316 to 304 was eighteen. At last he suffered from a severe defeat at the hands of Asoka and was forced to enter into a humiliating treaty with him. The four great provinces including Afghanistan were ceded to the Magadha emperor and Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to Asoka. This is the first instance of an Indian king having conquered territory outside India.

Thus we see that he was constantly engaged in warfare right from his accession in 330 B. C. to 304 B. C. Neither was his private life happy. His queen-consort, Tisyraksita was an intriguing woman of no character. Enraged at her misconduct, he got her burnt alive in a paroxysm of rage and got her daughter, Saftghamitra married to a sickly fellow²⁹. To show his hatred towards Buddhism, he started the institution called "Narkalay" (Hell-house). The incident of a Buddhist monk being thrown in a pan of boiling oil (p. 241), made him repent for the atrocities perpetrated by him and consequently he closed the "Narkalay." After a short time he convened the third Buddhist Conference at his capital and permitted both his son Mahendra and princess Sanghamitra (who had become a widow or as some say, her husband turned out an ascetic two years after her marriage) to be ordained with great pomp. Then he sent the Bodhi tree to Ceylon with a group of missionaries which travelled by the sea, starting from the mouth of the Mahanadi, which flows into the bay of Bengal. He himself had gone upto the sea

(22) See below; one of the causes of his early death was this*

shore to see them off. The missionaries did not travel by land because southern India was under the power of the Andhra king. We have here to bear in mind that historians, taking Asoka and Priyadarsin to be names of the same individual, have stated that his empire extended up to the southern portion of the Madras presidency, on the authority of the edicts of Siddhagiri and Brahmagiri in Mysore State, which have been inscribed by Priyadarsin and not by Asoka. These details lead us to the conclusion that the Magadha empire extended upto the source of the Mahanadi during the reign of Asoka. And this shows that Asoka and Priyadarsin are different individuals; otherwise the extents of their empires would not have differed from that of each other. Thus, right from 326 B. C. to 312 B. C. he was entangled in family wrangles. Harassed on the one hand by the invasions of foreigners and by family dissensions on the other, he found little time to reconquer territories lost by his predecessor. It was fortunate that he maintained intact his sway over the provinces he had inherited. He found peace in life, only after his treaty with Seleucus in 304 B. C. During that very year, he heard the joyful news of the birth of Priyadarsin; he met Kuvala, his eldest and blind son, after a long time. His moid experienced perfect joy and peace and he decided to proclaim his infant-grandson as his successor. He relinquished his title as the emperor and began to conduct the affairs of the administration as a regent of the infant emperor. He held this office for fourteen years, during which his sole purpose was to consolidate and to preserve the territory which was already under the empire. Even Buddhist books hold no record of any conquest of his during these years. They tell us that strongly inclined towards religion, he had begun to give large sums, as well as land, in charity. In short, his empire extended only in northern India, during his active rule of 28 years and his regency of 14 years.

Now the reader must have been convinced that the assertion that Asoka wielded sway over the largest empire of all, which was made in the beginning, requires correction. The assertion seems to have been made on the mistake of identifying Asoka

with Priyadarsin. As far as Asoka, however, is concerned, the statement is far from true.

4. PRIYADARSIN

Much does not remain to be written about the conquests or the extent of the territory of Priyadarsin (p. 292 and further). Only a synopsis will be given here.

After his accession to the throne, he conquered countries one by one, which were not under the power of his predecessors. Over the conquered territories he re-instated the defeated kings as his vassals accepting tribute from them. The policy of the centralization of power which was adopted by Chandragupta and Chanakya, was also adopted by him with some modifications. Over provinces in India or outside India, which had no vassal kings, he appointed the members of the royal family as governors and instructed them to propagate his faith without persecution. His empire extended upto Tibet, Khotan and Asian Turkey in the north, upto Syria and probably Egypt in the west and upto Cape Comorin in the south. We do not know whether he had tried to conquer Ceylon, Burma, Sumatra or Java, or to propagate his faith there.

If research is further pushed in this direction, new things may come to light as they did in the case of the famous Chinese wall.

The map indicating the extent of the territory of Priyadarsin is an eloquent testimony of the fact that his empire was the vastest of all the emperors that ruled over India and that it is fitly described as the epoch-making period in Indian history. Again, his reign was the longest of all the emperors, except one or two. People were happy, prosperous and inclined to religion in his time, thus establishing him as the greatest sovereign⁸⁸. The policy adopted by him as a king is worthy of imitation by

(23) We have to draw the attention of the reader to a passage quoted from H. G. Wells, from his article in "Strand" of Sept. 1922, (p. 216), and also to the extract quoted from Sriyut Vidyabhufan Alankaraji's book on p. 343 to p. 245.

all. A study of the reasons of the downfall of the Mauryan empire will prove this clearly.

Being mainly concerned in this chapter, with the extent of his territory, it would rather be a digression to touch the question of his policy. But it is closely associated with the expansion of his empire. Hence, we shall discuss it here, specially with reference to foreign invaders.

The following were the causes which induced the foreigners to invade India:—(1) They may have come here to satisfy their curiosity of visiting a new country and to satisfy their desire of plundering as much money as possible, (2) Their intention may have to conquer territory and establish their reign in India or to bring Indian chiefs under their subjugation and leave them as their vassals on the throne. In the former case, there is little possibility of the mingling of the civilizations of the invaders and the invaded; while in the latter case, the two civilizations cannot help having repercussions on each other. In course of time, both of them get so interwoven that it is difficult to classify which phase belongs to which. Again, only those phases of any of the two survive in the long run, which have a wider and more constant appeal; consequently, raids with a view to plunder and depart are forgotten in the course of time; while those with a view to permanent settlement in the conquered territory are not forgotten, because of the long-lasting influence of the culture of the conquering people over the conquered. The first invasion of this kind was by Alexander in B. C. 327. His intention in doing so, becomes clear from the following words already once quoted (pp. 341); "Alexander's expedition was an organized one and had historians, geographers, scientists, merchants etc. One object of Alexander's conquest was to spread Greek civilization abroad." He changed his intention on the way²⁴ to India and his original aim was never realised²⁵.

(24) The cause of this change also requires study. Read further for that:

(25) He must have imagined that he would be able to conquer **Indian kings** in the same way he did Ambhi. This already received a setback in the cause of Paurus, and Asoka completely changed his ideas; he could not **bluff** him **into** submission.

The same writer has made this clear in the following passage already once quoted (pp. 341)." The Indians probably regarded Alexander as a mighty robber and his expeditions and conquests as a political hurricane. India was not changed, India was **not** Hellenized." Thus Alexander was not successful either in establishing Greek civilization in India or in conquering a territory and establishing his permanent power over it. His generals ruled a small territory for only 25 years after his departure. After their being massacred and driven out by Asoka, India was immune from foreign invasion for nearly 125 years. No doubt, there were petty raids but the raiders were nearly always defeated. Sometimes some of them came and did settle in India, not however as victors and introducers of a new culture, but as mergers and students of Indian culture. For the first 40 years out of this 125 years, there was a constant flow of foreigners in India. But after that Priyadarsin's power reached as its zenith. He sent his missionaries to the countries of all these invaders and these missionaries disclosed to them the gospel of Jainism and initiated them into real culture and civilization. This caused a vast change⁹⁶ in the modes of their lives and the above writer has said³⁷, "One object of Alexander's conquest was to spread Greek civilization abroad: but we regret to see that he himself and his men were orientalized in Persia." The Persian culture was Indian in origin and Persia was under the power of the kings of the Raghu and **the** Yadu dynasties. Thus Alexander's aim was defeated; he became **the** disciple of the country of which it was his ambition to become **the** teacher in matters of culture and when he returned to Greece he was fully imbibed with all the main points of Indian culture. Thus, wherever the foreigners⁸⁸ came into contact with Indians, they

(26) Read f. no. above.

(27) This statement is concerned with the consequences of Alexander's invasion* The Persians had imbibed the Indian culture, long before the invasion of the Greek emperor. So, at the time of his invasion the same culture had the hold over the Persians*

(28) For details and proofs about this, the reader is referred to **the** chapters under the general heading "Foreign Invaders". Their coins also show that they have always imbibed Indian culture whenever they **settled in India***

always had to bow to the superiority of the Indian civilizations and accept and imbibe them as much as possible. Their own coins furnish ample evidence in support of this³⁹. Some might argue that the foreign invaders acted in this manner with a view to reconcile the defeated Indians to their rule. In answer to this, we shall rest content with asking them two questions:—(1) Have they made a thorough study of the psychology of conquerors? (2) Whose ways are introduced in general life, those of the strong or of the weak⁸⁰ ?

The foreign invaders always adopted the policy of settling⁸¹ in India whenever they found possible to do so. Settling requires land; hence the territory of Indian rulers was diminished in area. The foreigners were attracted to India mainly due to the superiority of Indian culture to theirs; but the material prosperity of India played a considerable part in these settlements.

We have thus clearly shown how the two civilizations influenced each other during the 125 years beginning with the invasion of Alexander in 327 B. C. The reader will see that foreign hosts came to India in great numbers during this period⁸³.

By this time it must have become quite clear to the readers why foreigners were so eager to invade and settle in India. Whenever they heard of internal dissensions in India, they never missed to take advantage of the opportunity. One of such opportunities was afforded to them, shortly after the death of Priyadarsin, when his sons quarrelled among themselves. Another opportunity came at the end of the Sunga dynasty when people were quite dissatisfied with and harassed by vicious and weak

(29) Was the success of the missionaries of Priyadarsin due to their large number or due to the superiority of their civilizations ?

(30) F. n. nos. 29 & 25.

(31) The next volume contains the account of the rule of five foreign dynasties. All the accounts will prove the same fact.

(32) The merits of a thing prove advantageous or disadvantageous to itself according to the contingencies of time

rulers. Details about this will be given in the account of the account dynasty.

One thing deserves notice here. Indian kings followed the policy of reinstating the defeated king on the throne as their vassal. The foreigners on the other hand required land to settle in India and consequently drove out the defeated Indian king or killed him and established themselves as rulers of the territory. In course of time, even Indian rulers adopted this policy.

After the death of Priyadarsin internal dissensions were rife in the whole of India, due to the policy of religious persecution and want of union among his sons. As a result the Mauryan power collapsed. The territories under the sway of the empire, which were outside India were reconquered by the foreigners. The governors of various provinces declared themselves as independent rulers of the provinces over which they were appointed. Thus the power of the successors of Priyadarsin became only nominal. At last, within a short time, the dynasty ended when the Sunga general killed its last ruler, as has been already described.

Appendix

In "Padakar", Aug. 1936, a monthly published from Baroda, has appeared an article which gives support to my contention that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta, but was Asoka.

Megasthenes was the Greek ambassador at the court of Sandrecottus. Scholars have hitherto identified Sandrecottus with Chandragupta. I differ from this. If we identify Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, we shall have to agree to the fact that Megasthenes and Chanakya were contemporaries. I have proved on the authority of irrefutable pieces of evidence that it is not so and that Sandrecottus was none other than Asoka. (Pp. 152 to 163 and pp. 199 f. n. no. 26). On pp. 198, I have quoted a passage from the author of M. S. I. stating his doubt about Chanakya and Megasthenes having been contemporaries. The writer of the article in "Padakar"

has raised the same doubts. Many other writers must have got the doubt about it. I have discussed this question at some length on pp. 159 to pp. 163. The following are the arguments given by the writer¹ of the article in "Padakar" against the theory of taking Chanakya and Megasthenes as contemporaries.

Chanakya has compiled the treatise named "Arthashastra". Megasthenes has written an account of the India of his own time. The descriptions given by them of various conditions prevailing in their times do not agree. Here are some of the instances. In the first place Megasthenes had made no mention at all of Chanakya. A detailed study of Arthashastra gives altogether different picture of the culture and civilization of India from that given by Megasthenes. For instance:-(1) According to Megasthenes fortresses and cities were built of wood; according to Chanakya they were made of bricks. (2) Buddhism has been respectfully treated by Megasthenes and Buddha has been praised in high terms by him. Chanakya's treatise makes no reference to Buddhism except in three words, namely, "Pasanda", "Sakyajivan" and "Sraman". The word "Pasanda" means the Buddhist Ksapanaks whom Chanakya has treated contemptuously. He has said that they and "Chandalas" should have their residence near the cemetery. ¹ Sakyas" were also Buddhists. It has been stated in Arthashastra that those who gave food to them in performing oblations to their forefathers, would be fined 100 Panas. "Sraman" has been treated with equal contempt by him. (3) Megasthenes has made clear reference to milestones on the roads, while Chanakya does not refer to them at all in his description of the roads. (4) Megasthenes has stated that only the king had the right to possess elephants and horses. Chanakya's book contains no such rule, though he has written in details about the horses. (5) According to the Greek ambassador the people had an easy access to the king; Chanakya had always warned the kings to keep the populace at an arm's length. (6) The forests and the hunting methods have

(i) The writer is Mr. Ratilal Kaladhar Bhatt. His article certainly deserves the attention of all the students of history.

been differently described by them, (7) Slavery was non-existent in India according to the former; Chanakya has given a detailed account of it (8) Chanakya's detailed account of the espionage organization falsifies the statement of Megasthenes that people dared not commit any crimes whatsoever, (9) Over and above these, both the books differ widely from each other in their accounts, of administrative methods, of economic conditions, of local bodies, of assemblies and of many other things.

These details prove that Chanakya and Megasthenes were not contemporaries.

Dynastic Lists

N. B.—If figures mentioned here differ from those mentioned in the text, they require correction and further investigation.

No	Name	A. M. to A. M. years	B. C. to B. C.
1	Chandragupta	146 " 155 = 9½ } = 23½ 155 " 169 = 14	381 " 372 372 " 358
2	Bindusar	169 " 197 = 27½	358 " 330
3	Asoka	197 " 237 = 40½	330 " 289
4	Priyadarsin	237 " 291 = 53½	289 " 236
	or		
	Samprati		
	or		
	Indrapalit		
5	Vrsabhasen	291 " 300 = 9	236 " 227
	or		
	Subhagsen		
6	Puspadharman	300 " 307 = 7	227 " 220
7	Devadharman	307 " 314 = 7	220 " 213
8	Satadharman	314 " 316 = 2	213 " 211
9	Brhadrath	316 " 323 = 7	211 " 204

177

The Maurya dynasty has really lasted for 178 years but deducting the period of 8 years, for which king Chandragupta has ruled over some territory outside the province of Magadh, it could be said to have ruled for 170 years as sovereigns of the Magadha empire.

× × × ×

N. B. Dates in A. M. and B. C. calculations seem to vary owing to two causes.

(1) When an event has occurred either in the last 3 months of a B. C. epoch or in the first 3 months of an A* M. epoch, there is always a difference of one number in expressing the figures on either side (e. g. f. n. 15 pp. 146).

{2) When a king has ruled for 23 years and three months, he is said to have ruled for 24 years; similarly If) years are stated for one, who has ruled for 15 years and 4 months. Thus, when both 24+16 put together, will amount to 40; but the period covered over is, in reality, only 38 years and 7 months, (e. g. { . n. 55 pp. 154, f. n. * on pp. 147 accounting for the total period of 177 instead of 179.)

x x x x x

Though we are not concerned with a dynasty of Ceykmese kings, we have tried to formulate & reproduce one as under, as it is useful to fix the time of several events occurred during the Mauryan rule.

Kings of Ceylon

	A.M.	to	A.M.	years	B.C.	to	B.C.
(1) Vijay	6	to	44	38	520	to	482
(2) Period of misrule	44	to	45	1	482	to	481
(3) Panduvas	45	to	75	30	481	to	451
'(4) Abhay	75	to	95	20	451	to	431
(5) Pankudak (robber]	95	to	159	64	431	to	368
(6) Mutasiv	159	to	218	59	368	to	309
(7) Period of misrule	218	to	223	6	309	to	303
(8) Tissa	223	to	263	40	303	to	263
(9) Uttiya	263	to	273	10	263	to	253

Chronology

W. B. Simple figures mentioned against the events show the pages and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable, the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as circa; while those which are doubtful are marked as?

B. C	B. M.	
3250	2750	Supposed time of Mohan-ja-dero ruins 59, (For my views, see under B. C 534)
9th & 10 cent.		Existence of authors of Srutis 4
9th cent.		Animal sacrifices were in full swing 4
877	350	Birth of Parsvanath (3)
8th cent		Causes of births of great men 3: incident of ascetic Kamath 3
668	141	Beginning of Anjan era (7)
600	73	Birth of Lord Buddha 8, 11
598-9	72	Birth of Lord Mahavir 8, 11
571	44	Buddha's great renunciation 8; Siddharth renounced the world 9; Buddha's renunciation (at the age of 29) 11
571-564		Buddha did not preach at all, upto this time according to the Buddhist books 9
571-520		Buddha never saw Mahavir during this time 19
569	42	Mahavir renounced the world 181; Mah&vii: entered the holy order (568; 8, 11 at his age of 30).
564	37	Buddha began to preach 8; king Bimbisar of Magadh was converted to Buddhism 10; Ksema, Queen of Bimbisar, became a Buddhist nun 10; Siddharth's father, mother, wife and son became his disciples (9)

B. C.	B. M.	
556 .	29	Mahavir attained Kaivalya (at the age of 42) 8, 11, 46; coins, bearing serpent should be dated anterior to this, 46; coins struck by Charidapadyot of Avanti to commemorate Mahavir's attaining Kaivalya 85
6th cent.		King Prasenjit of Kosal contemporary with Jaina monk Keii 5, (5); Time of the prophets Mahavir and Buddha 5
6th cent.		Observatories already found to exist in India 369
5th cent. (after) 556	39	Sakas settled in Rajputana and Sind 376 Beginning of punch-marked coins 42; king Srenik made guilds 42; 40; (6th cent.)
543	16	Buddha's nirvan 9 (at the age of 57) near Gaya, 11, 14, 154; (554; 8) attainment of knowledge; beginning of Buddha era 151 (151); reckoning of Buddha era in S. India 8 (232) (for N.-India see 520): [541 (13)] according to some;
534	7	Destruction of Vittabhaya-pattan 59 (at the site of the ruins of Mohan-ja-dero, so the ruins may be said to have been 2534 years old)
529	2	Beginning of the reign of king Ajatsatru (238) Ajatsatru came to the throne [528 (7)]
527-6	0	Death of Mahavir 7, (7), 8, (13) at the age of 72; 11, 151
	A.M.	
527-515	1-12	Sudharma, first in descent from Mahavir (26)
523	4	Commencement of the 5th Ara in the Avasarpini cycle 181
520	7	Death of Buddha 7, (7), 154; (at the age of 80) 9, 11, in Kusinara nagar; parinirvan 8; Reckoning of Buddha era in N. India 8 (232)
520-482=38 yrs.		King Vijay of Ceylon (238)
515-507	12-20	Jambu, 2nd in descent from Mah&vlr. (26)

B. C. B. M.

496	31	Commencement of king Udayan's reign over Magadh (238)
496-472=24 yrs.		Udayasva of Magadh; His coins 95
490-460=30	"	Maniprabh of Avanti; His coins 89
482-481= 1	45	Misrule in Ceylon (238)
481-451=30	"	King'.Panduvās of Ceylon (238)
477	50	Foundation of the city of Osia 174 Beginning of the reign of Nandivardhan (238); Nand I came to the throne 150; Beginning, of cast coins 43; according to
472	55	C. J. B. as early as the 5th cent. (43); cast coins during the 5th & 4th cent. 63. Nirvan of Jambu, second in descent from Mahavir 181; Digging of the canal (see also 467) by Emp. Nandivardhan as stated in the
463	64	Hathigumfa cave 181; deterioration of the retentive faculty of men (182) Famine recorded in Magadh (26) and canal dug (first of its kind in history) from the Ganges 26; (see also 463) Necessity of the
467	60	art of writing felt 27 Coins of Nandivardhan, after annexation of Kausambi and Avanti with Magadh 87
451-431=20 yrs.		King Abhay of Ceylon (238)
432-350	95-177	Chanakya's time (his age being 82) (207)
431-368=64 yrs.		Pankudak, robber king of Ceylon (268)
427-417=10	"	Agnimitra Nanda; his coins 133 Nand II to Nand VIII; their coins 71
426-403=23		Srimukh, the founder of Andhra dynasty; his coins 105
424	103	Hathigumfa inscription contains Mahavira era figure of 103 (83)
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371		Partaking of meals of two faina monks of Emp. Chandragupta's dishes; 12 year famine severest at this time [(370); (178)]. Birth of Bindusar 204 [(370 Chandragupta's chief queen became pregnant 176; birth of Bindusar 177 (why he was so named)].
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367	160	Probable date of compilation of Arthasastra by Chartakya (170): (367 to 359 on pp. (191)
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350	177	Probable date of Chanakya's death (207); 393: Tisya alias Madhavasimha, brother of Asoka was born (235) [350; birth of Tissa (father of Dasarath ? and brother of Asoka (240)]
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335	192	King Ambhi and Pauras rebelled 210 Birthfof Prince Mahendra 231 [332, birth of Prince 'Mahendra (236), 237, 356, 365, 366, death in 254 at his age of 78, (236)]
334	193	First rebellion in the Punjab during BindusaYs reign (216)
333	194	Birth of Princess Sanghamitra 231 [330, birth of Princess Sanghamitra (236), 237; death in 253 at her age of 77 on pp. 237]
331-250=81 yrs.		Persia under foreign rule of Alexander, his generals and Emperor Priyadarsin (210)

B. C.	B. M.	
331	196	End of the Acheimenidai dynasty of Persia(210)
330	197	Death of Bindusar, 204, 210, 212,221,233, 394; Second rising in the Punjab during Bindusar s reign (216) (331-0 : 394) Dasarath's father (Prince Kunal's younger brother) was born (259); (see under 350; which is probably wrong)
330-289=41 yrs.		Emp. Asoka 283, 383, 146, (235) (Asoka was an uncrowned king from 330 to 326; 226, 366) (Asoka was an emperor from 326 to 302; 226)
330	197	Asoka came to the throne; (160), 221, 233, 234, 253; Sandrecottus came to the throne 233; Asoka seized the throne of Magadh (213); Susima, heir-apparent to Bindusar was killed (235)
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481-451=30 yrs.		King Panduvas of Ceylon (238)
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467	60	Famine recorded in Magadh (26) and canal dug (first of its kind in history) from the Ganges 26 (see also 463). Necessity of the art of writing felt 27 Coins of Nandivardhan, after annexation of Kausambi and Avanti with Magadh 87
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432-350 85	"	Chanakya's time (his age being 82) (207)
431-368=64	"	Pankudak, robber king of Ceylon (268)
427-417=10	"	Agnimitra Nand; his coins 133; Nand II to Nand VIII; their coins 71
426-403=23	"	Srimukh, the founder of the Andhra dynasty; his coins 105
424	103	Hathigumfa inscription contains Mahavir era figure of 103 (83)
420	107	Time of Mulanand and Chutukanand on the authority of coins 99. Initial Andhra kings, their (1st and 2nd) coins 97
416	111	Hathigumfa inscription engraved by Kharvel 27
415	112	Books written by Emp. Kharvel 27: Panini wrote his grammar 27; (see under 4th cent.)
414-372=42 yrs.		Nand IX; his coins 71
404-384=20	"	Gautamiputra Yagna Sri 2nd Andhra king (his coins for 404 to 396 pp 101, 112 & 113 : see corrections)
4th or 3rd cent.		Books may have been written (6)
397	130	Birth of Chandragupta Maurya 158

B. C	B. M.	
387	140	Varahamihir, astrologer, according to Jaina books (269); (opinion of the Vedic books, see 6th & 5th cent. A. D. (150; (30)
382	145	Beginning of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya as king of a small territory (238); from 381 to 372 pp. 383, (167); from 381 to 373 pp 153, 154 Chandragupta as an emperor 372 to 358 pp. 383
381-358=24 yrs.		Chandragupta's total reign 146
381-204=177 "		Duration of the Mauryan dynasty 145; (duration from 372 to 204 on pp. 144)
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322	205	Foundation of Council by the Greek generals (214); rebellions of the Greek generals and their slaughter 221 First rising in the Punjab during Asoka's reign (216); incident of elephant to Asoka (214) Seleucus ascended the throne (253); he established his authority over Syria 221 in 321 ; (Its mention as 313 in Vol I pp. 100 is now taken to be wrong; so also his date 331 to 280 on pp. 215); beginning of the Selucide dynasty (215)
321	206	Amended partition of the Greek territories formed at Triparadeisos 218;
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- 319 208 Asoka burnt Tisyaraksita alive 235; death of Tisyaraksita (236)
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- 318-209=19 yrs, Fifth Andhra king Madhariputra Satakarni; his coins 107
- 317 210 Greek generals began to quarrel amongst themselves (215 ; Poros was murdered by Eudamos 218, 396; Second rising in the Punjab during Asoka's reign (216) Emp. Asoka drove away the Greeks from India (213)
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- 314 213 Agnisarma, husband of Princess Sanghmitra and son-in-law to Asoka became a Buddhist monk, 237 (may be in 312, 243)
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- 313 214 Third Buddhist conference held at Pfitliputra 19, 244, (245)
- Prince Mahendra and Princess Sanghmitra were ordained in the Buddhist order and a mission was sent to Ceylon under their leadership (245)
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- 309-303=6 yrs. Misrule in Ceylon (238)
- 305 222 Famine in the districts of Kausambi (290); Emp. Priyadarsin in his past birth of a beggar, was ordained as a Jaina monk (303; (289);
- 304 223 Seleucus made treaty with Asoka, 28, 159, 221, 246, (247) 253, 397 [303 (246) according to E. H. I.] and married his daughter with Asoka 220, 221, 233; Marriage of Asoka with Asandhimitra, daughter of Seleucus Nicator 235, (235) (236)
- Birth of king Samprati alias Priyadarsin, 249, 256, (256) 259, 260, 356 (357); [303(259)] Asoka appointed Dasarath as governor of Magadh 239
- 304-250 223-277 Dasarath's rule (?) : Dasarath as governor of Magadh from 304 to 277 on pp. 357 [really 304 to 290 he was governor but Emp. ASoka has acted as regent, both for him and the infant-prince Samprati and as soon as Samprati was crowned in B.C. 290, Dasarath

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		ruled over Magadh as its independent king & died in B. C. 250: so his rule really began in 290 & ended in 250=40 years (360) }
303	224	Si-Hu-Wang; the Chinese emperor came to the throne 283; his reign lasted from 303 to 267=36 years; possibly after this, mints were founded by Emp. Priyadarsin 63
303-263=40 yrs.		Tissa, king of Ceylon (238)
302-289=13	"	Asoka as a regent 226
302-288=14	"	Megasthenes stayed in India for this period 16Q
301		Asandhimitra, daughter of Seleucus & Queen of Asoka died 235, (235) 236, 245
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299-285=14	"	Sixth Andhra king, his coins from 299 to 285, 119; from 285 to 281 pp. 111;
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297	230	The maid-servant of Queen Asandhimitra raised to the position of Queen-consort by Emp. Asoka, a year or so after marriage with her (245)
293	234	Destruction of Bo-tree (244)
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287	240	Emp. Priyadarśin saw the Ratha-yatra-procession and came to know of his former birth 289
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285	242	Emp. Priyadarśin returned from his western tour after 2½ yrs. 292 : Priyadarśin visited Satrunjaya & Girnar 292
		Priyadarśin married Charuvaki (mother of Tiver and Charumati) 367
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284	243	Rising in the Punjab (276) : probable birth of princess Charumati, daughter of Priyadarśin 367
284-276	243-251	Priyadarśin opened kitchens to prepare food to give to the Jaina monks (311)
283	244	Priyadarśin returned from his southern conquest tour after 2½ yrs. 292
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282	245	Priyadarśin finished his conquest tour (262)
281	246	Priyadarśin conquers Kaling 277, 367 : he defeated the 7th Andhra king 293, 368; Priyadarśin took 8 vows 293; (280; 85) Death of Arya Mahagiri (311)
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280-262=18 yrs.		Antiochus I, Sorter of Syria (262)
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		Arya'Suhasti, the religious preceptor of Emp. Priyadarsin (26)
277	250	Priyadarsin's first visit to Nepal [276 : (279), 283, 285, 367]: he defeated Sthunko, king of Nepal, 278 & placed Devpal there; Charumati was married to Devpal before 270, pp. 367 (probably 280, see under 285)
276	251	Beginning of the great Chinese wall to be built 297
276-239=37 yrs.		Antigonus Ganuts of Macedonia (262)
274	253	Priyadarsin returned from his tour in N. Asia 280
273-270=3 yrs.		Priyadarsin's religious activities for 3 years 298
272	255	Priyadarsin appointed governors over Yona & Kaamir 280; completion of great Chinese wall by Emp. Si-Hu-Wang after 4i years' active work day & night, owing to fear from Emp. Priyadarsin 280 [274 (297)]
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- 270-264=6 yrs. Priyadarsin passed these years in religious propaganda and activities (301)
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- 265 262 Priyadarsin got the R. E. erected 85 [**264** : 282, 301, (301) 296, 368]
- 264 263 King Tissa of Ceylon died (261); **262** (238)
- 563-253 King Uttiya of Ceylon (238)
- 262 265 3-rya Suhastin, the religious preceptor of Emp. Priyadarsin died 153; according to some in 237 pp. (155) (301); 261, (301)
- 258-231=27 yrs. Coins of Emp. Priyadarsin, bearing Mahavir era dates, 83
- 254 273 Death of Monk Mahendra 237; 252 (236) at his age of 78
- 253 274 Death of Nun Sanghmitra 237
- 252-244 Alexander, king of Korinth (262)
- 250 277 Death of Dasarath, king of Magadh (360); Prince Salisuk appointed to succeed him 360; his rule from 250 to 237; Arseidai dynasty of Persia established (210)
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- 237 290 Salisuk, king of Magadh-died (350)
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		Emp. Satadhanva Maurya 383 (from 213 to 206 on pp 147)
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211-204	316-323	Jalauk, emperor of Kasmir died 380
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203	324	from the Yavanas 362
205-175=30 yrs.		King Damodar of Kasmir 384
204	323	End of the Maurya dynasty 145, 380 : Sufiga dynasty founded by Emp, Agnimitra 380
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182-159=23 yrs.		Menander's time: his coins 140 (of the year 155 pp. 93)
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		Seventeenth Andhra king: his coins 119 (for this time only)
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- 9th Cent. The Idols-colossal figures-at Sravan-belgol, are supposed to have been carved out (338) (see under 977)
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ERRATA

<i>Pp.</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
1	3	let	led
30	Last	Century B. C.	Century A. D.
46	29	in 456 B. C.	in 556 B. C.
85	1	in 257 M. E.	in 247 M. E.
113	21	B. C. 317 definitely	B. C. 371 definitely
157	5	learn in 119	born in 119
Chapter on coins—some of the dates of Andhra kings require investigation and further research (see vol. IV.)			
204	15	Devchandra (1938)	Devchandra (1838)
207	31	375 to 483 A. D.	375 to 403 A. D.
224	12	ownfall	downfall
231	30	His real name... ...Chapter V	Delete the whole sentence
235	33	in about 328-29	in about 330-29
240	5	The other son Tissa	The other son of Bindu- sar and brother of Asoka named Tissa
245	21	311-214	313-214
256	32	223 B. C.	223 A. M.
272	13	f. n. 93 below	f. n. 72 below
272	35	in A. M. 470=B. C. 57	in A. D. 47 circa
296	7	249-250 A. M.	262-3 A. M.
296	8	B. C. 277	B. C. 264
338	31	9th or 10th cent. B. C.	9th or 10th cent. A. D.
355	18	three hundred	four hundred
355	31	in 606 A. M.	in 706 A. M.
360	29	B. C. 237 to 277	A. M. 237 to 277
360	30	B. C. 277 to 294	A. M. 277 to 294
(These figures on pp. 360 are to be read as "quoted by the Puranas.")			
408	13	(after) 556 39	(after) 556 29
409414	Top line	B. C. B. M.	B. C. A. M.



Lord Buddha
(founder of Buddhism)
B. C. 600-520=30

Fig. 5]

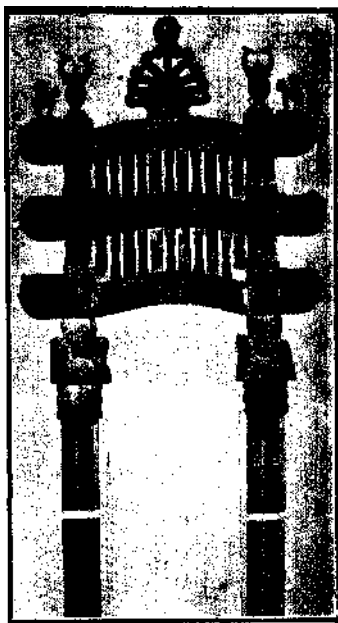
[Pp. 10



Lord Mahavir, the 24th Jaina
Tirthankar B. C. 598-527=72

Fig. 6]

[Pp. 10



Sanchi Stupa entrance door

Fig. 7]

[Pp. 186--88



Birth of Bindusara

Fig. 12]

[Pp. 177

i n



Bhadrabahu- Gomat

Fig. 15]

[Pp. 195; also Fig. 31



Emp. Alexander the Great

FiR. 16]

[pp. 212 & seq.



Seleucus Nicator

Fig. 17]

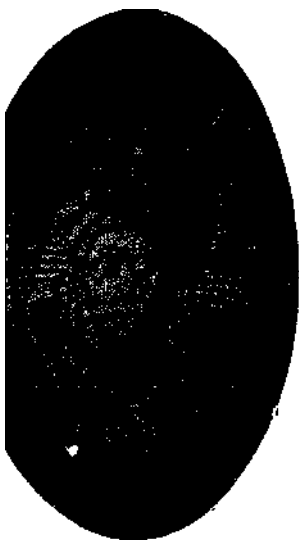
[pp. 220



Elephant raising Asoka with his trunk-

Fig. 18]

[Pp. 221



Emp. Asokavardhan
(Grand father of Emp. Priyadarsin)

Fig. 20]

[Pp. 225



Queen Padmavati of Emp. Asoka
(Grand mother of Emp. Priyadarsin)

Fig. 21]

[Pp. 225



Embarkation of Mahendra & Sanghamitra to Ceylon
 Fig. 22] [Pp. 237



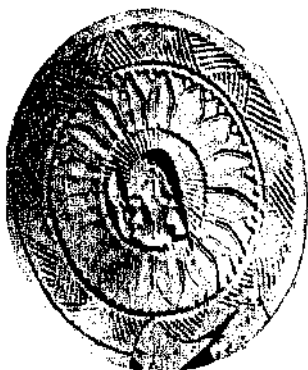
Prince Kunal taking off his own eyes
 with red-hot iron-bars



Prince Kunal
(Father of Emp. Priyadarsin)

Fig. 25]

[Pp. 235



Queen Kanchanmala alias Mayadevi
(Mother of Emp. Priyadarsin)

Fig. 26]

[Pp. 256



Queen Mayadevi's dream

Fig. 28]

[Pp. 256



Emp. Priyadarsin

Fig. 29]

[Pp. 261-2

Emp. Asoka and his family

Prince Kunal

Emp. Asoka

Priyadarsin

Queen
Kanchanmala

Queen
Padmavati

Queen Kanchanmala's dream when
the soul of Emp. Priyadarsin is
entering her womb

Fig.

27]

[Pp. 263 & seq.



War of Kaling, at the place where stands the rock-edict
of Dhauli-Jagaudfi by Emp. Priyadarsin
Fig. 30] [Pp. 277



Various monuments erected by
Emp. Priyadarshin
Fig. 33] [Pp. 320-40



Bhadrabahu in contemplation
(Recognized as Gomata-swami)

Fig. 34]

[Pp. 323; vide also Fig. 13



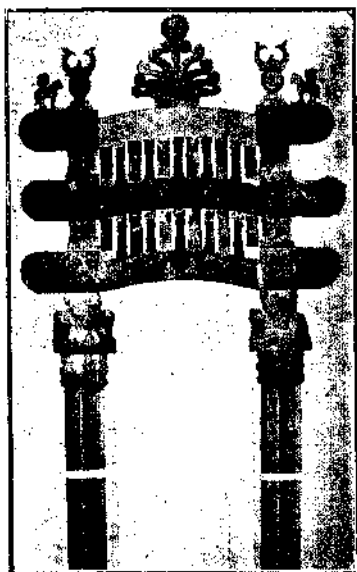
Capital of a
Pillar—edict

Fig. 35, Pp. 332



Pillar—edict

Fig. 36] [Pp 332



Toran, entrance-door of a stupa

Fig. 37] [Pp. 332

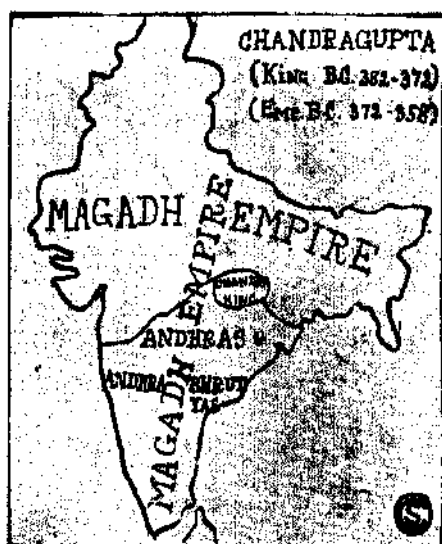


Fig. 41

Map No. 1

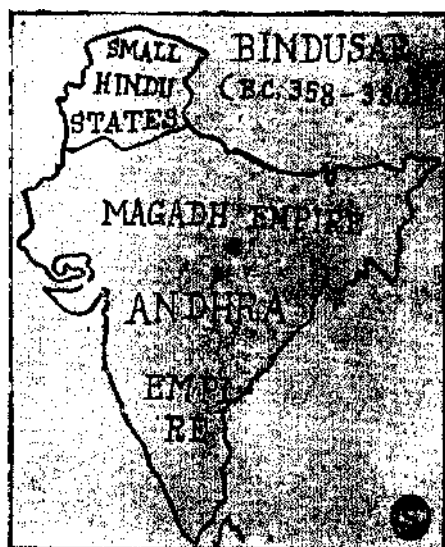


Fig. 42

Map. No. 2



Fig. 43

Map No. 3

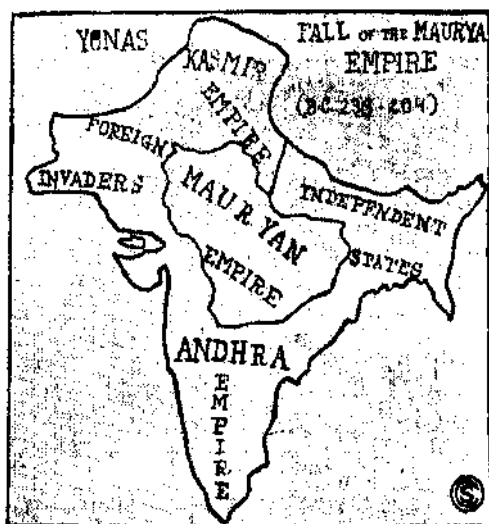
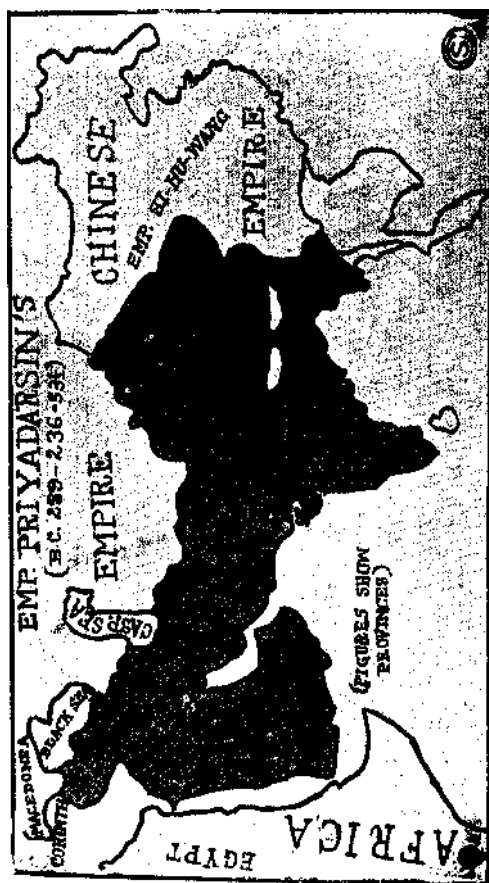
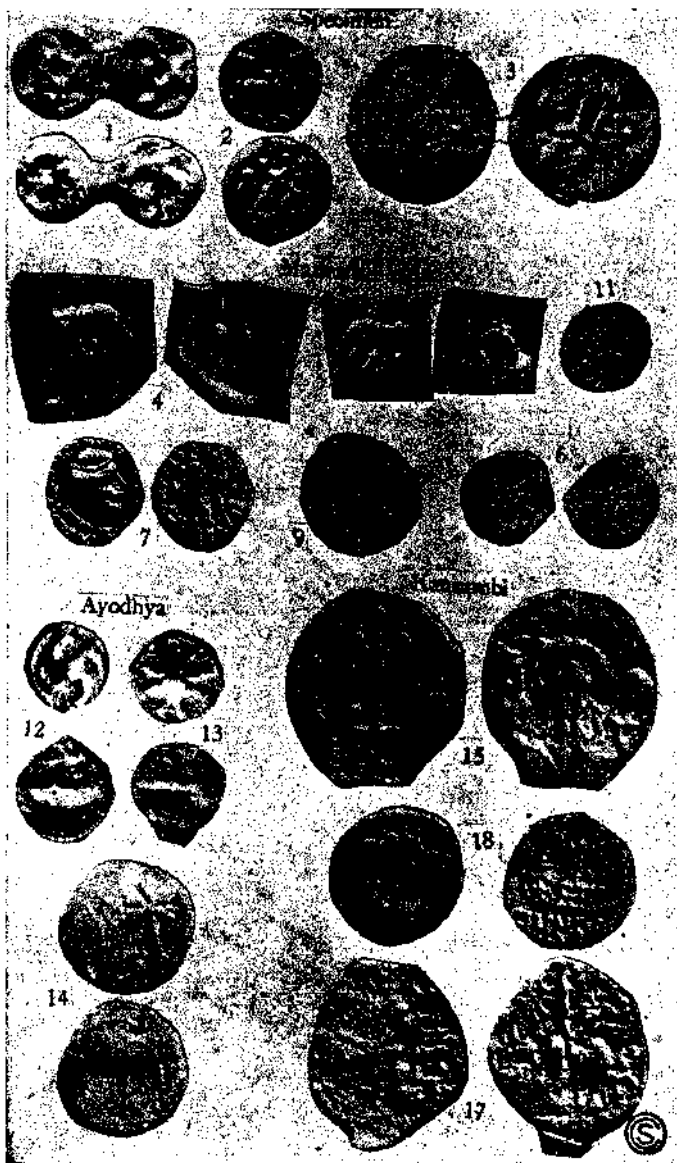
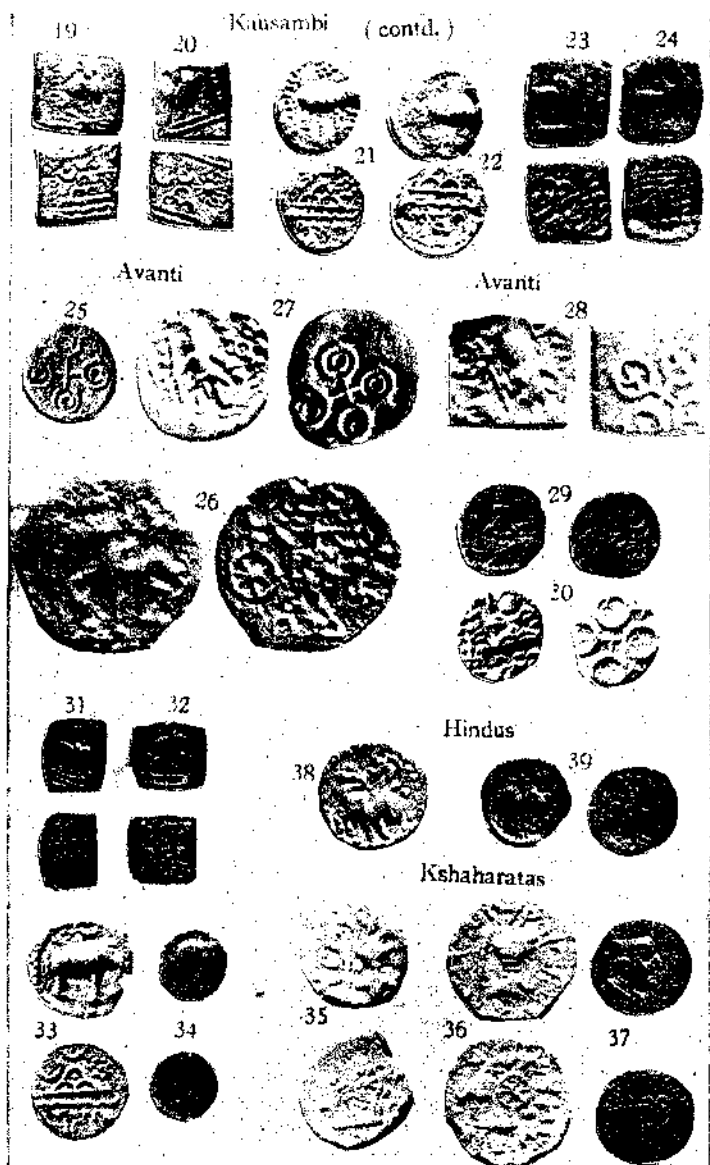


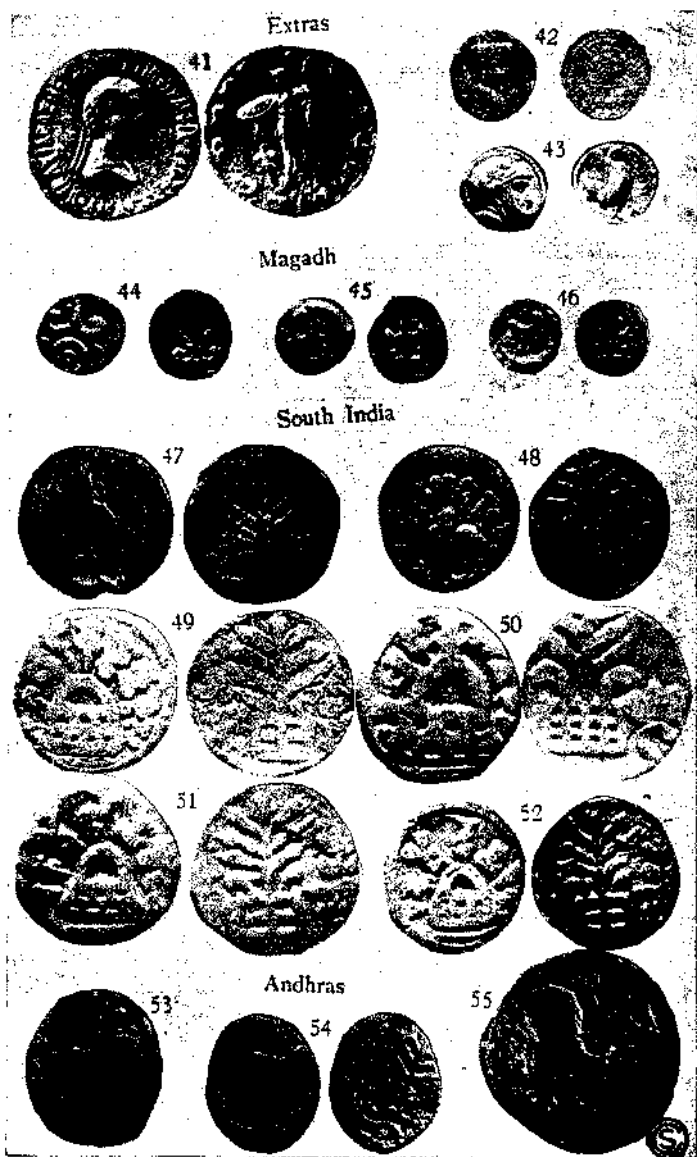
Fig. 45

Map No. 5

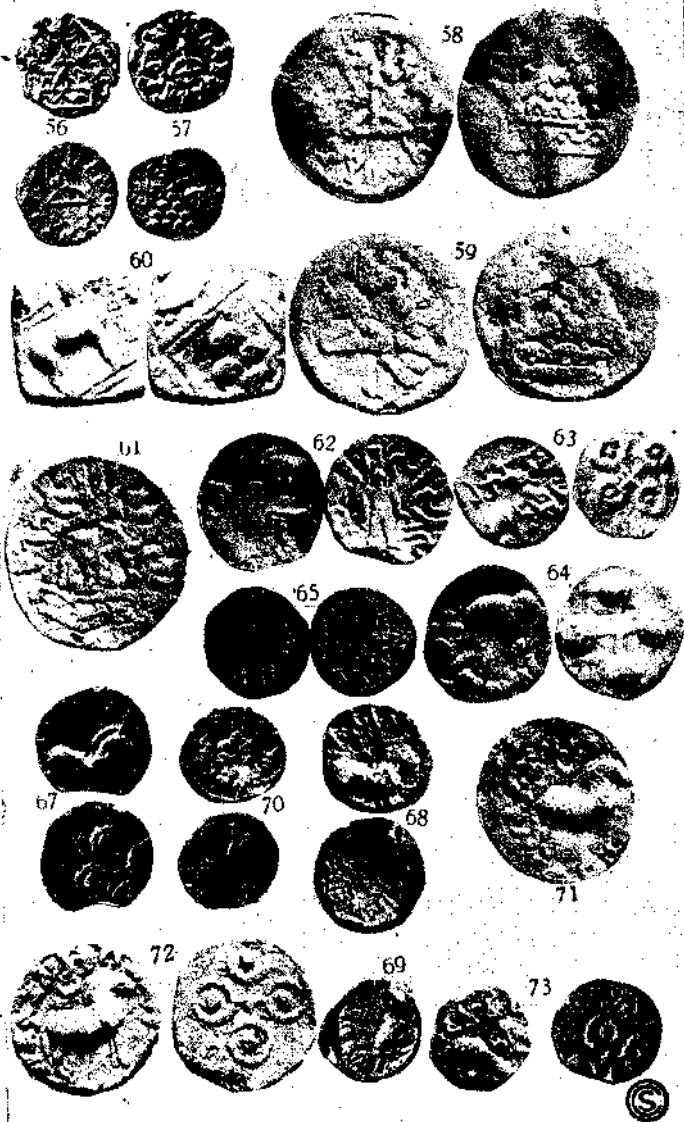






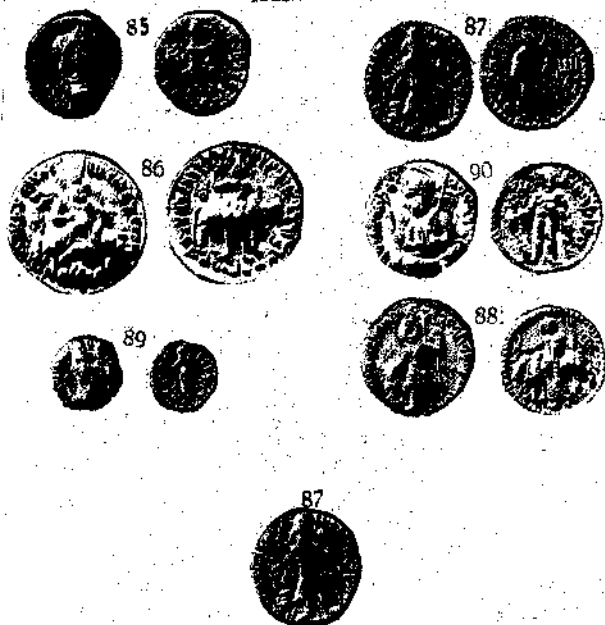


Andhras (contd.)

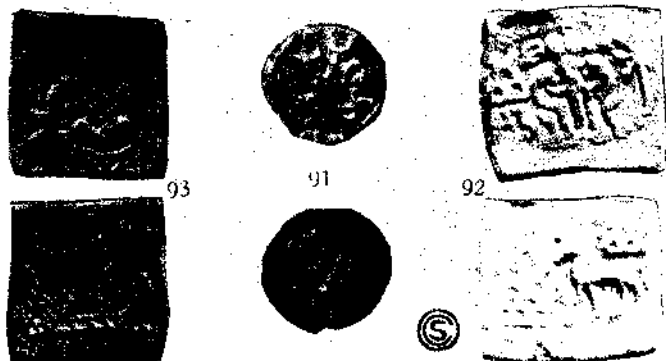


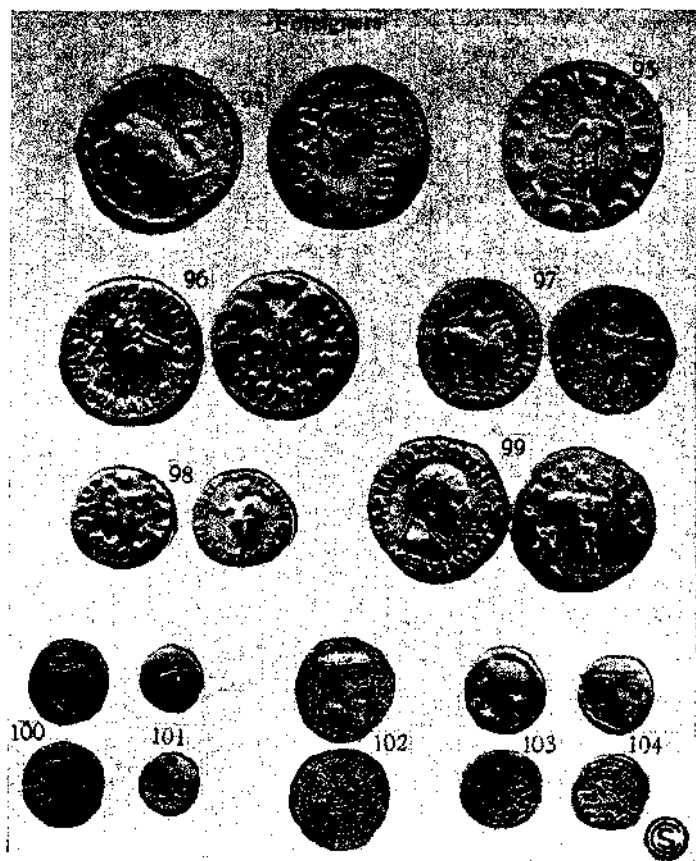


Kushanās



Mauryas





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OPINIONS

With the help of the archeological department, ancient books and manuscripts, coins and inscriptions, scholars have begun to make an endeavour to give a connected and coherent form to ancient history. Systematic excavations of places of antique interest and collections of ancient manuscripts being put under the keen scrutiny of experts, have encouraged these scholars in their attempts.

Dr. T. L. Shah's effort to write a connected history of ancient India with the help of these things deserves praise. He had collected a mine of information with an aim to compile an Encyclopaedia of Jainism, and with the due discretion he has gleaned material out of it, which comes to light as " Ancient India ". Some of his theories and conclusions might strike many a reader as bomb-shells, but there is not a shadow of doubt, that a close study of these theories will disillusion even experts, on many a most and debatable point of ancient history and will clearly show us, how we misconstrued our own past. The book deserves encouragement from the heads of educational departments.

Prince of Wales Museum,
Bombay

(Sd.) Acharya Girjashanker Vallabhji M.A.
Curator, Archeological Section

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*

I have read from cover to cover " Prachin Bharatvarsha " by Dr. T. L. Shah. It is based on a close study of the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Vedic literatures, and of ancient coins and inscriptions. Jaina literature, which had hitherto not received full justice at the hands of historians, has been fully utilised by Dr. Shah. His judgments are always synthetic and the book contains things hitherto unknown. Jains should encourage his effort fully, because no other writer has paid so much attention to the study of Jaina literature.

29th Aug. 1933
Baroda

(Sd.) Prof. Keshavlal Hiraatram Kamdar
Prof. of History, Baroda College

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I have read Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He intends to write a connected history of India from 900 B.C. to 100 A. D. in a homely style. He has boldly advanced several new theories and he has supplied full evidence in support of them. He has given a detailed account of the social, political, religious, geographic and economic condition of ancient India. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his studies, and has based his conclusions on the evidence of coins, inscriptions and ancient manuscripts. His effort deserves encouragement from all quarters.

9-9-1933

(Sd.) **Govindbhal H. Desai** B. A. L L . B.

Baroda

(Ex. Naib-Dewan)

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*

Dr. Shah's effort to give a connected history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. deserves encouragement from all quarters. His pamphlet is eloquent of the unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm for his work. Most of us are quite ignorant of the real cultural glory of ancient India. Dr. Shah's book is an admirable effort to supply this deficiency.

He has put forth some new theories and has thus invited much criticism, argumentation and discussion. He has not failed to give as much evidence as possible for every theory.

Such efforts are rare and deserve all possible encouragement.

Bombay

(Sd.) **H. G. Anjaria** M. A.

(Principal, S. N. D. T. Woman's University)

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*

Your book presents quite a novel expect of ancient history. I conclude that you have not spared yourself in writing these volumes.

Bombay

yours truly

19-12-33

(Sd.) **Krishnalal Mahanlal Zaveri** M. A. L L . B.

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*

It was a great pleasure to go through the synopsis of Dr. Shah's "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He has advanced new theories and he has given full evidence to prove them. Some of his conclusions are revolutionary. For instance, he has stated that Siandrekotus was not another name for Chandragupta but for Ashok. I wish Dr Shah all success in his enterprise.

Luhar St. Manhar Bldg.

(Sd.) **Motlchand Girdharlal Kapadia**

Bombay, 8th. Oct. 1933

B. A. L L , B., Solicitor

I was delighted when I went through the synopsis of "**Prachin Bharatvarsha.**" I had been waiting long since, for an effort of this kind, and you can imagine my delight at the concretisation of my desire. Your book is sure to prove a stepping stone to the full and detailed study of Jaina literature and its contribution to the culture and civilization of India. I sincerely hope that Jains as well as non-Jains will lend support to such a book, because its aim is to reveal the glory, not merely of Jainism but that of ancient India as a whole.

I admire you for your unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm.

Palanpur, V. E. 1989

(Sc¹) Vallabhvljaysurl

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*

I have received your synopsis of your "Prachin Bharatparsha."- Going through it, I feel that you have not spared either effort or money in the preparation for this stupendous task. Few will be able to render as much service to India as you. Such books are few and far between, and the more such publications are made, the better.

Please enter my name on the list of the customers of this book

Delhi
4-10-1933

(Sd.) Muni Darshanvijay
Kinari Bazar, Jain Dharmashala,

*

*

*

It gives me great pleasure to know, that you have collected material for compiling Encyclopaedia Jainika. I thank you for sending me the beginning sections of "Prachin Bharatvarsha", material for which you have glanced from the former, and which you intend to publish shortly. Your endeavour to write a connected history of ancient India based mainly on Jaina literature, is praise worthy. It is possible that your conclusions may differ from the conclusions of those writers who have relied on Buddhist and Vedic literature. On the whole, your effort is sure to bring a good result and is therefore really praiseworthy.

Fort Chambers, 6-10, Dean Lane
Bombay, 22-12-1933

Yours truly,
(Sd.) Vishvanath P. **Valdya**
Bar-at Law

*

*

*

I have received with pleasure Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha. " A perusal of it has convinced me, that the book will prove very useful and stimulating to all.

16-11-1934

Sd. Vijayaisurti

*

*

*

The book is likely to give rise to argumentations, discussions and criticisms because it contains theories, quite opposite to those which are generally accepted among scholars.

The author has not spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and has gathered materials from various sources. This is admirable.
Bombay, 18th July 1935

Sanj Vartaman

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*

Dr. Shah is one of those scholars who have not spared any effort in unearthing the golden past of India. Few books in any language can stand comparison with his work, which is the outcome of many years of constant application. He has given us a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C to 100 A. D. The book is sure to prove a great incentive to scholars and will go a great way in furthering research work in this direction.

His theories are entirely new and therefore debatable no doubt. The very novelty is bound to give rise to a hot discussion culminating in a new interest and more research work. The author, however, has never advanced any theories for which he could not put forth the solid evidence of coins, books and inscriptions. Such astounding theory, as that of establishing Asok and Priyadarsin as different individuals, may not be accepted at once, but the author has not failed to pile evidence upon evidence for proving his theory.

The chronological list of events given at the end of the book is sure to prove very useful. One such list was prepared by Grant Duff; but that was years ago. This is more detailed. The book contains, moreover, a number of pictures, maps and illustrations-an added attraction.

The book makes evident the author's deep study of Jaina literature. At the same time he has not failed to supply evidence from other literatures which he has not studied any less than the former. His style is homely.

Ahmedabad, 28-7-35

Prajabandhu

[5]

***The very hazard of publishing such a book, Reserves encourage*
ment and support from even those, who are not students of history*
Interest of the general public in history is yet to be cultivated,
and hence the author should be all the more congratulated upon
his spirit of enterprise.**

**The main aim of the author, is to put before us the fact that
Buddhism and Brahminism have been hitherto given undue im-
portance at the cost of Jainism, the twenty-fourth Tirthankar,
of which constructed and formulated a new social and political order.**

**At all places, the author has supplied as many pieces of evidence
as he could. Copious footnotes, chronological lists and index have
made the book worthy of the attention of scholars, while the homely
style of the author has laid the material within the rich of all.**

**The difficulties and setbacks which the author has experienced
in the publication of this book, are enough to make his effort
worthy of admiration. His new theories, his challenging attitude
and his enthusiasm are really inspiring.**

Bombay, 14-8-35

Janmabhumi

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**Dr. Shah has written this book after a deep and intelligent study
of anpient coins, books and inscriptions. He has rendered great service
to all students of history, and especially to the Jaina community.
Jainism, as he has proved, enjoyed paramount power in India at the
time when Buddhism, Islam and Christianity did not even exist.**

**One praiseworthy feature of the book is the maps of various
countries and kingdoms. Another equally praiseworthy feature is
the illustrations of ancient coins and other pictures, which are
aply designed to give us a panoramic view of ancient India as
it really was. The picture of Saraswati, giving us an idea of the
art of painting 2000 years ago, deserves special attention.**

**We congratulate Dr. Shah for bringing to light things, which
had hitherto been concealed in the womb of antiquity.**

Bhavnagar, 25th August, 1935

Jain

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**We welcome Dr. Shah's effort to write the history of India from
900 B.C. to 100 A. D. Looking to the application and the presevering**

exertion of the writer, the price fixed for the **book is** quite **adequate** though the public might be inclined to consider it a bit high.

Dr. Shah has tried to present novel facts and theories based on the evidence of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. His theories are apt to strike one as revolutionary, but one's doubts are sure to be silenced by arrays of evidence, piled in the book. The reader is also apt to think that Jainism is unduly highly represented in the book. He has then to remember that this book owes its existence to the material gleaned and systematically arranged from "Encyclopaedia Jainica."

The book presents a new angle of vision into the cobwebs of Indian antiquity, and therefore deserves full study by all students of ancient history. Written with a view to incite more research work, the book is invaluable and admirable.

To avoid all misconstruing, the readers may go through the preface first, as the author has clearly stated his viewpoint there*

Baroda, 9-9-1935

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Nav-Gujarat

None should work under the erroneous conception that the author has been partial towards Jainism. He has put forth evidence from all available ancient and modern books, the huge list of which, is given at the beginning of the book. He has begun his account from the time of the twenty-third Jaina Tirthankar, Parshvanath. By piling evidence upon evidence, the author has proved that in ancient India there were only two religions, namely Jainism and Brahminism, of which the former had paramount power. He has given a detailed account of the 16 kingdoms of those times. He has supplied maps about each, and all minute details connected with them. In fact he has given a panoramic picture of ancient India and his theories and conclusions shed quite a new light on those times. The author has also proved that the Mahavir Era was adopted by most of the dynasties and was much in vogue.

Bombay, 2869-1935

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Bombay Samachar

The book is full of maps, pictures and other illustrations concerning those times. Specially noteworthy are the pictures of Kalpa-druma on the front page, and of **Saraswati** on the **title**

page. All the pictures and maps have been fully explained in the book. The pictures at the top of every chapter are very suggestive of the contents of that chapter.

We generally believe that Jainism and kingship are things incompatible. Dr. Shah has tried his level best to prove that most of the kings in ancient India were Jains.

He has advanced entirely different theories. In fact he has presented the other side of the shield. How far that side is correct is another question; but we should not forget that he is the first to present it.

The book deserves full encouragement from kings, libraries and from all. It will prove useful to Jains as well as non-Jains.

Bombay, 22nd Sept. 1935

"Gujarati"

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The author has made a deep study of all available material. Naturally he has given preference to Jain literature, which had been practically ignored by his predecessors. He has advanced marvellously novel theories. The whole book sheds a new light on ancient Indian history. He has not failed to advance solid evidence, wherever he has differed from his predecessors. It deserves deep study by all students of history. Its homely style makes it interestingly readable to the general reader as well. It is full of maps and illustrations which are fully explained.

We offer our congratulations to the author for his deep knowledge of the subject and hope that no library will be without it.

Baroda

Sahityakar

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The book presents a connected history of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; the most noteworthy feature of which is a chronological statement of events, that took place during the period stated above. It is full of pictures and illustrations of coins and inscriptions and maps. The book is specially important from the viewpoint of research work, and presents good material to all interested in the subject.

Bombay, 1-6-1936

Jain Prakash

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Looking to the books on the history of ancient India, one cannot help feeling, that Jaina literature has been almost neglected. Even Mr. Wells has not written anything about Mahavir, not to talk of anything else.

All students of history will be glad to know, that one stupendous effort of this kind has been made by Dr. T. L. Shah, a scholar who has devoted twenty-five consecutive years to the study of all available material.

It supplies an exhaustive study of coins and religious signs of those times. It contains very suggestive pictures.

The author has put forth, what one might be constrained to say, rather startling theories. For instance, he has stated that Gautam Buddha was at first a Jain, and hence Buddhism owes its origin to Jainism. He has explained coins and signs upon them in altogether a different light, and has proved that most of them belong to Jainism. Such signs of the Mauryas horse and the other like Swastik, Dharmachakra, Indradhvaj, Sun and Moon, Caitya and others he has ascribed to Jainism. He has very strongly and boldly stated that Ashok and Priyadarshin were different individuals.

But it is no tribute to him to note that he has piled evidence upon evidence to support his theories. There is no categorical statement in the book, which he has not loaded with heaps of evidence based on coins, inscriptions and ancient books.

In fact, the book is a great attempt to give a correct picture of India, as it was twenty-five hundred years ago. We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his marvellous effort and courage and hope that his services will be appreciated by all.

Bombay, 30th May, 1936

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Bombay Samachar

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The first part of this remarkable work—because of a man of medicine delving deep into the Ancient History of India—has already been noticed. This substantial volume of five hundred pages deals with numismatics—old coins, i. e. coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners—Yavanas—have been handled with

the precision of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume.

Modern Review, 9-36

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The book is a unique adventure. The scholarship, the information, the material and the zeal of the author are praiseworthy. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his work. He has defended his theories with enthusiasm of a pleader.

The author has tried to prove that, many things that are attributed to Buddhism, really belong to Jainism. Hence, he has invited much debate and criticism. For instance, he has tried his utmost to establish that all the Maurya kings except Ashok were Jains; that Sandrekotus is not the Greek name of Chandragupta but of Ashok (Chandashok); that Priyadarshin is altogether a different individual from Ashok; that the inscriptions ascribed to Ashok really belong to Priyadarshin who was a Jain etc. etc.

Be it as it may, one thing is clear, that things, which are at present considered to be remains of Buddhism purely, may really be a heterogenous mixture of Buddhist and Jaina remains and that the things ascribed to Jainism, at present, form only a part of what originally belonged to it. Jainism must also have had its period of boom, like Buddhism and Brahminism. We hope that the aspirations of Dr. Shah may be fulfilled. If scholars begin to reinvestigate all the available material in the light of this book, another link in the broken chain of ancient history is sure to be supplied.

Karachi,

March,

1937

"Urmi"

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"Prachin Bharatvarsha"—Part I, by Dr- T. L. Shah, L. M. & S*, Baroda :—Years ago, public attention was attracted by Dr. Shah, who undertook to compile "Encyclopaedia Jainica" on a gigantic scale. The plan had to be postponed: on account of want of proper encouragement and help. This, however, could not prevent him from continuing his application to ancient books and other materials, as a result of which we have this volume. The present book will convince the reader that Dr. Shah, though a doctor by degree, is a painstaking student of ancient Indian history **and**

culture, and that he has dived deep into that ocean. He has made a formidable attempt in this book to prove, that many theories hitherto universally accepted by all historians, are entirely wrong.

Little definite is known about Chandragupta, and whatever little information we have, is based on Greek history. Dr. Shah has put forth the theory, that Chandragupta and Sandrekotus are different individuals, and this theory deserves full consideration from experts.

There was a time, when we hesitated to stretch our ancient history to a period, much more older than the time, of the invasion of Alexander the Great over India. The Mohan-ja-dero excavations, however, have widened our outlook and put before us long vistas of antiquity, the end of which we fix up, with the time of the Vedas. If Dr. Shah's conclusions and theories prove correct, the major part of our ancient history shall have to be re-written. This is the reason why we appeal to all interested in ancient history to submit his conclusions and theories to a searching analysis with the object of gleaning out truth from them. Let us hope that the second volume of this highly praiseworthy effort may see the light of the day as soon as possible.

Ahmedabad

Sd. Hiralal T. Parikh B. A.

(Bhuddhiprakash, Jan-March, 1937)

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Rare as such efforts are in our country, where the writers get little support and encouragement from the public and from various institutions as they do in the west, Dr. Shah's achievement deserves full credit and support from all interested in the glory of ancient India, which is revealed in its true form, by the Doctor.

The book is full of theories and conclusions which will shock and disillusion even experts on many a point of antique interest. The author, however, has put forth all available evidence, based on such reliable sources like ancient manuscripts, coins and inscriptions.

Bombay 10-7-37

Jay-bharat

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- The great merit of the book seems to me to constat in his careful handling of materials coming from authoritative Jaina sources. He has laboured much in elucidating our past history and his conclusions mostly run counter to the accepted theories. Nevertheless, his new theories will stimulate further discussions and research, from which we may gain much good.

Oriental Institute,
Baroda

B. Bhattacharya Ph. D.
Director

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I believe that his work will prove very useful and interesting. Many new points are introduced by him and though agreement on these is not always possible, yet they show the great energy and vast reading of the author. I am sure, it will be most welcome to all indologists.

Wilson College, Bombay

Prof. H. D. Velankar M. A.

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Prachin Bharatvarsha Part III

The Author's ambition is to present a picture of ancient India between 900 B. C. and 100 A. D. The first volume treats of the Magadha period and the reigns of 18 kings extensively; the second of the Maurya Dynasty and incidentally tries to establish that Asoka and Priyadarsin were two different persons and that the rock inscriptions attributed to Asoka are really those engraved by Priyadarsin who was a Jain, and that Sandrecottus was not Chandragupta but Asokavardhan. The present volume deals with the fall of the Maurya dynasty and the Shung and other later dynasties. Foreign invaders of India from Bactrian to Indo-Scythians' invasions also form a part of it.

It is a scholarly work and statements made in it, are supported by proofs from coins, inscriptions and writings of old authors. It has roused of course, an amount of controversy, but all the same is a monumental work.

September, 19th, 1937

Bombay Chronicle

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The author himself says that the book is full of "bombshell like and astounding theories either quite newly proposed or presented in entirely new light"; and twenty-three of these theories are indicated by the author as marking new ground that he has broken. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who writes the foreword to this volume, says that the work is more or less a Jaina version of Indian History relating to the prevalence of Jainism in the country in the epoch which it covers, beginning from the life of Parsvanatha and coming down to the end of the first century and striving to remove the defect that the corresponding Jaina sources for the period have not been proportionately utilised.

Dr. Shah would give an equal, if not higher importance to Avanti as to Magadha; and he holds that more light upon history of Avanti is more than likely to change the entire historical perspective of Ancient India. He claims to throw new light on the history of Sanchinagari, maintains that the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti was Jaina and would appropriate for Jainism both the Sanchi and Bharhut stupas. These two, as well as the undoubtedly Jaina Simha Stupa of Mathura, are held by him to be clearly connected with Jainism.

His chronological scheme, apart from the pre-historic epochs, is made to run on two parallel wheels of the Christian and the Mahavir eras. The conclusions suggested in the book require careful consideration and evaluation, and the treatment is also worthy of critical notice at the hands of serious student.

Journal of Indian History Sides 260-62

C. S. S.

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We sincerely congratulate Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah for the time taken and expenses incurred by him in the compilation of "Prachin Bharatvarsa." The grains of truth are always sifted only after a great amount of research work, discussions, controversies and debated. His work certainly contains novel and startling theories. But all these theories deserve full attention and need not be disregarded as unacceptable simply because they are new.

Gujarat! 20th Nov. 1938

