

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

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

BY

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To

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

in token of grateful regard and esteem.

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

H. C. R.

July 16, 1923.

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50	15	Triśaṅku	Triśaṅku
83ff	1	Fall of Kāsi	Kingship
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139	12	ruler	rulers
145	7	Piliar-hall	Pillar-hall
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170	33	Yudhisthira	Yudhishtira
170	34	Pradad Āvambikā	Pradadāv Ambikā
177	1	Kalinla	Kalinga
181	35	reverence	reverence"
186	33	Kielhorn's	Kern's
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279	24	Mālavagaṇamṇāta	Mālavagaṇāmṇāta
286	9	Sukulideśa,	Sukulideśa.
286	26	Vishyapati	Vishayapati
301	3	Dabhāla	Ḍabhāla
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ABBREVIATIONS.

A. G. I. Ancient Geography of India.
A. H. D. Ancient History of the Deccan.
Ait. Br. ...	... Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Alex ...	... Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
App. ...	... Appendix.
A. V. ...	... Atharva Veda.
Bau. Sūtra	... Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
Br. ...	... Brāhmaṇa.
Brih. Up. ...	... Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad.
Bud. Ind. ...	... Buddhist India.
• Camb. Ed.	... Cambridge Edition.
Carm. Lec.	... Carmichael Lectures, 1918.
Chh. Up. ...	... Chhāndogya Upanishad.
C. I. I. ...	... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. iii.
D. ...	... Dīgha Nikāya.
Dialogues ...	... Dialogues of the Buddha.
Ed. ...	... Edition.
E. H. I. ...	... Early History of India, 1914.
Ep. Ind. ...	... Epigraphia Indica.
Gaz. ...	... Gazetteer.
G. Ē. ..	... Gupta Era.
Gop. Br. ...	... Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
Hariv. ...	... Harivaṃśa.
H. and F. ...	... Hamilton and Falconer's Translation of Strabo's Geography.
Ind. Ant. ...	... Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit. ...	... History of Indian Literature.
Inv. Alex.	... Invasion of Alexander.
J. ...	... Jātaka.
J. A. S. B.	... Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. O. R. S.	... Journal of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society.
J. R. A. S.	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kaush. Up.	... Kaushītaki Upanishad.

Kaut.	...	...	Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mysore, 1919.
Life	...	...	The Life of Hiuen Tsang.
M.	...	...	Majjhima Nikāya.
M. A. S. I.	...	...	Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.
Mat.	...	...	Matsya Purāṇa.
Mbh.	...	...	Mahābhārata.
M. R.	...	...	Minor Rock Edict.
N.	...	...	Nikāya.
P.	...	...	Purāṇa.
Rām.	...	...	Rāmāyaṇa.
R. V.	...	...	Rig-Veda.
Sans. Lit.	...	...	Sanskrit Literature.
Sat. Br.	...	...	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S. B. E.	...	...	Sacred Books of the East.
Ś. E.	...	...	Śaka Era.
S. I. I.	...	...	South Indian Inscriptions.
Ved. Ind.	...	...	Vedic Index.
Viz. Dist. Gaz.	...	...	Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.
Z. D. M. G.	...	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA

PART I

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara

FOREWORD.

No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the researches of a multitude of scholars have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country.

The first attempt to sort and arrange the accumulated and ever-growing stores of knowledge was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding "the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pāṇḍu," and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B. C. My aim has been to sketch in outline the political history of Ancient India including the neglected period. I have taken as my starting point the accession of Parikshit, which according to Epic and Paurāṇic tradition took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

Valuable information regarding the Pārikshita and the post-Pārikshita periods has been supplied by eminent

scholars like Oldenberg, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to give a connected history from Parikshit to Bimbisāra is, believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

SOURCES.

No inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the pre-Bimbisārian period. Our chief reliance must therefore be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is purely Indian, and is not supplemented by those foreign notices which have done more than any archæological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of the history of the post-Bimbisārian period.

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

I. Brāhmanical literature of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. This class of literature naturally contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties and comprises :

(a) The last book of the Atharva Veda.

(b) The Aitareya, Śatapatha, Taittiriya and other ancient Brāhmaṇas.

(c) The Bṛihadāraṇyaka, Chhāndogya and other classical Upanishads.

That these works belong to the post-Pārikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Pārikshitas was made the subject of a philosophical discussion. That these works are pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisārian has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra (Translation

of the Chhândogya Upanishad, pp. 23-24), Professor Macdonell (History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 189, 202-203, 226) and others.

II. The second class comprises Brâhmanical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of competent critics, belong to the post-Bimbisârian period. To this class belong the Râmâyana, the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas. The present Râmâyana not only mentions Buddha Tathâgata (II. 109. 34), but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas and Śakas, शकान् यवनमिश्रितान् (I. 54. 21). In the Kishkindhyâ Kâṇḍa (IV. 43. 11-12), Sugrîva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himâlayas. This shows that the Græco-Scythians at that time occupied parts of the Pañjâb.

As regards the present Mahâbhârata, Hopkins says (Great Epic of India, pp. 391-393), "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the eḍukas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190. 65 'They will revere eḍukas, they will neglect the gods'; *ib.* 67 'the earth shall be piled with eḍukas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, Câtur-mahârâjika in XII. 339. 40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples II. 51. 17, and stand thus in marked contrast to the Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often..... The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously

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

The Purāṇas which contain lists of kings of the Kali Age cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D. because they refer to the Andhra kings and even to the post-Āndhras.

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

III. The third class of literature comprises Brāhmaṇical works of the post-Bimbisārian period to which a definite date may be assigned, *e.g.*, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya who flourished in fourth century B.C., the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali (second century B.C.), etc. The value as dated literature of these important works can hardly be overestimated. They form sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology. Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisārian age is certainly inferior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, but the very fact that such information as they contain comes from persons of known date, makes it more valuable than the Epic and Paurāṇic tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist Suttas, Vinaya texts and the Jātakas. Most of these works are

SOURCES

v

assignable to pre-Śuṅga times. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisāra. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories and vouchsafe light when the light from Brāhmanical sources begins to fail.

V. To the fifth class belong works of the Jaina canon which were reduced to writing in A.D. 454 (S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii, XLV, p. xl). They supply valuable information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisārian Age. But their late date makes their evidence not wholly reliable.

THE AGE OF THE PĀRIKSHITAS.

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

Was there really a king named Parikshit? True, he is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. But the mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no sure proof of his historical existence unless we have external evidence to corroborate the Epic and Paurāṇic account.

Parikshit appears in a passage of the Twentieth Book of the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā (A.V., XX. 127. 7-10) as a king in whose realm, that of the Kurus, prosperity and peace abound. We quote the entire passage below.

“Rājño viśvajanīnasya yo devomartyām ati
Vaiśvānarasya sushṭutimā sunotā Parikshitaḥ
Parichchhinnaḥ kshemamakarot tama āsanamācharan
Kulāyan kṛiṇvan Kauravyaḥ patirvadati jāyayā
Katarat ta āharāṇi dadhi manthām pari śrutam
Jāyāḥ patiṁ vi pṛichchhati rāshṭre rājñāḥ Parikshitaḥ
Abhīvasvaḥ pra jihīte yavaḥ pakkaḥ patho bilam
Janaḥ sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñāḥ Parikshitaḥ”

“Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parikshit! Parikshit has procured for us a secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he finds his household, converses with his wife.

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

“Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit.”—(Bloomfield, Atharva Veda, pp. 197-198.)

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the Atharva Veda not as a human king at all. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognise Parikshit as a real king, a view supported by the fact that in the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas king Janamejaya bears the patronymic Pārikshita. Cf. the following passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21).

“Etena ha vā Aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Turah Kāvashēyo Janamejayaṁ Pārikshitamabhishecha.”

Referring to king Parikshit Macdonell and Keith observe (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 494). “The Epic makes him grand-father of Pratiśravas and great-grand-father of Pratīpa.” Now, the Epic has really two Parikshits, one a son of Avikshit or Anaśvā and an ancestor of Pratiśravas and Pratīpa, the other a descendant of Pratīpa and a son of Abhimanyu (Mahābhārata, Adiparva, 94.52 and 95.41). We shall call the former Parikshit I and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic identical with the Vedic Parikshit? The Vedic Parikshit had four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena and Śrutasena (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 520). The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 95, verse 42 of the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata, and seven sons (Janamejaya, Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 94, verses 54-55, and among these the name of Śrutasena does not occur. Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the Java text (JRAS, 1913). The Epic poet, therefore, was not quite sure whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and Śrutasena. On the other hand, according

to the unanimous testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus, the Mahābhārata, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says (I. 95. 85):—

“Parikshit khalu Mādravatīm nāmapayeme tvanmātaram. Tasyām bhavān Janamejayaḥ.”

The Matsya Purāṇa says (Mat. 50. 57):—

“Abhimanyoḥ Parikshittu putraḥ parapurañjayaḥ
Janamejayaḥ Parikshitaḥ putraḥ paramadhārmikaḥ.”

This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena:—“Janamejayaḥ Parikshitaḥ saha bhrātrībhiḥ Kurukshetre dīrgha satram upāste tasya bhrātara strayaḥ Śrutasena Ugraseno Bhīmasena iti (Mbh. I. 3. 1).

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and Paurāṇic Parikshit II. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as a performer of the Aśvamedha. The priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka. On the other hand, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which also mentions his Aśvamedha names Tura Kāvashēya as his priest. The statements of the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas are apparently conflicting, and can only be reconciled if we surmise that Janamejaya performed two horse sacrifices. Is there any evidence that he actually did so? Curiously enough the Purāṇas give the evidence which is needed. The Matsya Purāṇa speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu and the son of Parikshit II, says:

Dviraśvamedhamāḥṛitya mahāvājasaneyakaḥ
Pravartayitvā tam sarvam ṛishim Vājasaneyakam
Vivāde Brāhmaṇaiḥ sārddhamabhiśapto vanam yayau.

(Mat. 50. 63-64.)

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The quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas, alluded to in the last line, is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27).

Parikshit II has thus a greater claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and Paurāṇic poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but the names of most of the sons (in the Vishṇu Purāṇa the names of all the sons) are common to both, points to the same conclusion. We shall show later that a Kuru prince named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni (*i.e.*, the son of Kakshasena) was one of the immediate successors of the Vedic Janamejaya. Kakshasena thus appears to have been a very near relation of Janamejaya. Now a prince of that name actually appears as a brother of Janamejaya and a son of Parikshit I, in chapter 94 of the Mahābhārata. This fact seems to identify the Vedic Parikshit with Parikshit I of the Epic. But we have already seen that other facts are in favour of an identification with Parikshit II. Parikshit I and Parikshit II, therefore, appear to have been really one and the same individual. That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parikshit, and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The latter work says (IV. 20. 1) "Parikshito Janamejaya Śrutasenograsena Bhīmasenāśchatvāraḥ putrāḥ." It then gives the names of Kuru princes down to the Pāṇḍus and Parikshit II, and adds (IV. 21. 1) "Ataḥparam bhaviśyānaḥ bhūmipālān kīrtayishye. Yo 'yam sāmpratam avanīpatiḥ tasyāpi Janamejaya Śrutasenograsena Bhīmasenāḥ putrāśchatvāro bhaviśyanti." The confusion

may have been due to the fact that according to one tradition Parikshit, the father of Janamejaya, was the ancestor of the Pāṇḍus, while according to another tradition he was their descendant, and the Epic and the Paurāṇic writers sought to reconcile the traditions by postulating the existence of two Parikshits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parikshit, with whose accession our history begins, should be identified with his Vedic namesake. This conclusion follows from facts to which reference has already been made. We have seen that all the known facts about Parikshit II, the king who ruled after the Bhārata war, and his sons tally with what we know about the Vedic Parikshit and his sons. There cannot be any doubt as to his historical reality.

Many stories about Parikshit in the epic and the Purāṇas are obviously legendary. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest prince Janamejaya succeeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the kingdom of Kuru over which Parikshit ruled. The kingdom extended from the Sarasvatī to the Ganges, and was divided into three parts, Kurujāṅgala, the Kurus and Kurukshetra (Mbh. I. 109. 1). The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the Taittirīya Aranyaka (Vedic Index, I., pp. 169-70) as being Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūrghna on the north, and the Parīṇah on the west. Roughly speaking, it corresponded to the modern Sirhind. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Ḍrishadvatī, Kauśikī, Aruṇā and Sarasvatī, as well as the Āpayā. Here, too, was situated Śaryanāvant, which appears to have been a lake, like that known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of

Anyataḥ-plakshā. According to Pischel there was also in Kurukshetra a stream called Pastyā.

The capital of the kingdom was Āsandivant (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 72). This city was probably identical with Hāstinapura the capital which was abandoned by Nichakshu, the famous descendant of Parikshit, when he removed to Kauśāmbī.

Gaṅgayāpahṛite tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye
Tyaktvā Nichakshu nagaram Kauśāmbiyām sanivatsyati.

(Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5.)

According to epic tradition the kings of Kurukshetra belonged to the Bharata family. The connection of the Bharatas with the Kuru country is amply attested by Vedic evidence. Oldenberg says (Buddha, pp. 409-410):—"We find in the Rik-Samhitā trace of a peculiar position occupied by the Bharatas, a special connection of theirs with important points of sacred significance, which are recognized throughout the whole circle of ancient Vedic culture. Agni is Bhārata, *i. e.*, propitious or belonging to the Bharata or Bharatas; among the protecting deities who are invoked in the Āpri-odes, we find Bhārati, the personified divine protective power of the Bharatas. We find the Sarasvatī constantly named in connection with her; must not the sacred river Sarasvatī be the river of the holy people, the Bharatas? In one ode of the Maṇḍala, which specially extols the Bharatas (III. 23), the two Bhāratas, Devaçravas and Devavāta, are spoken of, who have generated Agni by friction: on the Drishadvatī, on the Āpayā, on the Sarasvatī may Agni beam. We find thus Bharata princes sacrificing in the land on the Drishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī. Now the land on the Drishadvatī, and on the Sarasvatī is that which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukshetra. Thus the testimonies of the Samhitā and the

Brāhmaṇa combine to establish the close connection of the ideas Bharata, Kuru, Sarasvatī.

“Out of the struggles in which the migratory period of the Vedic stocks was passed, the Bharatas issued, as we believe we are entitled to suppose the course of events to have been, as the possessors of the regions round the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī. The weapons of the Bharata princes and the poetical fame of their Rishis may have co-operated to acquire for the cult of the Bharatas the character of universally acknowledged rule, and for the Bharatas a kind of sacral hegemony: hence Agni as friend of the Bharatas, the goddess Bhārati, the sacredness of the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī.

“Then came the period, when the countless small stocks of the Samhitā age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra.”

Among those kings who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parva, Chapters 94 and 95) as ancestors and predecessors of Parikshit, the names of the following occur in the Vedic literature.

Purū-ravas Aīla (Rig-Veda, X. 95 : Śat-Br., XI. 5. 1. 1), Āyu (Rig-Veda I. 53. 10, II. 14. 7, etc.), Yayāti Nahushyā (R. V., I. 31. 17; X. 63. 1), Pūru (R. V., VII. 8. 4 ; 18. 13), Bharata Dauḥśhanti Sandyumni (Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11-12), Ajamīdha (R. V., IV. 44. 6), Riksha (R. V., VIII. 68. 15), Kuru (frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature), Uchchaiḥśravas (Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa III. 29. 1-3), Pratīpa Prātisatvana or Prātisutvana (Atharva Veda, XX. 129. 2), Balhika Prātipīya (Sat. Br., XII. 9. 3. 3), Śāntanu (R. V., X. 98), Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya (Kāthaka Śamhitā, X. 6).

The date of Parikshit is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts supply no direct information. There is however a remarkable verse, found with slight variants in all the historical Purāṇas, which places his birth 1050 (or 1015 according to the *e* Vāyu, Vishṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas), years before Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha.

Mahāpadm-ābhishekāttu
Yāvajjanma Parikshitaḥ
Evam varsha sahasraṃtu
Jñeyam pañcāśaduttaram.

(Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58.)

If, accepting the Ceylonese chronology (Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p. 27), we place the first Nanda twenty-two years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, *i. e.*, in $322 + 22 = 344$ B. C., Parikshit's birth must be dated about 1394 B. C. (1359 B. C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). If, on the other hand, we give credence to the testimony of the Vāyu Purāṇa (99. 328-329, "Ashtāvimsāti varshāṇi pṛithivīm pālayishyati," etc.) and take 40 years (Mahāpadma, 28 + his sons' 12) to be the reign-period of Nanda and his sons, then Parikshit's birth must be dated about $322 + 40 + 1,050 = 1412$ B. C. (1377 B. C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). He is said to have come to the throne 36 years later in 1376 or 1341 B. C. (*cf.* Mahābhārata Maushalaparva, "Shattrimśe tvatha samprāpte varshe," etc., and Mahāprasthānikaparva, "abhishichya svarājye cha rājānañcha Parikshitam.") It is clear that epic and Paurāṇic tradition places the accession of Parikshit about the middle of the 14th century B. C. Vedic evidence, however, points to a much later date. We shall show in the next chapter that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka and his contemporary Uddālaka Āruṇi. At the end of

the Kaushîtaki Āraṇyaka (Adhyāya 15) we find a vaṃśa or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that Āraṇyaka is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus:—

“Om! Now follows the vaṃśa. Adoration to the Brahman. Adoration to the teachers! We have learnt this text from Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana, Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana from Kahola Kaushîtaki, Kahola Kaushîtaki from Uddālaka Aruṇi.”

(S. B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4.)

From the passage quoted above it is clear that Śāṅkhāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Śāṅkhāyana, therefore, flourished eight generations after Janamejaya, and nine generations after Parikshit. If this Śāṅkhāyana (Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana) be identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra he must have been a contemporary of Āśvalāyana because they mention each other in their respective works. The Praśna Upanishad tells us that Āśvalāyana was a Kausalya, *i.e.*, an inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kavandhî Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalāyana of Sāvatti mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq*) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and, hence, of Kakuda or Pakudha Kachchāyana. Consequently Āśvalāyana must have lived in the sixth century B.C. If the identification of Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana with the Gṛihya Sūtrakāra be correct, then he, too, must have lived in the sixth century B.C. Professor Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas assigns 150 years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. We may therefore assign 270 years to the nine generations from Parikshit to Śāṅkhāyana, and place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C. It is, however,

possible that Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhyayana was not identical with the Gṛīhya Sūtrakāra (*cf.* S. B. E. XXIX, pp. 4-5).

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kuru throne by his eldest son Janamejaya. The Mahābhārata refers to a great snake sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is mentioned that the king conquered Taxila. Although a passage of the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa connects a Janamejaya with the snake-sacrifice (Vedic Index, I, p. 274), the epic account of the Kuru king's Sarpa-satra cannot be accepted as sober history. But the conquest of Taxila may well be a historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says (VIII. 21) "Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ samantam sarvataḥ prithivīm jayan pariṅyāśvena cha medhyeneje tadesbā'bhi yajūa gāthā gīyate :

Āsandīvati dhānyādaṃ rukmiṇaṃ harita srajam

Āsvaṃ babandha saraṅgaṃ devebhyo Janamejaya iti "

In another passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 11) it is stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a "Sarva-bhūmi," *i.e.*, a paramount sovereign--

"Evaṃvidam hi vai mā mevainvida yājayanti tasmā-dahaṃ jāyāmyabhītvarīm senāṃ jāyāmyabhītvarīyā senayā namā divyā na mānuṣhya ishava ricchhantye shyāmi sarva māyuḥ sarva bhūmir bhavishyāmīti."

The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya performed two horse sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the Brāhmaṇas. The Matsya version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for sometime, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest; but the Vāyu version has abridged the verses, and says he perished and the Brāhmaṇas made his son king. The Paurāṇic narrative is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to one

of the horse sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kāśyapas, but the Bhūtavīras. Thereupon a family of the Kāśyapas called Asita-mṛiga forcibly took away the conduct of the offering from the Bhūtavīras. We have here probably the germ of the Paurāṇic stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brāhmaṇas. An allusion to this quarrel occurs also in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Cf. "Kopāj Janamejaya Brāhmaṇeshu vikrāntaḥ").

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of Brahmacharya, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is absurd, but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as an ancient hero in the time of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Janamejaya as a great king of the past (II. 64.42).

Janamejaya's capital according to a gāthā quoted in the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas was Āsandivat, probably identical with the famous city of Hāstinapura mentioned not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in the Rāmāyaṇa, II.68.13, and the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini, VI. 2. 101. The gāthā has been quoted above in connection with the king's conquests. Its meaning is given below:—

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

(Eggeling, Sat. Br., V, p. 396).

The palace of Janamejaya is referred to in the following passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa:—

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prize-winning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace of Janamejaya."

(Ibid, p 95.)

It was at the court of Janamejaya that Vaiśampāyana is said to have related the story of the great struggle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus. No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming, but a dim allusion to the battle of Kurukshetra is probably contained in the following verse of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI.17.9).

Yato yata āvartate tad tad gachchhati mānavah
Kurun aśvābhirakshati.

This gāthā has been referred to by Hopkins (The Great Epic of India, p 385).

It may be asserted that the Pāṇḍus are a body of strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that therefore the story of their feuds with the Kurus must be post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is always a weak argument, and, secondly, the Pāṇḍus are not a body of strangers but are scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges (the Religions of India, p. 388). But Patañjali calls Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus (Ind. Ant. I. p. 350). Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pāṇḍavas as an offshoot of the Kuru race. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka (Jātaka No. 495) a king "of the stock of Yuddhitthila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya" i. e., Kauravya—"belonging to the Kuru race."

Already in the time of Āśvalāyana's Grihya Sūtra (III. 4) Vaiśampāyana was known as Mahābhāratachārya. Vaiśampāyana is also mentioned in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (I. 7. 5) and the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini (IV. 3. 104). Whether Vaiśampāyana was a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present

moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition.

The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the Mahābhārata, but they mention "Itihāsas" (A. V. XV. 6. 11-12). It is well known that the story recited by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya was at first called an Itihāsa and was named "Jaya" or victory, *i. e.*, victory of the Pāṇḍus, the ancestors of the king.

"Muchyate sarva pāpebhyo Rāhuṇā Chandramā yathā
Jayo nāmetihāso'yaṁ śrotavyo vijigīṣhuṇā"

(Mbh. Ādi. 62. 20).

Janamejaya's brothers, Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena appear in the Śatapātha Brāhmaṇa (XIII 5. 4. 3) and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 9. 7) as performers of the horse-sacrifice. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad the question whither they have gone is made the subject of a philosophical discussion. It is clear that the Pārikshitas had passed away before the time of the Upanishad, and it is also clear that there had been some serious scandal mingled with their greatness which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes a gāthā which says :—

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

The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya was succeeded by Śatānīka. Śatānīka's son and successor was Aśvamedhadatta. From Aśvamedhadatta was born Adhisimakṛiṣṇa. Adhisimakṛiṣṇa's son was Nichakshu. During king Nichakshu's reign the city of Hāstinapura is said to have been carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his capital to Kauśāmbī (Par-
giter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5).

The Vedic texts do not refer to any of these successors of Janamejaya. The Rigveda no doubt mentions a king named *Aśvamedha* (V. 27. 4-6), but there is nothing to show that he is identical with *Aśvamedhadatta*. A *Śatānīka Sātrājita* is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as a great king who defeated *Dhṛitarāshṭra*, the prince of *Kāsi*, and took away his sacrificial horse. He was probably a *Bharata*, but the patronymic *Sātrājita* indicates that he was different from *Śatānīka* the son of *Janamejaya*. The *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* mention a *Kuru* king named *Abhipratārin Kākshaseni* who was a contemporary of *Girīkshit Auchchamanyava*, *Śaunaka Kāpeya*, and *Dṛiti Aindrota*. As *Dṛiti Aindrota* was the son and pupil of *Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka* the priest of *Janamejaya* (*Vaiśva Brāhmaṇa*; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 27, 373), *Abhipratārin*, son of *Kakshasena*, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of *Janamejaya*. We have already seen that *Kakshasena* appears in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 94.54) as the name of a brother of *Janamejaya*. *Abhipratārin* was thus *Janamejaya's* nephew. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XV. 16. 10-13) refer to a prince named *Vṛiddhadyumna Abhipratāriṇa*, apparently the son of *Abhipratārin*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Trivedi's translation*, pp. 322-323) mentions his son *Rathagritsa* and priest *Śuchivṛiksha Gaupālāyana*. The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* informs us that *Vṛiddhadyumna* erred in a sacrifice, when a *Brāhmaṇa* prophesied that the result would be the expulsion of the *Kurus* from *Kurukshetra*, an event which actually came to pass.

The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* refers to the devastation of the crops in the *Kuru* country by *Maṭachī* (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced departure of *Ushasti Chākṛāyana*

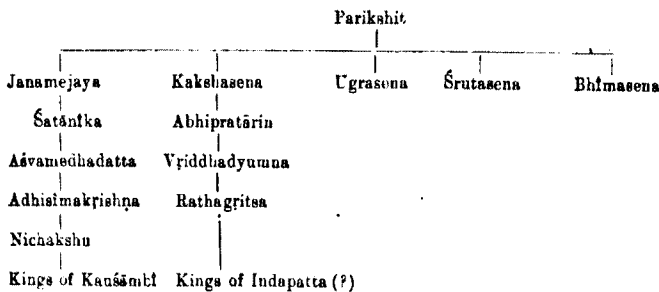
a contemporary of Janaka of Videha (Bṛihad. Upanishad, III, 4).

The evidence of the Vedic texts and that of the Purāṇas can be reconciled if we assume that, after the death of Janamejaya, the Kuru kingdom was split up into two parts. One part, which had its capital at Hāstinapura, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. The other part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakshasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha or Indapatta which probably continued to be the seat of a race of kings belonging to the Yuddhitthila gotta (Yudhishthira gotra), long after the destruction of Hāstinapura, and the removal of the main line of Kuru kings to Kauśāmbī.

All our authorities agree that during the rule of Janamejaya's successors great calamities befell the Kurus. Large sections of the people, including one of the reigning princes, were forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kauśāmbī is proved by the evidence of Bhāsa. Udayana king of Kauśāmbī is described in the Svapnavāsavadatta (ed. Ganapati Śāstrī, p. 138) as a scion of the Bharata family:—

Bhāratānām kule jāto vinito jñānavāñchhuchi
Tannārhasi balāddhartum rājadharmasya deśikaḥ.

GENEALOGY OF THE PĀRIKSHITA FAMILY.



THE AGE OF THE GREAT JANAKA.

We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus; and the king of Hāstinapura had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kurus played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was Janaka the famous king of Videha. That the great Janaka was later than the Pārikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu, and certainly of Ushasti Chākṛāyana during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation and the fall of the Pārikshitas apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of controversy in the royal court of Mithilā. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad we find a rival of Yājñavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, testing him with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from a Gandharva who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the country of the Madras:—

“Kva Pārikshitā bhavan” (Bṛihad Upanishad, III, 3. 1) whither have the Pārikshitas gone? The solution of which therefore appears to have been looked upon as extremely difficult.

Yājñavalkya answers: “Thither where all Aśvamedha sacrificers go.”

Consequently the Pārikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have been extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity.

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Paurāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the Mahābhārata says that

Uddālaka (a prominent figure of Janaka's court) and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya :—

Sadasya śchābhavad Vyāsaḥ putra śishya saḥāyavān
Uddālakaḥ Pramatakaḥ Śvetaketuścha Pingalaḥ

(Mbh., Adi., 53. 7.)

The Vishṇupurāṇa says that Śatānīka, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yājñavalkya (Vishṇu, P. IV. 21. 2). The unreliability of the epic and Paurāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic texts. We learn from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5, 4, 1) that Indrota Daivāpa or Daivapi Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Dṛiti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the Jaiminīya Upanishad and Vaiśā Brāhmaṇas. Dṛiti's pupil was Pulusha Prāchinayogya (Vedic Index, II, p. 9). The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajña. We learn from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 1-2) that Paulushi Satyayajña was a contemporary of Budila Āsvatarāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi, two prominent figures of Janaka's Court (*vide* Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad, V. 14. 8. "Janako Vaideho Budilam Āsvatarāśvim uvācha"; and III. 7. 1). Satyayajña was therefore certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśushma Śatyayajñi Prāchinayogya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 6, 2, 1-3) as having met Janaka. As Śatyayajñi certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka, his contemporary Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that, in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the sixth chapter of the Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad, Turā Kāvashya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was eleventh in the ascending line

from Sāñjivīputra, whereas Yājñavalkya, the contemporary of Janaka, was only fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher. We quote the lists below :—

Janamejaya Tura Kāvasheya		
Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana		
Kuśri		
Sāñdilya		
Vātsya		
Vāmakakshāyana		
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya	Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri	
Māñḍavya	Āsurāyana	
Māñḍūkāyani	Prāśnīputra	Āsurivāsin
Sāñjivīputra	Sāñjivīputra	

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time. Prof. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Suttas* (Introduction, p. xlvii) adduces good grounds for assigning a period of about 150 years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. If the five Theras are assigned a period of 150 years, the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somaśushma, and from Tura to Vāmakakshāyana, the teacher of Māhitthi the contemporary of Yājñavalkya and Janaka, must be assigned 150 or 180 years. It is therefore reasonable to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following the Purānas, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B.C., we must place Janaka in the twelfth century. If, on the other hand, accepting the identification of Guṇākhyā Śāñkhāyana with the author of the Śāñkhāyana Grihya Sūtra, we place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., then we must place Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of Videha, over which Janaka ruled, corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in Bihār. It

was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānīrā, probably the modern Gaṇḍak which, rising in Nepāl, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna (Vedic Index, II. 299). Oldenberg, however, points out (Buddha, p. 398 n.) that the Mahābhārata distinguishes the Gaṇḍakī from the Sadānīrā "Gaṇḍakīncha Mahāṣoṇam Sadānīrām tathāvacha." Pargiter identifies the Sadānīrā with the Rāptī. We learn from the Suruchi Jātaka (489) that the measure of the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues. It consisted of 16,000 villages (J. 406).

Mithilā, the capital of Videha, is not mentioned in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the Jātakas and the epics. It is stated in the Suruchi Jātaka that the city covered seven leagues. We have the following description of Mithilā in the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Cowell's Jataka, Vol. VI, p. 30).

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

According to the Rāmāyaṇa (I.71.3) the royal family of Mithilā was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I. The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sitā) and

his brother Kuśadhvaja, King of Sāṅkāśya. The Vāyu (88, 7-8; 89, 3-4) and the Vishṇu (IV.5.1) Purāṇas represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvāku, and give him the epithet Videha (Saśāpena Vasishṭhasya Videhaḥ samapadyata—Vāyu P.) His son was Mithi whom both the Purāṇas identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Śīradhvaja who is called the father of Sītā, and is therefore identical with Janaka II of the Rāmāyaṇa. Then starting from Śīradhvaja the Purāṇas carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kṛiti, and the family is called Janakavaṃśa.

Dhṛitestu Vahulāśvo bhud Vahulāśva sutah Kṛitiḥ
Tasmin santishṭhate vaṃśo Janakānām mahātmanām

Vāyu Purāṇa (89, 23).

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Namī Sāpya (Vedic Index, I. 436). But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithilā. On the contrary, a story of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa seems to indicate that the Videha kingdom was founded by Videgha Māthava (Ved. Ind., II. 298; Śat. Br. 1. 4. 1, etc; Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 398-399. Pargiter, J.A.S.B. 1897, p. 87. *et seq.*), Videgha Māthava, whose family priest was Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, was at one time on the Sarasvatī. Agni Vaiśvānara thence went burning along this earth towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadānīrā which flows from the northern mountain, and which he did not burn over. This river Brāhmaṇas did not cross in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara." At that time the land to the westward was very uncultivated, and marshy, but at the time of Māthava's arrival many Brāhmaṇas were there, and it was highly cultivated, for the Brāhmaṇas had caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where

am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," he replied. Even now, the writer of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa adds, this forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of the second king in the epic and the Paurāṇic lists, Mithi Vaideha, is reminiscent of Māthava Videgha.

If Māthava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithilā, Nimi, Nemi or Namī must be a later king of Videha. In the Nimi Jātaka, Nimi is said to have been born to "round off" the royal house of Mithilā, "the family of hermits." The combined evidence of Vedic and Buddhist texts thus shows that Nimi was not the first, but probably one of the later kings. The Majjhima Nikāya (II.74-83) and the Nimi Jātaka mention Makhādeva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithilā.

As the entire dynasty of Maithila kings was called Janaka vaṃśa (Vaṃśo Janakānām mahātmanām), and there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great Janaka of the Vedic texts. But there is one fact which favours his identification with Śiradhvaja of the Paurāṇic list, *i.e.*, the father of Sītā. The father of Sītā is, in the Rāmāyaṇa, a younger contemporary of Aśvapati king of the Kekayas (maternal grand-father of Bharata, Rāmāyaṇa, II. 9. 22). Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Aśvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddālaka Āruṇi and Budila Āsvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these princes (Ved. Ind., II. 69; Chh. Up., V. 11. 1-4; Bṛih. Up., III. 7).

It is more difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. Prof. Rhys Davids (Bud. Ind., p. 26) seems to identify him with Mahā-Janaka of the Jātaka No. 559. The utterance of Mahā-Janaka II of that Jātaka:

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

indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

In the Mahābhārata (xii. 219.50) we find the same saying attributed to a king of Mithilā.

Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītaṃ
Nagaramupāhitam agninābhivikshya
Na khalu mamahidāhyate'tra kiñchit
Svayam idamāha kila sma bhūmipālah.

The name of the king is given as Janaka (xii. 17. 18-19). In the Jaina Uttarādhyayana the saying is attributed to Nami (S. B. E., XLV. 37). This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishṭa in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (IV. 5. 13) probably points to the identification of Namī or Nemi with Mahā-Janaka II who is represented in the Jātaka as the son of Ariṭṭha. If Mahā-Janaka II was identical with Nami, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Namī in the Vedic texts. It is tempting to identify the Vedic Janaka with Mahā-Janaka I of the Jātaka.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in the Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad Janaka is called "Samrāj." This shows that he was a greater personage than a "Rājan." Although there is no trace in the Vedic literature of the use of the word "Samrāj" as Emperor in the sense of an overlord of kings, still the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa distinctly says that the Samrāj was a higher authority than a "Rājan"; "by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of king is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher" (Śat. Br., V. 1. 1. 13; XII. 8. 3. 4; XIV. 1. 3. 8). In Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra X. 3. 14 Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer.

The court of Janaka was thronged with Brāhmanas from Kosala and the Kuru-Pañchāla countries (*e.g.*, Aśvala, Jāratkāraiva Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Ushasta Chākrāyaṇa, Kahōḍa Kaushitakeya, Gārgī Vāchaknavī, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Vidagdha Śākalya). The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, who was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi. Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmanas Oldenberg says (Buddha, p. 398) "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

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

1. Gandhāra
2. Kekaya
3. Madra
4. Uśīnara
5. Matsya
6. Kuru
7. Pañchāla
8. Kāsi
9. Kosala

Gandhāra included the north-western part of the Pañjāb and the adjoining portions of the N. W. Frontier Province (Rāmāyaṇa vii. 113. 11 ; 114. 11 ; Sindhorubhayaṭaḥ Pārśve). We learn from the Mahābhārata (XII. 207.43) that it formed a part of Uttarāpatha:—

Uttarāpathajanmānaḥ kīrtayishyāmi tān api
Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhāraḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.

We learn from the epic and Paurāṇic literature that Gandhāra contained two great cities, *viz.*, Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvati.

Gāndhāra vishaye siddhe, tayoh puryau mahātmanoh
Takshasya dikshu vikhyātā ramyā Takshaśilā purī
Pushkarasyāpi vīrasya vikhyāta Pushkarāvati.
(Vāyu Purāṇa 88. 189-190. Cf. Rāmāyana vii. 114. 11).

The remains of Takshaśilā or Taxila are situated immediately to the east and north-east of Saraikala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost and oldest of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhirmound (Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, pp. 1-4).

Pushkarāvati or Pushkalāvati (Prākṛit Pukkalāoti, whence the Peucelaotis of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshawar, on the Suwāt river (Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, pp. 183-184 ; Foucher, Gandhāra, p. 11).

Gandhāra is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhāri in the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda. In the Rig Veda (i. 126.7) the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris is referred to. In the Atharva Veda (v. 22.14) the Gandhāris are mentioned with the Mūjavants, apparently as a despised people. In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the Madhyadeśa changed, and Gandhāra became the resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instructions in the three Vedas and the eighteen branches of knowledge.

In a significant passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 14) Uddālaka Āruṇi mentions Gandhāra to illustrate

the desirability of having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil "learns (his way) and thus remains liberated (from all world ties) till he attains (the Truth, Moksha)." A man who attains Moksha is compared to a blind-folded person who reaches at last the country of Gandhāra. We quote the entire passage below :

"Yathā soṃya puruṣhaṃ Gandhārebhyaḥ bhinaddhākṣhaṃ āṇīya taṃ tato'tijane visrijet, sa yathā tatra prāṇvā udāṇ vādharāṇ vā pratyāṇ vā pradhṃyāta—abhinaddhākṣha āṇīto' bhinaddhākṣho visriṣṭaḥ. Tasya yathā bhinahanam pramuchya prabruyādetāṃ diṣaṃ Gandhārā etāṃ diṣaṃ vrajati. Sa grāmād grāmaṃ prichchhan paṇḍīto medhāvī Gandhārānevopasampadyeta, evamev hāchāryavān puruṣho veda."

"O my child, in the world when a man with blind-folded eyes is carried away from Gandhāra and left in a lonely-place, he makes the east and the north and the west resound by crying 'I have been brought here blind-folded, I am here left blind-folded.' Thereupon (some kind-hearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhāra; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from village to village, enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhāra. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)."¹

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the Uddālaka Jātaka (No. 487) represents Uddālaka as having journeyed to Takshasilā (Takkasilā) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The Setaketu Jātaka (No. 377) says that Setaketu, son of Uddālaka, went to Takshasilā and learned all the arts. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the fact that Uddālaka Āruṇi used to drive about (dhāvayām chakāra) amongst

¹ Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 114.

the people of the northern country (Śat. Br. xi. 4. 1. 1, *et seq.*). It is stated in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (vii. 6) that Brāhmaṇas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The Jātaka stories are full of references to the fame of Takshaṣilā as a university town. Pānini, himself a native of Gandhāra, refers to the city in sūtra iv. 3. 93.

The *Kekayas* were settled in the Pañjāb between Gandhāra and the Beas. From the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 68. 19-22; VII. 113-114) we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra Vishaya. The Vedic texts do not mention the name of their capital city, but we learn from the Rāmāyaṇa that the metropolis was Rājagriha or Girivraja (identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalalpur on the Jhelam).

“ Ūbhau Bharata Śatrughnau Kekayeshu parantapau
Pure Rājagrihe ramye mātāmaha niveśane ”

(Rām., II. 67. 7).

“ Girivrajam puravaram śīghramāsedurañjasā ”

(Rām., II. 68. 22).

There was another Rājagriha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rājagriha in Po-ho or Balkh (Beal—Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, p. 44). In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Magadha capital, the latter city was called “Girivraja of the Magadhas” (S. B. E., XIII, p. 150).

We learn from the Purāṇas (Matsya, 48. 10-20, Vāyu 99. 12-23) that the Uśnaras, Kekayas and the Madrakas were septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the Rig Veda (i. 108. 8; vii. 18. 14; viii. 10, 5).

The king of Kekaya in the time of Janaka was Aśvapati who is probably identical with the king of the same name mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as the father of

Yudhājit and Kaikeyī, and the grandfather of Bharata. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 6. 1. 2) and the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 4 *et seq.*) say that king Aśvapati instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Aruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama, Satyayajña Paulushi, Mahāśāla Jābāla. Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi, Indra-dyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākshya, Prāchīnaśāla Aupamanyava, and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviyā." (Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375.)

Madra roughly corresponds to Siālkot and its adjacent districts in the central Pañjāb. Its capital was Sākala or Sāgalanagara (modern Siālkot). This city is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II. 32.14) and several Jātakas (*e.g.*, Kālingabodhi Jātaka, No. 479, Kusa Jātaka No. 531). The name of the ruler of Madra in the time of Janaka is not known. The Brihadāranyaka Upanishad says that Madra was the native land of Kāpya Patañchala (see p. 16, *ante*; Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 126), one of the teachers of the celebrated Uddālaka Āruṇi (Brihad. Up. III. 7.1). The Madra people were divided into two sections. The southern Madras lived in the Pañjāb. But the northern Madras, known as Uttara-Madras, are referred to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as living beyond the Himālayas in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, probably, as Zimmer conjectures, in the land of Kāśmīr. The Madras are represented in the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas as living under a monarchical constitution.

The country of the *Uśīnaras* was situated in the Madhyadeśa. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) says "aśyām dhruvāyām madhyamāyām pratishṭhāyām diśi" lie the realms of the Kuru Pañchālas together with Vaśas and Uśīnaras. In the Kaushītaki Upanishad

also the Uśīnaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru Pañchālas and the Vaśas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the Madhyadeśa for in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa the Uśīnaras and Vaśas are mentioned just before the Udīchyas or northerners (Gop. Br., II. 9): Kuru Pañchāleshu Anga Magadheshu Kāsi Kausalyeshu Śālva Matsyeshu sa Vaśa Uśīnareshudīchyeshu.

In the Kathāsaritsāgara (edited by Pandit Durgāprasād and Kāsināth Pāndurang Parāb, third edition, p. 5) Uśīnaragiri is placed near Kanakhala the "sanctifying place of pilgrimage, at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills." Uśīnaragiri is, doubtless, identical with Usiragiri of the Divyāvadāna (p. 22) and Usiradhvaja of the Vinaya Texts (Part II, p. 39). Pāṇini refers to the Uśīnara country in the sūtras II. 4. 20 and IV. 2. 118. In sūtra II. 4. 20 Uśīnara is mentioned in juxtaposition with Kantha (Kathaioi?). Its capital was Bhoganagara or Bhojanagara (Mbh. V. 118.2).

The Rig Veda (X. 59. 10) mentions a queen named Uśīnarāṇī. The Mahābhārata, the Anukramaṇī and several Jātakas mention a king named Uśīnara and his son Śibi (Mbh., XII. 29. 39; Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 103, Mahā-Kaṇha Jātaka, No. 469; Nimi Jātaka, No. 541; Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jātaka, No. 544, etc.). We do not know the name of Janaka's Uśīnara contemporary. We learn from the Kaushītaki Upanishad that Gārgya Bālāki, a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, lived for some time in the Uśīnara country.

Matsya, says Prof. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 53), originally included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, and was the kingdom of the king Virāta of the Mahābhārata, in whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided incognito during the last year of their

banishment. His capital has been identified with Bairat in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks that the Matsya capital was Upaplavya. But according to Nilkanṭha Upaplavya (Mbh. IV. 72.14) was "Virātanagara samī-pastha nagarāntaram."

The Matsyas appear in a passage of the Rig Veda (VII. 18. 6), where they are ranged with the other enemies of the great Rig Vedic conqueror Sudās. In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 9) they appear in connexion with the Śālvas, in the Kaushītaki Upanishad (IV.1) in connexion with the Uśīnaras and the Kuru Pañchālas, and in the Mahābhārata in connexion with the Chedis (V. 74.16). In the Manu-Saṃhitā the Matsyas together with the Kurukshetra, the Pañchālas, and the Śurasenakas comprise the land of the Brāhmaṇa Rishis (Brah-marshi-deśa).

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 9) mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated the horse sacrifice near the Sarasvatī. The Brāhmaṇa quotes the following gāthā :—

"Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛitrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)."

The Mahābhārata mentions the lake Dvaitavana as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī (Mbh. III. 24-25).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country of the Matsyas was an important place in the time of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, is known from the Kaushītaki Upanishad.

The Kuru country fully maintained its reputation as the centre of Brāhmaṇical culture in the age of Janaka. Kuru Brāhmaṇas (e.g., Ushasti Chākṛāyaṇa) played a prominent part in the philosophical discussions of

Janaka's court. But it was precisely at this time that a great calamity befell the Kurus, and led to an exodus of large sections of the Kuru people including Ushasti himself. The Chhândogya-Upanishad (I. 10. 1) says "Mañachî-hateshu Kurushu âtikyâ saha jâyayâ Ushastir ha Châkrâyana ibhya-grâme pradrâṇaka uvâsa." One commentator took Mañachî to mean rakta-varṇâḥ kshudra-pakshi viśeshâḥ. Professor Bhandarkar says that the explanation of this commentator is confirmed by the fact that Mañachî is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Canarese word "midiche" which is explained by Kittel's Dictionary as "a grasshopper, a locust."

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

1. Janamejaya	...	1. Indrota Daivâpa Śaunaka
2. Śatâṅka	...	2. Driti Aindrota (son- and pupil)
3. Aśvamedhadatta	...	3. Pulusha Prâchînayogya (pupil)
4. Adhisîmakṛishṇa	...	4. Paulushi Satyayajña (pupil)
5. Nichakshu	...	5. Somaśushma Sâtyayajñi (pupil); Janaka's contemporary

Curiously enough it is Nichakshu who is represented in the Purâṇas as the remover of the seat of government from Hâstinapura to Kausâmbî. We have some indication that the city of Kausâmbî really existed about this time (*cf.* Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 123). The Śatapatha

Brāhmaṇa makes Proti Kauśāmbeya a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi who figured in the court of Janaka. It is thus clear that Kauśāmbeya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa understood Kauśāmbeya to mean a 'native of the town of Kauśāmbī.' It is therefore permissible to think that Kauśāmbī existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichakshu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Paurāṇic statement. According to the Purāṇas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps the devastation of the Kuru country by Maṭachī. From this time the Kurus appear to have lost their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power.

But the Bharata dynasty, as distinguished from the Kuru people, exercised wide sway down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5.4.11).

Pañchāla roughly corresponds to the Budaon, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. There is no trace in the Vedic literature of the epic and Jātaka division of the Pañchālas into northern (Uttara) and southern (Dakshina). But the Vedic texts knew a division into eastern and western, because the Saṃhitopanishad Brāhmaṇa makes mention of the Prāchya Pañchālas (Ved. Ind., I. 469). The most ancient capital of Pañchāla was Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farrukhabad. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 7) mentions another Pañchāla town Parivakrā or Parichakrā identified by Weber with Ekachakrā of the Mahābhārata (Ved. Ind., I. 491).

The Pañchālas were also called Krivi in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Krivis appear in the Rig Veda as settled on the Sindhu (Indus) and Asikūi (Chenab). Oldenberg

observes (Buddha, p. 404) "We are to look to find in the people of the Pañchālas, of the stock of the Rik Saṃhitā, the Turvaṇas also as well as the Krivis." He supports the conjecture by quoting a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 16) which says "when Śātrāsāha (king of the Pañchālas) makes the Aśvamedha offering the Taurvaṇas arise, six thousand and six and thirty clad in mail."

The Pañchālas also included the Keśins (Ved. Ind., I. 187) and probably the Sṛiñjayas (Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna, p. 353; Mbh. I. 138.37; V. 48.41). In Mbh., VIII. 11. 31 Uttamañjas is called a Pāñchālya, while in VIII. 75. 9 he is called a Sṛiñjaya.

In the Mahābhārata the royal family of the Pañchālas is represented as an offshoot of the Bharata dynasty (Ādi. 94. 33). The Purāṇas say the same thing (Matsya 50. 1-16; Vāyu, 99, 194-210) and name Divodāsa, Sudāsa and Drupada among the kings of the Pañchāla branch. Divodāsa and Sudāsa are famous kings in the Rig Veda where they are closely connected with the Bharatas (Ved. Ind. I, p. 363; II., pp. 95, 454). But they are not mentioned as Pañchāla kings. In the Mahābhārata Drupada is also called Yajñasena and one of his sons was named Śikhaṇḍin (Mbh. Ādi. 166. 24; Bhīṣma, 190, *et seq.*). A Śikhaṇḍin Yajñasena is mentioned in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (VII. 4) but he is described not as a prince, but as a priest of Késin Dālbya, king of the Pañchālas.

The external history of the Pañchālas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The Mahābhārata preserves traditions of conflict between the Kurus and the Pañchālas. We learn from chapter 166 of the Ādiparva that Uttara Pañchāla was wrested from the Pañchālas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor. Curiously

enough the Somanassa Jātaka (No. 505) places Uttara Pañchālanagara in Kururatṭha.

The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and Pañchālas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Keśin Dālbhya or Dārbhya, a king of the Pañchālas, was sister's son to Uchchaiṣravas, king of the Kurus (Ved. Ind. I. 84. 187. 468). Uchchaiṣravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the Mahābhārata (I. 94. 53). In the epic a Pañchāla princess is married to the Pāṇḍavas who are represented as scions of the Kuru royal family.

Among the most famous kings of the Pañchālas mentioned in the Vedic literature are Kraivya, Keśin Dālbhya, Śona Sātrāsāha, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Durmukha. Durmukha is also mentioned in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408). His kingdom is called Uttāra Pañchālaratṭha and his capital Kampillanagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha. If Nimi be the penultimate king of Janaka's family as the Nimi Jātaka (No. 541) suggests, Durmukha must be later than Janaka.

Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, on the other hand, was Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Śilaka Śālāvatya, and Chaikitāyana Dālbhya (Brihad. Up., VI. 2; Chh. Up., 1.8. 1; V. 3. 1). The first two teachers are known to have been contemporaries of Janaka.

The kingdom of *Kāśi* was 300 leagues in extent (Jātaka No. 391). It had its capital at Bārāṇasī also called Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaddhana, Pupphavati, Ramma city, and Molinī (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 50-51). The walls of Bārāṇasī were twelve leagues round by themselves (Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka).

The Kāśis, *i. e.*, the people of Kāśi, first appear in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda (Ved. Ind., II. 116 n.). They were closely connected with the people of Kosala and of Videha. Jala Jātūkarnya is mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 29. 5) as having obtained the position of Purohita of the three peoples of Kāśi, Videha and Kosala in the life-time of Śvetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough a king named Janaka is mentioned in the Sattubhastā Jātaka (No. 402) as reigning in Benares. This Janaka cannot be the Janaka of the Upanishads, for we learn from those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka, Ajātaśatru was on the throne of Kāśi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajātaśatru. His name does not occur in the Paurāṇic lists of Kāśi sovereigns (Vāyu 92. 21-74; Viṣṇu IV. 2.9), nor does the name of Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi, who was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāśis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. The Purāṇas represent the Kāśi family as a branch of the house of Purūravas the great ancestor of the Bharatas. Of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇas the names of two only (Divodāsa and Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the Vedic texts do not connect them with Kāśi.

In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta Dhatarattha, king of Kāśi, who must be identified with Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is represented as a Bharata prince (Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270).

The Bharata dynasty of Kāśi seems to have been supplanted by a new line of kings who had the family name Brahmādatta, and were probably of Videhan origin. That Brahmādatta was the name of a family, and not of

any particular king, has been proved by Prof. Bhandarkar and Mr. Hāritkrishna Dev (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 56). The Matsya Purāṇa refers to a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmādattas :

Śataṃ vai Brahmādattānām
Vīrānām Kuravaḥ śataṃ

(Matsya p. 273. 71.)

The "hundred Brahmādattas" are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, II. 8. 23.

In the Dummedha Jātaka the name Brahmādatta is applied both to the reigning king and to his son. (Cf. the Susīma Jātaka, the Kummā Sapīṇḍa Jātaka, the Atṭhāna Jātaka, Lomasa Kassapa Jātaka, etc.).

That the Brahmādattas were of Videhan origin appears from several Jātakas. For instance, the Mātīposaka Jātaka (No. 455), which refers to king Brahmādatta of Kāśī, has the following line :

mutto' mhi Kāśirājena Videhena yasassinā ti.

In the Sambula Jātaka (No. 519) prince Soṭthisena son of Brahmādatta, king of Kāśī is called Videhaputta :

Yo putto Kāśirājassa Soṭthiseno ti tam vidū
tassāham Sambulā bhariyā, evaṃ jānāhi dānava,
Videhaputto bhaddan te vane basati āturo.

Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya contemporary of Janaka, seems to have belonged to the Brahmādatta family. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddālaka. The Uddālaka Jātaka tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddālaka was Brahmādatta.

Ajātaśatru appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gārgya Bālāki. In the Kaushitaki Upanishad he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V. 5. 5. 14) mentions a person named Bhadrasena Ājātaśatrava who is said to have been bewitched by Uddālaka Āruṇi. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kāśi. He was apparently the son and successor of Ajātaśatru (S.B.E, XLI, p. 141).

The kingdom of *Kosala* corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It was separated from Videha by the river Sadānīrā.

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the Rāmāyaṇa is to be believed the capital of Kosala in the time of Janaka was Ayodhyā which stood on the banks of the Sarayū and covered twelve yojanas (Rām. I. 55-7). The Vedic works do not refer to the Ikshvāku king Daśaratha who is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the Kosalan contemporary of Janaka. Daśaratha's son according to the Rāmāyaṇa was Rāma. The Rig Veda (X. 93. 14) mentions a powerful person named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The Daśaratha Jātaka makes Dasaratha and Rāma kings of Bārāṇasī, and disavows Sītā's connection with Janaka.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's Hotri priest Aśvala who was very probably an ancestor of Āśvalāyana Kausalya mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad as a disciple of Pippalāda and a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and of Hirāṇyanābha, a Kosalan prince.

The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

THE LATER VAIDEHAS OF MITHILĀ.

The Purāṇas give the following lists of Janaka's successors :—

Vāyu (89. 18-23)

Sīradhvajātu jātastu
Bhānumānnāma Maithilah
Tasya Bhānumataḥ putraḥ
Pradyumnaścha pratāpavān
Munistasya suta śchāpi
Tasmād Urjavahaḥ smṛitah
Urjavahāt sutadvajāḥ
Śakuni stasya chātmajaḥ

Svāgataḥ Śakunenputraḥ
Suvarchā stat sutaḥ smṛitah
Śrutoyastasya dāyādaḥ
Śusruta stasya chātmajaḥ
Śusrutasya Jayaḥ putro
Jayasya Vijayaḥ sutaḥ
Vijayasya Ritaḥ putra
Ritasya Sunayaḥ smṛitah
Sunayād Vītahavyastu
Vītahavyātmajo Dhritiḥ
Dhritestu Vahulāśvo'bhūd
Vahulāśva sutaḥ Kritiḥ
Tasmin santishṭhate vaṁśo
Janakānāṃ mahātmanām

Vishnu (IV. 5. 12-13)

Sīradhvajasyā patyaṃ Bhā-
numān Bhānumataḥ Śata-
dyumnaḥ, tasya Śuchiḥ tas-
mād Urjavahonāma putro
jajñe—tasyāpi Satvara-
dhvajaḥ, tataḥ Kuniḥ, Ku-
neranjaṇaḥ

tatputraḥ Ritujit, tato' rish-
ta-Nemiḥ, tasmāt Śrutāyuh,
tataḥ Sūryāśvaḥ, tasmād
Sañjayaḥ, tataḥ Kshemāriḥ,
tasmād Anenāḥ, tasmān
Mīnarathaḥ, tasya Satya-
rathaḥ, tasya Sātyara-
thiḥ, Sātyaratherupaguḥ,
tasmāt Upaguptaḥ, tasmāt
Śāśvataḥ, tasmāt Sudhanvā
(Suvarchāḥ) tasyāpi Subhā-
saḥ, tataḥ Suśrutah tasmāj-
Jayaḥ, Jayaputro Vijayaḥ,
tasya Ritaḥ, Ritāt Sunayaḥ
tato Vītahavyaḥ. Tasmād
Sanjayaḥ

tasmād Kshemāśvaḥ, tasmāt
Dhritiḥ, Dhriter Vahulāś-
vaḥ, tasya putraḥ, Kritiḥ,
Kritau santishṭhate, yaṃ

Janaka vaṁśaḥ.

It will be seen that the two Paurāṇic lists do not wholly agree with each other. The Vāyu Purāṇa omits many names including those of Arishta and Nemi. The Vishṇu Purāṇa, or the scribe who wrote the dynastic list contained in it, probably confounded the names Arishta and Nemi and made one out of two kings. Arishta is very probably identical with Aritṭha Janaka of the Mahā-Janaka Jātaka. Nemi is very probably the same as Nami of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra to whom is ascribed the same saying ("when Mithilā is on fire, nothing is burned that belongs to me") which is attributed to Mahā-Janaka II, son of Aritṭha, in the Mahā-Janaka Jātaka.

With the exception of Arishta and Nemi or Nami none of the kings in the Paurāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is therefore difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are historical.

The Vedic texts mention besides Māthava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Para Ālhāra and Namī Sāpya. Macdonell and Keith identify Para Ālhāra with Para Aṭnāra, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Namī Sāpya was probably identical with king Nami of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Nemi of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and Nimi of the Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Nimi Jātaka. In the last mentioned work it is stated that Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (S. B. E., XLV. 87) he was a contemporary of Dummukha (Dvimukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Naggati) of Gandhāra, and of Karaṇḍu (Karakāṇḍu) of Kalinga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence. Dummukha the Pañchāla king had a priest named Brihaduktha (Vedic Index, I. 370) who was the son of Vāmadeva (*Ibid*, II. 71). Vāmadeva was a

contemporary of Somaka the son of Sahadeva (Rig Veda IV. 15. 7. 10). Somaka was a contemporary of Bhīma king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit king of Gandhāra (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII. 34). From this it is clear that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.

In the Pañchaviṃśa or Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 10. 17-18) Namī is mentioned as a famous sacrificer. The Nimi Jātaka says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the sooth-sayers said "great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."

Nimi's son Kalāra Janaka (Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya II. 82; Nimi Jātaka) is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently identical with Karāla Janaka of the Mahābhārata (XII. 302. 7). In his Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya says "Bhoja, known also by the name Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also Karāla, the Vaideha." Karāla, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with Kalāra (Karāla) who according to the Nimi Jātaka brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy.

There is reason to believe that the Kāśi people had a share in the overthrow of the Vaideha monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru king of Kāśi could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan

king's fame. The passage "Yathā Kāśyo vā Vaideho vogradputra ujjyam dhanu radhijyam kritvā dvau vāna vantau sapatnātivvyādhinau haste kritvopotishthed" (Brihad Upanishad III. 8. 2.) probably refers to frequent struggles between the kings of Kāśi and Videha. The Mahābhārata (XII. 99. 1-2) refers to the old story (itihāsam purātanam) of a great battle between Pratar-dana (king of Kāśi according to the Rāmāyaṇa VII. 48. 15) and Janaka king of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pāli commentary Paramatthajotikā (Vol. I, pp. 158-165) that the Lichchhavis, who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Videha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kāśi. This probably indicates that a junior branch of the royal family of Kāśi established itself in Videha.

THE DECCAN IN THE AGE OF THE LATER VAIDEHAS.

The expression "Dakshināpadā" occurs in the Rig Veda (X. 61. 8) and refers to the place where the exile goes on being expelled. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the South" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. Dakshinātya is found in Pāṇini (IV. 2. 98). Dakshināpatha is mentioned by Baudhāyana coupled with Surāshtra (Bau. Sūtra I. 1. 29). It is however extremely difficult to say what Pāṇini or Baudhāyana exactly meant by Dakshinātya or Dakshināpatha.

Whatever may be the correct meaning of those terms it is certain that already in the age of the later Vaidehas the Aryans had crossed the Vindhya and established several states in the Deccan. One of these states was Vidarbha. Vidarbha or Berar was certainly a famous kingdom in the time of Nami or Nimi. We have already

seen that the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana make him a contemporary of Naggaji, Naggati or Nagnajit king of Gandhāra. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) that Nagnajit was a contemporary of Bhīma king of Vidarbha.

“Etamu haiva prochatuḥ Parvata Nāradau Somakāya Sāhadevyāya Sahadevāya Sārñjayāya Babhrave Daivāvṛidhāya Bhīmāya Vaidarbhāya Nagnajite Gāndhārāya.”

Vidarbha therefore existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. The kingdom is mentioned in the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (II. 440; Ved. Ind. II. 297). It was famous for its Māchalas (perhaps a species of dog) which killed tigers. The Praśna Upanishad mentions a sage of Vidarbha named Bhārgava as a contemporary of Aśvalāyana. A sage called Vidarbhit Kaunḍineya is mentioned in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. The name Kaunḍineya is apparently derived from the city of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha (Mbh. III. 73. 1-2; Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇuparva, 59-60), represented by the modern Kaunḍinya-pura on the banks of the Wardhā in the Chāndur tāluk of Amraoti (Gaz. Amraoti, Vol. A, p. 406).

From the Purāṇic account of the Yadu family it appears that Vidarbha, the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage (Matsya Purāṇa, 44. 36; Vāyu Purāṇa, 95. 35-36).

If the evidence of the Kumbhakāra Jātaka has any value, then Nimi king of Videha, Nagnajit king of Gandhāra and Bhīma king of Vidarbha must be considered to be contemporaries of Karaṇḍu of Kalinga. It follows from this that the kingdom of Kalinga was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmaṇa period. The evidence of the Jātaka is confirmed by that of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta (Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270) makes Sattabhu king of Kalinga a contemporary of Reṇu

king of Mithilā, and of Dhatarat̥ṭha or Dhṛitarāsh̥ṭra king of Kāśī (mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 22). There can thus be no doubt that Kalinga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brāhmaṇas speak. It comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitaraṇī (Mbh. III. 114. 4) in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory. We learn from the Jātakas that the capital of Kalinga was Dantapurānagara (Dantakura, Mbh. V. 48. 76). The Mahābhārata mentions another capital called Rājapura (XII. 4. 3). The Jaina writers refer to a third city called Kamchanapura (Ind. Ant. 1891, p. 375).

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to another southern realm, namely, Assaka which existed in the time of Reṇu and Dhatarat̥ṭha (Dhṛitarāsh̥ṭra). It was ruled by king Brahmadaṭṭa who had his capital at Potana.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers (VIII. 14) to princes of the south who are called Bhojas and whose subjects are called the Satvats "dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṃ rājāno Bhaujyāyavate ' bhishichyante Bhojetye-nānbhishiktānāchakshata." In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. These Satvats must have lived near Bharata's realm, *i. e.*, near the Ganges and the Yamunā (*cf.* Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 11). But in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they must have moved southward. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brāhmaṇical statements, accords strikingly with Paurāṇic evidence. It is stated in the Purāṇas that the Sātvatas and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family which dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā (Matsya, 43. 48; 44. 46-48; Vāyu, 94. 52; 95. 48; 96. 1-2; Viṣṇu, IV. 13. 1-6). We are further

told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha (Mat. 44. 36; Vāyu 95. 35-36). We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and Vidarbha. The inclusion of a place called Bhojakata in Vidarbha is proved by the Harivaṁśa (Vishṇu Parva, 60. 32) and the Mahābhārata (V. 157. 15-16). The Chammak grant of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakata territory was equivalent to the Ilichpur-district in Berar or Vidarbha⁺ (J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 329). Dr. Smith says, "The name Bhojakata 'castle of the Bhojas' implies that the province was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka." Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa (V. 39-40) calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja (*cf.* also Mbh. V. 48. 74; 157. 17). But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled in Daṇḍaka. A passage in the Arthaśāstra (Ed. 1919, p. 11) runs thus:—

"Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ Kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām abhimanyamānas sabandhu rāshṭro vīnanāśa"—a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya, or king of Daṇḍaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (No. 522) that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki had its capital at Kumbhavatī. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (VII. 92. 18) the name of the capital was Madhumanta.

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were, in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the Brāhmaṇas, many kingdoms in the south, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Daṇḍaka, as well as Kaliṅga and Assaka (on the Godāvarī, Sutta Nīpāta S. B. E., X, pt. II, p. 184). With the exception of these states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (dasyu) tribes such as the

Andhras, Śābaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas (Ait. Br. VII. 18). In the opinion of Dr. Smith the Andhras were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvāri and the Kṛishṇā. Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe, and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godāvāri and Kṛishṇā valleys (Ind. Ant., 1913, pp. 276-8). Prof. Bhandarkar, however, points out that the Serivāṇij Jātaka places Andhapura, *i. e.*, the pura or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha which is either the modern Tel or Telingiri both not far distant from each other and flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 71.)

The Śābaras and the Pulindas are described in the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas as Dakṣhiṇāpathavāsinaḥ, together with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas :

Teshāṃ pare janapadā Dakṣhiṇāpathavāsinaḥ

* * * *

Kārūshāścha sahaishikā āṭabyāḥ Śābarāstathā

Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha

(Matsya. 114. 46-48.)

Ābhīrāḥ Sabachaishikāḥ āṭabyāḥ Śābarāścha ye

Pulindā Vindhya Mulikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha

(Vāyu. 43, 126.)

The Mahābhārata also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Śābaras in the Deccan :—

Dakṣhiṇāpathajanmānaḥ sarvenaravarāndhrakāḥ

Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śābarāś Chuchukā Madrakaiḥ saha.

(Mbh. XII. 207. 42.)

The capital of the Pulindas (Pulindanagara) probably lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa (Mbh. II. 5-10), *i. e.*, the Vidiśā or Bhilsa region (Meghadūta, 24-25).

The location of the territory of the Mūtibas, another Dasyu tribe mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa along with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Śabarās, is not so certain. In the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 26. 6) the Mūtibas are called Mūchīpa or Mūvīpa. It is not altogether improbable that they are the people who appear in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (57. 46) under the designation of Mushika. A comparison of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra betrays a good deal of confusion with regard to the second and third consonants of the name. It was, therefore, perfectly natural for the Paurāṇic scribes to introduce further variations.

THE SIXTEEN MAHĀJANAPADAS

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political history of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy to the rise of Kosala under Mahākosala, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra. But we know from the Buddhist Aṅguttara Nikāya that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the Soḷasa Mahājanapada. These states were:—

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kāsi | 9. Kuru |
| 2. Kosala | 10. Pañchāla |
| 3. Aṅga | 11. Machchha (Matsya) |
| 4. Magadha | 12. Sūrasena |
| 5. Vajji | 13. Assaka |
| 6. Malla | 14. Avanti |
| 7. Chetiya (Chedi) | 15. Gandhāra |
| 8. Vamsa (Vatsa) | 16. Kamboja. |

These Mahājanapadas flourished together during a period posterior to Kalāra-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely,

Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy in the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra gives a slightly different list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas :

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Aṅga | 9. Pāḍha (Pāṇḍya?) |
| 2. Baṅga | 10. Lāḍha (Rāḍha) |
| 3. Magaha (Magadha) | 11. Bajji (Vajji) |
| 4. Malaya | 12. Moli |
| 5. Mālava | 13. Kāsi |
| 6. Achchha | 14. Kosala |
| 7. Vachchha (Vatsa) | 15. Avaha |
| 8. Kochchha (Kachchha?) | 16. Sambhuttara (Sumhot-tara?) |

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

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas **Kāsi** was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kāsi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several Jātakas bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The Guttala Jātaka (No. 243) says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues

("dvādasayojanikam sakala Bārāṇasinagaram"—Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Sarabha-miga J. 483; Bhūridatta J. 543) whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent (Suruchi J. 489; Vidhurapaṇḍita J. 545). Several Kāsi monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of "sabbarājūnam aggarājā," and lord of sakala-Jambudīpa (Bhaddasāla Jātaka, 465; Dhonasākha Jātaka 353). The Mahāvagga also mentions the fact that Kāsi was a great realm in former times:

"Bhūtapubbaṃ bhikkhave Bārāṇasiyam Brahmaddatto nāma Kāsirājā ahoṣi addho mahaddhano Mahābhogo mahabbalo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripuṇṇakosa koṭṭhāgāro."

(Mahāvagga X. 2. 3; Vinaya Piṭakam I. 342.)

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāsi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their Tīrthakara Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvīra, *i.e.*, in 777 B.C.

Already in the Brāhmaṇa period a king of Kāsi named Dhṛitarāshṭra attempted to offer a horse sacrifice, but was defeated by Sātrājīta Śatānīka with the result that the Kāsis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire (Śat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 19). Some of the other Kāsi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the Brahāchatta Jātaka (No. 336) a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army: He entered the city of Sāvatti and took the king prisoner. The Kosambī Jātaka (No. 428), the Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536) and the Mahāvagga (S.B.E., Vol. XIII, pp. 294-299) refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the Brahmaddattas of Kāsi. The Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka in Southern India, as a city of the kingdom of Kāsi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kāsi. In the Sona-Nanda

Jātaka (No. 532) Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Aṅga, and Magadha. In the Mahābhārata (XIII. 30) Pratardana king of Kāśi, is said to have crushed the power of the Vītahavyas or Haihayas. In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the Jātakas and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many Jātakas and the Mahāvagga clearly proves that Kāśi was at one time a stronger power than many of its neighbours including Kosala.

Prof. Bhandarkar has pointed out that several Kāśi monarchs, who figure in the Jātakas, are also mentioned in the Purāṇas, *e.g.*, Vissasena of Jātaka No. 268, Udaya of Jātaka No. 458, and Bhallāṭiya of Jātaka No. 504 are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Vishvakasena, Udakasena, and Bhallāṭa (Matsya 49. 57 *et seq.*; Vāyu 99. 180 *et seq.*; Viṣṇu IV. 19. 13).

We know from the Bhojājāniya Jātaka (No. 23) that "all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares (Jātaka, 181). Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediæval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

The kingdom of **Kosala** was bounded on the west by Pañchāla, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river (Rām II. 49.11-12; 50.1), on the east by the Sadānīrā which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepāl hills. Roughly speaking, it corresponds to the modern Oudh. It included the territory of the Śākya of Kapilavastu. In the Sutta Nipāta (S.B.E., X, Part II, 68-69) Buddha says "just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are *Ādichhas* by family, Sākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not

longing for sensual pleasures." This passage leaves no room for doubt that the Sākiyas or Śākyas were included among the inhabitants of Kosala. If any doubt is still entertained it is set at rest by Pasenadi's words recorded in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 124):

"Bhagavā pi khattiyo, aham pi khattiyo, *Bhagavā pi Kosalako*, aham pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āsītiko, aham pi āsītiko."

Kosala proper contained three important cities, namely, Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Sāvatti or Śrāvastī.

Ayodhyā (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayū. Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā, but Prof. Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster. Sāvatti is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāptī called Saheth-Maheth which is situated on the borders of the Goṇḍa and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.

In the story of the spread of Aryan culture told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the Kosalas appear as falling later than the Kuru Pañchālas, but earlier than the Videhas, under the influence of Brāhmanical civilisation.

In the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Purāṇas the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvāku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Viśālā or Vaiśālī (Rāmāyaṇa I. 47. 11-12), at Mithilā (Vāyu. P. 89. 3) and at Kusinārā (The Kusa Jātaka No. 531).

A prince named Ikshvāku is mentioned in a passage of the Rig Veda (X. 60. 4). In the Atharva Veda (XIV. 39. 9) either Ikshvāku, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero.

The Purāṇas give lists of kings of the Aikshvāka dynasty from Ikshvāku himself to Prasenajit, the

contemporary of Bimbisāra. Many of these kings are mentioned in the Vedic literature. For example :—

Mandhātṛi Yuvanāśva (Vāyu, 88. 67) is mentioned in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 10 *et seq.*).

Purukutsa (Vāyu, 88. 72) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 63. 7 ; 112. 7. 14 ; 174. 2. VI. 20. 10).

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 5) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Trasadasyu (Vāyu 88. 74) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (IV. 38. 1 ; VII. 19. 3, etc.)

Tryarūṇa (Vāyu 88. 77) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (V. 27). In the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 3. 12) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Trisāṅku (Vāyu 88. 109) is mentioned in the Taittirīya Upanishad (I. 10. 1).

Hariśchandra (Vāyu 88. 117) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13. 16) and is styled Aikshvāka.

Rohita, the son of Hariśchandra (Vāyu 88. 119) is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 14).

Bhagīratha (Vāyu 88. 167) is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (IV. 6. 12) and is called Aikshvāka.

Ambarīsha (Vāyu 88. 171) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 100. 17).

Rituparṇa (Vāyu 88. 173) is mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XX. 12).

Rāma (Vāyu 88. 185) may be the person of the same name mentioned in the Rig Veda (X. 93. 14). But Rāma in the Vedic passage is not connected with either the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala.

Hiranyanābha Kausalya (Vāyu, 88. 207), is mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad, VI. 1 and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XVI. 9. 13. He is probably connected with Para Ātñāra Hairanyanābha, the Kosala king mentioned in a gāthā occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 4. According to the Praśna Upanishad Hiranyanābha was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja (VI. 1) who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana (Praśna I. 1). If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatti mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq.*) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B.C. Consequently Hiranyanābha, too, must have lived in that century. The patronymic "Hairanyanābha" of Para Ātñāra probably indicates that he was a son of Hiranyanābha.

Some of the later princes of the Paurāṇic list (*e.g.* Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula and Prasenajit) are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The relations of Hiranyanābha with Prasenajit who also flourished in the sixth century B.C., will be discussed in a later chapter.

It is clear from the facts mentioned above that the Paurāṇic lists contain names of real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects.

(1) Branches of the Ikshvāku family ruling over different territories have been mixed together, *e.g.*, Trasadasyu, king of the Pūrus (Rig Veda, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3), Rituparna, king of Śaphāla (Baud. Śrauta Sūtra, XX. 12), Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, have been mentioned in such a way as to leave

the impression that they formed a continuous line of princes who ruled in regular succession.

(2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, *e.g.*, Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhārtha, and Rāhula, though he was actually a contemporary of Siddhārtha, and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvāku family.

(3) Certain names have been omitted, *e.g.*, Para Āṭnāra and Mahākosala.

(4) The name of Siddhārtha (Buddha), who never ruled, has been included.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Paurāṇic list who actually ruled over Kosala. The names of some of the earlier kings of the Paurāṇic list, *e.g.*, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariṣchandra, Rohita, Rituparna and a few others, are omitted from the dynastic list of the kings of Ayodhyā given in the Rāmāyāṇa (I. 70). We know from the Vedic literature that most, if not all, of these princes ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or Rājās mentioned in the Paurāṇic list who are known from Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some part of it, are Hirāṇyanābha, Prasenajit and Śuddhodana.

The Vedic texts mention another king named Para Āṭnāra. The Buddhist works mention a few other kings of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Paurāṇic lists. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa, and the rest at Śrāvastī. Of the princes of Ayodhyā the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454) mentions Kālasena. A Kosalarāja reigning in Sāketa is mentioned in the Nandiyamiga Jātaka (No. 385). Vaṅka, Mahākosala and many others had their capital at Sāvattī or Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā seems to have been the

earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time (Buddhist India, p. 34), but Sāketa and Śrāvastī were included among the six great cities of India (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E. XI, p. 99).

We learn from the Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XVII, p. 294) that during the period of the earlier Brahmaddatta of Kāsi, Kosala was a small realm. (Dīghīti nāma Kosalarājā ahoṣi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavāhano appavijito aparipunnakosakotthāgāro).

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kāsi, and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of the Madhyadeśa. The history of its struggles with Kāsi is reserved for treatment in a later chapter. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

Anga was the country to the east of Magadha. It was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Champā. The Aṅga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545) describes Rājagriha as a city of Aṅga. The Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata (29.35) refers to an Aṅga king who sacrificed on Mount Viṣṇupada at Gayā. The Sabhā-parva (44.9) mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one Vishaya or kingdom. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara says that Viṭaṅkapur, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea (Tawney, Kathā-sarit-sāgara, II, ch. 82, p. 272; I, ch. 25, pp. 206, 207; ch. 26, p. 225).

Champā, the famous capital of Aṅga, stood on the river of the same name (Jātaka 506; modern Chāndan) and the Ganges (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 181). Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhāgalpur

two villages, Champanagara and Champapura, which most probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the Purāṇas and the Harivaṃśa that the ancient name of Champā was Mālinī (Matsya, 48. 97; Vāyu, 99. 105-06; Hariv. 32. 49; *cf.* Mbh. XII. 5. 6-7):

Champasya tu purī Champā
Yā Mālinyabhavat purā.

In the Jātaka stories the city is also called Kāla-Champā. In the Mahā-Janaka Jataka (No. 539) it is stated that Champā was sixty leagues from Mithilā. The same Jātaka refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls.

Down to the time of Gotama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, and Benares (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta). Champā increased in wealth and traders sailed from it to Suvarṇabhūmi for trading purposes (Jātaka, Camb, Ed. VI, 539, p. 20). Emigrants from Champā to Cochin China named their settlement after this famous Indian city (Ind. Ant. VI. 229, Itsing, 58).

Āṅga is mentioned in the Atharva Veda (V. 22. 14) in connection with the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, and Magadhas. The Rāmāyaṇa tells an absurd story about the origin of Āṅga. It is related in that epic that Madana having incurred the displeasure of Mahādeva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (Āṅga)" has since been known by the name of Āṅga (Nundolal Dey, Notes on Ancient Āṅga, J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 317). The Mahābhārata attributes the foundation of the Āṅga kingdom to a prince named Āṅga. There may be some truth in this tradition. Āṅga Vairochana is included in the list of

anointed kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 22). The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions king Dhatarattha of Aṅga (Dialogues of the Buddha, II, 270). The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gaggarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Champā. The Purāṇas (Matsya, 48. 91-108 ; Vāyu 99. 100-112) give lists of the early kings of Aṅga. One of these kings Dadhivāhana is known to Jaina tradition. The Purāṇas and the Harivaṃśa (32.43) represent him as the son and immediate successor of Aṅga. Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Chandanā or Chandravālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvira had attained the Kevaliship (J.A.S.B., 1914, pp. 320-321). Śātānika, king of Kauśāmbī attacked Champā, the capital of Dadhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order. Magadha was then a small kingdom. A great struggle for supremacy was going on between Aṅga and Magadha (Champeyya Jātaka). The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga, while the Mahābhārata refers to a sacrifice which an Aṅga king performed at Mt. Vishṇupada at Gayā. These facts probably indicate that at one time the Aṅga king annexed Magadha. Brahmadata, king of Aṅga, is actually known to have defeated Bhattiya, king of Magadha. Aṅga had, at this time, an ally in the king of the Vatsas. Śrī Harsha speaks of a king of Aṅga named Dṛiḍhavarma being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī (Priyadarśikā, Act IV).

The destruction of the kingdom of Aṅga was effected by Bhattiya's son Bimbisāra Śrēṇika of Magadha who killed Brahmadata, took his capital Champā, and resided there as viceroy till his father's death when he returned to Rājagṛiha (J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 321).

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayā districts of Bihār. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagṛiha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gayā. The Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XIII, 150) calls it Giribbaja of the Magadhas to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (*cf.* Girivraja in Kekaya). The Mahābhārata calls it Girivraja and Māgadhapura (Goratham girimāsādyā dadṛiṣur Māgadhapuram II. 20. 30) and says that it was an impregnable city, puram durādharsham samantataḥ, being protected by five hills, Vaihāra "Vipulaḥ śailo," Varāha, Vṛishabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka. From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that the city had another name Vasumatī (I. 32. 8). The Life of Hiuen Tsang (p. 113) mentions another name, Kusāgārapura.

In a passage of the Rig Veda (III. 53. 14) mention is made of a territory called Kikata ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yāska (Nirukta VI. 32) declares that Kikata was the name of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kikata is given as a synonym of Magadha (*cf.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 3. 24 Buddhonāmnā'ñjanasutaḥ Kikateshu bhavishyati).

The name Magadha first appears in the Atharva Veda (V. 22. 14) where fever is wished away to the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, Aṅgas, and Māgadhas. The men of Magadha are always spoken of in the Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the Vrātya (XV) book of the Atharva Saṁhitā, the Vrātya, *i.e.*, the Indian living outside the pale of Brāhmanism, is brought into very special relation to the Pumschali and the Māgadha, faith is called his harlot, the Mitra his Māgadha (Weber Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 112). In the Śrauta Sūtras the equipment characteristic of the Vrātya is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brāhmanical community, to the so-called Brāhmaṇas living in Magadha (Brahma-bandhu Māgadhadēśya, Vedic Index II. 116). The

Brāhmaṇas of Magadha are here spoken of in a sneering tone as *Brahma bandhu*. The Vedic dislike of the Magadhas was in all probability due, as Oldenberg (Buddha 400,n) thinks, to the fact that the Magadhas were not wholly Brāhmaṇised. Pargiter (J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 851-853) suggests that in Magadha the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of Pramaganda no king of Magadha appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature.

The earliest dynasty of Magadha according to the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 30) and the Purāṇas is that founded by Bṛihadratha, the son of Vasu Chaidyoparichara, and the father of Jarāsandha. The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32. 7) makes Vasu himself the founder of Girivraja or Vasumatī. A Bṛihadratha is mentioned twice in the Rig Veda (I. 36. 18; X. 49. 6) but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of Jarāsandha. The Purāṇas give lists of the Bārhadratha kings from Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva to Ripuñjaya. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Purāṇic accounts of these princes as sober history. The Bārhadrathas are said to have passed away when Pulika placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gotama Buddha it is reasonable to conclude that the Bārhadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth century B.C. The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagṛiha named Samudravijaya and his son Gaya (S.B.E., XLV, 86). Gaya is said to have reached perfection which has been taught by the Jinas. But very little reliance can be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late Jaina writers.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, was the Śaiśunāga dynasty founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha,

is said to have belonged to this dynasty. The Mahāvamśa however makes Susunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The Purāṇas themselves relate that Śīsunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and will be king :—

Ashta-trimśachchhatam bhāvyaḥ
Prādyotāḥ pañcha te sutāḥ
Hatvā teshāṃ yaśaḥ kṛitsnam
Śīsunāga bhavishyati.

(Vāyu Purāṇa, 99, 314).

If this statement be true, then Śīsunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chanda Pradyota Mahāsena, who was, according to the early Pāli texts, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. It follows that Śīsunāga must be later than Bimbisāra. But we have seen that the Purāṇas make Śīsunāga an ancestor of Bimbisāra. Thus the Purāṇas, in their present form, are self-contradictory. The inclusion of Vārāṇasī within Śīsunāga's dominions (Dynasties of the Kali Age, 21), proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāsi. The Mālālaṅkāravatthu tells us (S.B.E., XI, p. xvi) that Rājagṛiha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śīsunāga. This indicates that Śīsunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagṛiha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures, 1918, accepts the Ceylonese version and rejects the Paurāṇic account of Bimbisāra's lineage. He makes Bimbisāra the founder of a dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis. The Mahāvamśa however states (Geiger's translation, p. 12) that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old. Mr. Nundolal Dey mentions Bhattiya as the name of the father (J.A.S.B., 1914, 321). We have already

mentioned his defeat at the hands of Brahmadata, king of Aṅga. The defeat was avenged by Bimbisāra who launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga.

The Vajjis, according to Prof. Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (atthakula), of whom the Videhans and the Licchhavis were the most important. Among the other clans we may mention the Jñātrikas and the Vajjis proper.

✓ The Videhans had their capital at Mithilā which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepal border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaiśālī. To this section probably belonged the princess Triśalā, also called Videhadattā, mother of Mahāvīra.

The Licchhavis had their capital at Vesālī (Vaiśālī) which has been identified with Besārḥ (to the east of the Gaṇḍak), in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār. Vesālī is probably identical with the city called Viśālā in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi., 45. 10):

Viśālām nagarīm ramyām divyām svargopamām tadā.

We learn from the introductory portion of the Eka-panṇa Jātaka (No. 149) that a triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The Jñātrikas were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra the Jina. They had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of Vesālī. Nevertheless they were known as "Vesālie," *i.e.*, inhabitants of Vesālī (Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 4n).

The Vajjis or Vrijis are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 2. 131). Kautilya (Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378) distinguishes the Vrijikas or Vajjis from the Licchhivikas. Yuan Chwang (Watters, II. 81) also distinguishes the

Fu-li-chih (Vriji) country from *Fei-she-li* (Vaisālī). It seems that Vrijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Lichchhavis, are sometimes associated with the city of Vesālī which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. (Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II. 101; the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, *Samyutta Nikāya*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 257, 259.) A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (*Life of Buddha*, p. 62) mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. The three districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining clans of the confederacy resided in the suburbs like *Kuṇḍagrāma*, *Kollāga*, *Vāṇiyagāma*, etc.

We have seen that during the Brāhmaṇa period Mithilā had a monarchical constitution. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 47. 11-17) and the *Purāṇas* (*Vāyu*, 86. 16-22; *Vishṇu*, IV. 1. 18) state that Viśālā, too, was at first ruled by kings. The founder of the Vaisālīka dynasty is said to have been Viśāla, a son of Ikshvāku according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*; a descendant of Nābhāga, the brother of Ikshvāku, according to the *Purāṇas*. Viśāla is said to have given his name to the city. After Viśāla came Hemachandra, Suchandra, Dhumrāśva, *Ṣpiṅjaya*, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākutstha and Sumati. We do not know how much of the *Rāmāyaṇic* and *Paurāṇic* account of the Vaisālīka *nripas* can be accepted as sober history. A king named Sahadeva *Sārṅjaya* is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. 4, 4, 3. 4) as having once been called *Suplan Sārṅjaya*, and as having changed his name because of his success in performing the *Dākshāyaṇa* Sacrifice. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34, 9) he is mentioned with Somaka *Sāhadevya*. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaisālī in the Vedic literature.

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

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

Several eminent scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vajjian confederacy, were of foreign origin. According to Dr. Smith the Lichchhavis were Tibetans in their origin. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead.¹ Dr. S. C. Vidyābhushaṇa held that the Lichchhavis were originally Persians and came from the Persian city of Nisibi.² Indian tradition is, however, unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we

¹ Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 233.

² Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 78.

read in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta "and the Lichchhavis of Vesāli heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Lichchhavis of Vesāli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying: 'the Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One.'"

In the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra Triśalā, sister to Chetaka who is regarded by several scholars as a Lichchhavi chief of Vesāli, is styled Kshatriyāṇī (S.B.E., XXII, pp. xii, 227).

Manu says (X, 22):

Jhallo Vallaścha rājanyād vrātyān Nichchhivireva cha
Naṭaścha Karaṇaśchaiva Khaso Drāviḍa eva cha.

It may be argued that the Lichchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas when they were admitted into the fold of Brāhmanism, like the Drāviḍas referred to in Manu's śloka and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of mediæval times. But, unlike the Pratihāras and Drāviḍas, the Lichchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards Brāhmanism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brāhmanic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact Manu brands them as the children of the Vrātya Rājanyas. The great mediæval Rājput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Yadu, Arjuna and others. My impression is that a body of foreigners, who were unfriendly towards the Brāhmanas, could not have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Lichchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātyas when they became champions of non-Brāhmanical creeds. The Pāli commentary

Paramatthajotikā (Vol. I, pp. 158-165) contains a legend regarding the Lichchhavis which traces their origin to a queen of Benares.

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was firmly established in the time of Mahāvira and Gotama, *i.e.*, in the sixth century B.C. A vivid description of the Lichchhavis is given by Buddha himself in the following words (SBE., XI, p. 32) "Let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tāvatisa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as a company of Tāvatisa gods."

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha, Mahāli, general Siha, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta.¹

In the introductory portions of the Ekaṇṇa (149) and Chulla Kāliṅga (301) Jātakas it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707. There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. The Jaina Kalpasūtra (§128) refers to the "nine Lichchhavis" as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakis and eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśi-Kośala. We learn from the Nirayāvali Sūtra that an important leader of this confederacy was Chetaka² whose sister Triśalā or Videhadattā was the mother of Mahāvira, and whose daughter Chellanā or Vedehi was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

The destruction of the confederacy of Vaiśālī was the work of Ajātaśatru. The preliminaries to the conquest

¹ Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, 74; Mahāli Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 198; Mahāvagga, SBE., XVII, p. 108; Majjhima N., I. 234; 68; II. 252; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, 295.

² In the opinion of several scholars Chetaka was a Lichchhavi. But the secondary names of his sister (Videhadattā) and daughter (Vedehi) probably indicate that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesālī.

of Vesālī are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (SBE., XVII, p. 101; XI, pp. 1-5).

The **Malla** territory had for its capital the city of Kusāvati or Kusinārā (Kusa Jātaka No. 531; Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 161-162). The exact site of Kusinārā is not yet known. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta it is stated that the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā lay near the river Hiranyavati. Smith identifies the Hiranyavati with the Gaṇḍak and says that Kusiṅagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Rāptī with the Gaṇḍak (EHI., p. 159n). He, however, adds that the discovery in the large stupa behind the Nirvāna temple near Kasiā of an inscribed copper plate bearing the words “[parini] r vāna-chaitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti,” has revived and supported the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains near Kasiā (on the Chota Gandak), in the east of the Gorakhpur District, represent Kusiṅagara.

The Mallas together with the Licchhavis are classed by Manu as Vratya Kshatriyas. They too, like the Licchhavis, were ardent champions of Buddhism. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta they are sometimes called Vasetthas (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181).

Like Videha, Mallarattha (Mallarāshtra, Mbh., VI. 9. 44) had a monarchical constitution at first. The Kusa Jātaka mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikshvāku). The name Okkāka probably indicates that like the Śākya (cf. Dialogues, Part I, pp. 114-115) the Malla kings also belonged to the Ikshvāku family. The Mahāsudassana Sutta mentions another king named Mahāsudassana (SBE., XI, p. 248). These kings Okkāka and Mahāsudassana may or may not have been historical individuals. The important

thing to remember is that Mallaraṭṭha was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Mahābhārata (II. 30-3) which refers to a king of the Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled Kusāvati.

Before Bimbisāra's time the monarchy had been replaced by a republic (cf. SBE., XI, p. 102; Kautīlya's Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 378); and the metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattle and daub town" a "branch township" surrounded by jungles. It was then styled Kusiṅārā.

The Mallas had two other important cities namely Pāvā (SBE., XI, p. 133) and Bhoga-nagara (Sutta Nipāta, 194, Uvāsagadasāo, II, Appendix, p. 57).

The relations of the Mallas with the Licchhavis were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly. The introductory story of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian (Commander-in-chief of the king of Kosala) and 500 kings of the Licchhavis. The Jaina Kalpasūtra, however, refers to nine Mallakis as having formed a league with nine Licchhavis, and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśi-Kosala.¹

The league was evidently aimed against Kūṅika-Ajātasatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus (pariṭaḥ Kurūn, Mbh. IV. i. 11) and lay near the Jumna

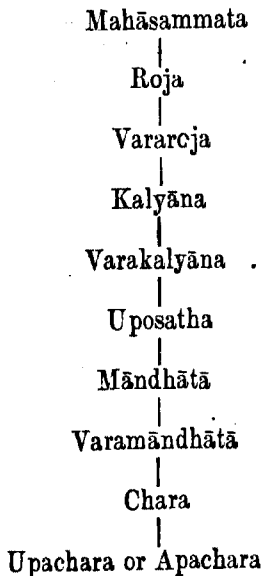
¹ Nava Mallai nava Licchhavi Kāśi Kosalasya aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāṣyaṇo. Jacobi translates the passage thus:

The eighteen confederate kings of Kāśi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchhavis.

(I. 63. 2-58). It corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. We learn from the Chetiya Jātaka (No. 422) that its capital was Sothhivatinagara. The Mahābhārata calls the capital Śuktimatī (III. 20.50) or Śukti-sāhvaya (XIV. 83.2). According to Mr. Nundolal Dey Sothhivati is the same as Śuktimatī (Ind. Ant., 1919, p. vii of "Geographical Dictionary"). The Mahābhārata mentions a river called Śuktimatī which flowed by the capital of Rājā Uparichara of Chedivishaya (I. 63, 35). Pargiter identifies the river with the Ken, and places the capital Śuktimatī in the neighbourhood of Banda (J.A.S.B., 1895, 255, Mārkaṇḍeya p. 359).

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the Rig Veda. Their king Kaśu Chaidya is praised in a Dānastuti occurring at the end of one hymn (VIII. 5. 37-39).

The Chetiya Jātaka gives the following legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings :



The last king's five sons are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttarapañchāla and Daddarapura. Upachara, king of Chedi, is probably identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Pauraya king of Chedi mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 1-2), whose five sons founded five lines of kings (I. 63. 30).

Epic tradition makes the royal houses of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya and Girivraja branches of Vasu's family (Rāmāyaṇa I. 32. 6-9; Mahābhārata I. 63. 30-33).

The Jātaka and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

We learn from the Vedabbha Jātaka (No. 48) that the road from Kāsi to Chedi was unsafe being infested by robbers.

Vamsa or Vatsa is the country of which Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam near Allahabad, was the capital. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions a teacher named Proti Kauśāmbeya (Śat. Br., XII. 2. 2. 13) whom Harisvāmin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town Kauśāmbī. Epic tradition attributes the foundation of the city of Kauśāmbī to a Chedi prince (Rām. I. 32. 3-6; Mbh., I. 63. 31). The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kāsi (Harivamśa, 29, 73, Mbh. XII., 49, 80). It is stated in the Purāṇas that when the city of Hāstinapura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kauśāmbī. We have already seen that the Paurāṇic tradition about the Bharata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kauśāmbī is confirmed by Bhāsa. Udayana king of Kauśāmbī is described in the Svapnavāsavādatta (Ed. Ganapati Śāstri, p. 138) as a scion of the Bharata kula.

The Purāṇas give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka and cite the following genealogical verse :

Brahmakshatrasya yo yonir vaṁśo devārshi satkritaḥ
Kshemakam prāpya rājanam samsthām prāpsyati vai
kalau.

The earliest king of Kauśāmbī about whom we know anything is Śātānīka II of the Paurāṇic list. His father's name was Vasudāna according to the Purāṇas, and Sahasrānīka according to Bhāsa. Śātānīka himself was also styled Parantapa (Buddhist India, p. 3). He married a princess of Videha as his son is called Vaidehī-putra. He is said to have attacked Champā the capital of Aṅga during the reign of Dadhivāhana (JASB, 1914, p. 321). His son and successor was the famous Udayana the contemporary of Bimbisāra.

The Bhagga (Bharga) state of Sumsumāragiri was a dependency of Vatsa (Jātaka No. 353; Carmichael Lec., p. 63). The Mahābhārata (II. 30. 10-11) and the Hari-vaṁśa (29. 73) testify to the close association of Vatsabhūmi and Bharga.

The **Kuru** state was according to Jātaka No. 537 (Mahā-Sutasoma) three hundred leagues in extent. The Jātakas say that the reigning dynasty belonged to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta, *i.e.*, the family of Yudhishtira (Dhūmakāri Jātaka No. 413; Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka No. 495). The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, *i.e.*, Indraprastha or Indrapat near the modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues (Jātakas No. 537, 545).

The Jātakas mention the following Kuru kings and princes: Dhanañjaya Korabya (Kurudhamma Jātaka No. 276; Dhūmakāri Jātaka No. 413; Sambhava Jātaka No. 515; Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka No. 545); Koravya (Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka No. 495; Mahāsutasoma Jātaka No.

537); Sutasoma (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, cf. the Mahābhārata I. 95. 75 where Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma). We can not vouch for the historical existence of these princes in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king Ishukāra ruling at the town called Ishukāra in the Kuru country (SBE. XLV, 62). It seems probable that after the removal of the main royal family to Kauśāmbī, the Kuru country was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a Saṅgha or republic (Arthaśāstra, 1919, 378).

Panchala roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the central Doab. The Mahābhārata, the Jātakas and the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhāgirathī (Ganges) formed the dividing line (Mbh. I. 138. 70). According to the Great Epic Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhatra (the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District), while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal (Mbh. 138. 73-74). A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañchālas for the possession of Uttara Pañchāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañchāla was included in Kururāṭṭha (Somanassa Jātaka No. 505; Mahābhārata I. 138) and had its capital at Hāstinapura (Divyāvadāna, p. 435), at other times it formed a part of Kampillarāṭṭha (Brahmadatta Jātaka No. 323, Jayaddisa Jātaka No. 513 and Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka No. 520). Sometimes kings of Kampillarāṭṭha held court at Uttara Pañchālanagara, at other times kings of Uttara Pañchalārāṭṭha held court at Kampilla (Kumbhakāra Jātaka No. 408).

The history of Pañchāla from the death of Pravāhaṇa Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha) the contemporary of Nimi (Jātaka No. 408) the penultimate sovereign of Mithilā (Jātaka No. 541). In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka it is stated that Dummukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Pañchālarattha; his capital was not Ahichchhatra but Kampillanagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karaṇḍu king of Kalinga, Naggaji (Nagnajit) king of Gandhāra and Nimi king of Videha. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 23) that Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, made extensive conquests. His priest was Bṛihaduktha :

Etam ha vā Andraṃ Mahābhishekaṃ Bṛihaduktha Rishir Durmukhāya Pañchālāya provācha tasmādu Durmukhaḥ Pañchālo Rājā sanvidyayā samantaṃ sarvataḥ pṛithivīm jayan pariyāya.

A great Pañchāla king named Chulani Brahmadata is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (516), the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (SBE, XLV. 57-61), the Svapnavāsavadatta (Act V) and the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32). In the last mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (Kanyāḥ) of Kuśanābha who were made hump-backs (Kubja) by the wind-god. In the Jātaka Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadata, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithilā. In the Uttarādhyayana Brahmadata is styled a Universal monarch. The story of Brahmadata is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañchālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kānyakubja or Kanauj.

The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king of Kampilya named Śaṅjaya who gave up his kingly power and

adopted the faith of the Jinas (SBE, XLV. 80-82). We do not know what happened after Sañjaya gave up his kingly power. But there is reason to believe that the Pañchālas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a Sañgha form of Government of the Rājasābdopajivin type (Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 378).

Matsya had its capital at Virāṭanagara or Bairāt in the modern Jaipur State (Carmichael Lec., 1919, p. 53).

The early history of the Matsyas has already been related. Its history during the centuries which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha is not known. It is not included by Kauṭilya among those states which had a Sañgha form of Government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The Mahābhārata (V. 74. 16) refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over both the Chedis and the Matsyas. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Aśoka have been found at Bairāt.

The Mahābhārata (II. 31. 4) mentions a people called the Aparā Matsyas who probably occupied the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal (J.A.S.B., 1895, 251). The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 71. 5) has a reference to the Vira Matsyas.

The **Surasena** country had its capital at Mathurā on the Yamunā. Neither Śūrasena nor Mathurā finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But the Greek writers refer to the Souraseni and their cities Methora and Cleisobora.

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the ruling family of Mathurā is styled the Yadu or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various septs, namely, the Vitihotras, Sātvatas, etc. (Matsya, 43-44 ; Vāyu, 94-96).

The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, *e. g.*, the Daivāvridhas, Andhakas, Mahābhajas and Vrishṇis (Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1; Vāyu, 96. 1-2).

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the Rig Veda. He is closely associated with Turvaśa and in one place (I. 108. 8) with Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. This association is also proved by the epic and Paurāṇic legends which state that Yadu and Turvaśu were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru were their step-brothers.

We learn from the Rig Veda (I. 36. 18; VI. 45. 1) that Yadu and Turvasa came from a distant land. The Sātvatas or Satvats also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats or Satvants and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Yamunā and the Ganges (Ait. Br. VIII, 23; Mbh. VII. 66. 8). The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Paurāṇic tradition which places them in the Mathurā district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats must have migrated southward, for in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14. 3), the Satvats are described as a southern people ruled by Bhoja kings. In the Purāṇas also we find that a branch of the Satvats was styled Bhoja (Vishṇu IV, 13. 1-6):

“Bhajina-Bhajamāna-divyāndhaka-Devāvṛidha-Mahā-bhoja-Vrishṇi-samjñāḥ Satvatasya putrā babhūvuḥ..... Mahā Bhojastvati dharmātmā tasyānvaye Bhojamārtikā vatā babhūvuḥ.”

It is also stated that several southern states, Māhis-matī, Vidarbha, etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage (Mat., p. 43. 10-29; 44. 36; Vāyu, 94. 26; 95.35).

Not only the Bhojas, but the Devāvṛidha branch of the Satvatas is also mentioned in the Vedic literature. Babhru Daivāvṛidha (Vāyu, 96. 15, Viṣṇu, IV. 13. 3-5) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) as a contemporary of Bhîma, king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. The Andhakas and Vrishṇis are referred to in the Ashtādhyāi of Pāṇini (IV. 1. 114; VI. 2. 34). In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (p. 12) the Vrishṇis are described as a Saṅgha, *i.e.*, a republican corporation. The Mahābhārata, too, refers to the Vrishṇis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a Saṅgha (XII. 81. 25), and Vāsudeva as a Saṅghamukhya. The name of the Vrishṇi corporation has been preserved by a unique coin (Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 119). It is stated in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas that Kāmsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and that Krishṇa, a scion of the Vrishṇi family, killed him. The slaying of Kāmsa by Krishṇa is referred to by Pātāñjali and the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454). The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Krishṇa-Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā ("Uttara Madhurā").¹

The final overthrow of the Vrishṇis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas (Mahābhārata, Maushala Parva, I. 15-22; 2. 10; Arthaśāstra, p. 12; Jātaka, IV., pp. 55-56, V., p. 138). It is interesting to note in this connection, that the Vrishṇis and the Andhakas are branded as Vrātyas in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata (141-15).

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta king of the Śūrasenas in the time of Mahā Kachchāna (M. 2. 83) who

¹ The question of the historical existence of Krishṇa Vāsudeva has been discussed in my Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, pp. 26-35.

was the first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. The Śūrasenas continued to be a notable people up to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

Assaka was situated on the banks of the Godhāvarī (Sutta Nipāta, 977). The name of the territory represents the Sanskrit Aśmaka. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 173). As the grammarian refers to Dākshinātya (IV. 2. 98) and Kalinga (IV. 1. 178) his Aśmaka may be Assaka in the Deccan. It may however also denote the Aśmakas in North-West India referred to by the Greek writers as the Assakenoi.

The capital of Assaka was Potana or Potali (Chullakālinga Jātaka No. 301; D. 2. 235). Prof. Bhandarkar points out (Carm. Lec., pp. 53-54) that in early Pali literature Assaka has, on the one hand, been distinguished from Mulaka which lay to its north, and on the other from Kalinga. He suggests that in later times Assaka seems to have included Mulaka, and also perhaps Kalinga. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka we find Assaka associated with Avanti; this association can only be explained if we surmise that Assaka included at that time Mulaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa (88. 177-178) Aśmaka and Mulaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family. This probably indicates that the Aśmaka and Mulaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvāku chiefs, just as Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Brahmadaṭṭa king of the Assakas who was a contemporary of Sattabhu king of Kalinga, Vessabhu king of Avanti, Bharata king of Sovīra, Reṇu king of Videha, Dhataratṭha king of Aṅga and Dhataratṭha king of Kāsi

(Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270). The Mahābhārata (I. 177. 47) refers to "Aśmako nāma Rājarshih Paudanyaṃ yo nyaveśayat." Paudanya is evidently identical with Potana or Potali.

We learn from the Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāsi, and its prince Assaka was presumably a vassal of the Kāsi monarch. The Chulla Kāliṅga Jātaka mentions a king of Assaka named Aruṇa and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of Kāliṅga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Mālwa, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that Avanti was divided into two parts : the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakṣiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhissatī or Māhiśmatī, modern Māndhātā on the Narmadā.

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Māhissatī as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The Mahābhārata distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhiśmatī, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā (Narmadā-mabbhitaḥ, II. 31. 10).

The Purāṇas attribute the foundation of Māhiśmatī, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, septes of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realms (Matsya, 43-44 ; Vāyu, 95-96 : Ait. Br. VIII. 14).

The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhiśmatī as Haihaya (Matsya, 43. 8-29 ; Vāyu, 94. 5-26). The Haihaya family is referred to by such an ancient authority as Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra, p. 11). The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nāgas who must have been the

aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmadā region (*cf.* Nāgpur). The Matsya Purāṇa mentions five branches of the Haihayas namely Vītihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and the Tālajaṅghas (43. 48-49). When the Vītihotras and Avantis passed away, a minister named Pulika is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota by force in the very sight of the Kshatriyas. In the fourth century B.C., Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of **Gandhāra** according to Jātaka No. 406 included Kāśmīr as well as the Takshaṣilā region. Takshaṣilā, the capital city, lay 2,000 leagues from Benares (Telapatta Jātaka No. 96; Susīma Jātaka No. 163).

The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra kings as the descendants of Druhyu (Matsya 48. 6; Vāyu 99. 9). Druhyu and his people are mentioned several times in the Rig Veda. In the Vedic Index (I. 385) it is stated that "from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people." Thus the Purāṇic tradition about the connection of the Gandhāras with Druhyu accords with Vedic evidence.

Takshaṣilā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the story of king Janamejaya by whom it had been conquered. In the time of Nimi king of Videha, Durmukha king of Pañchāla, and Bhīma king of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit (Kumbhakāra Jātaka; Ait. Br. VII. 34; Śat. Br. VIII. 1. 4. 10). We learn from the Kumbhakāra Jātaka that his capital was Takshaṣilā. The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions "Dvimukha" of Pañchāla, Nami of Videha, "Naggati" of Gandhāra, and "Karakandū" of Kalinga, and says that "these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas" (SBE, XIV, 87). As Pārśva (777 B.C.) was the first historical Jina, Naggati or Nagnajit is probably to be placed between

777 B.C. and 543 B.C. (the date of Pukkusāti the Gandhārian contemporary of Bimbisāra). We do not, however, say that implicit reliance can be placed on a statement of the Uttarādhyayana.

Nagnajit was succeeded by his son Svarjit (Śat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10).

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha. In the latter half of the sixth century Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Behistun inscription of Darius, cir. 516 B.C., the Gandhārians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenian Empire (see "Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions," by Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI).

Kamboja is constantly associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions (Mbh. XII. 207. 43; Aṅguttara N. I. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; Rock Edict V of Aśoka). Like Gandhāra it is included in the Uttarāpatha (*cf.* Mbh. XII. 207. 43). It must therefore be located in some part of North-west India not far from Gandhāra. Rhys Davids (Bud. Ind. 28) mentions its capital Dvāraka. We learn from a passage of the Mahābhārata that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kāmbojas (Mbh., VII. 4. 5, "Karna Rājapuram gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā strayā"). The association of the Kāmbojas with the Gāndhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the Rājapura of Hiuen Tsang (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 284), which lay to the south or south-east of Punjab.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Anpaman-yava (Vamśa Br.) who was probably connected with this territory.

In the Bhuridatta Jataka (No. 543) the Kambojas are credited with savage customs :

ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā

Kambojākanam vitathā bahunnan ti.

Jataka, VI. 208.

These are your savage customs which I hate,

Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.

Cowell's Jataka, VI. 110.

This description of the Kāmbojas agrees wonderfully with Hiuen Tsang's account of Rājapura and the adjoining countries. "From Lampa to Rājapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier (*i.e.*, barbarian) stocks."

The Kambojas are known as Kambujya in the old Persian inscriptions. In the Mahābhārata the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchical constitution (*cf.* II. 4. 22 ; V. 165. 1-3, etc.). Kautilya (p. 378) mentions the Kshatriya srenī of Kamboja as an illustration of a "Vārtāsastropajivin" Saṅgha.

The epic account of the Mahājanapadas :

An interesting account of the characteristic of the peoples of most of the Mahājanapadas described above is to be found in the Karna Parva of the Mahābhārata.

The Pañchālas, Kurus, Matsyas, Śūrasenas and the Chedis receive unstinted praise :

Kuravaḥsaha Pañchalāḥ Śālva Matsyāḥ sa Naimishāḥ

Chedayaścha mahābhāgā dharmam jānanti śāsvatam

Brāhmaṇam Pañchalāḥ Kauraveyāstu dharmam

Satyam Matsyāḥ Śūrasenāścha yajñam

The Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal religion is.¹

¹ Mahābhārata, VIII. 45. 14-16; 28; 34.

The Pañchālas observe the Vedas, the Kauravas observe Dharma, the Matsyas observe the truth, and the Śūrasenas perform sacrifices.¹

The Magadhas are called comprehenders of signs; while the Kosalas are represented as comprehending from what they see :

Īṅitajñāscha Magadhāḥ prekshitajñāscha Kośalāḥ.¹

The Āngas and the Gandhāras come in for a good deal of condemnation :

Āturānām parityāga sadārasutavikrayaḥ

Āṅgeshu vartate Karṇa yeshāmadhipatirbhavān.

The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karṇa, prevalent among the Āngas whose king thou art.²

Madrakeshu cha samsrishtām śaucham Gandhāra-
keshucha

Rājajakayājyecha nashtam dattam havirbhavet.

Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Gāndhārakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest.³

The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude of a poet of the Western part of the Madhyadeśa towards most of the Mahājanapadas of Northern India.

THE FALL OF KĀSI AND THE ASCENDANCY OF KOŚALA.

The flourishing period of many of the sixteen Mahājanapadas ended in or about the sixth century B.C. The history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely, the empire of Magadha.

¹ Mahābhārata, VIII. 45. 14-16; 23; 34.

² Ibid, 45. 40; 40. 29.

Kāsi was probably the first to fall. The Mahāvagga and the Jātakas refer to bitter struggles between Kāsi and her neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kāsis seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII. 294-99) and the Kosambī Jātaka (No. 428) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, robbed Dīghati, king of Kosala, of his kingdom, and put him to death. In the Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, owing to his having an army, seized on the kingdom of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The Brahāchatta Jātaka (No. 336) and the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (No. 532) also refer to the victories of Kāsi kings over Kosala.

Success however did not remain long with the Kāsis (*cf.* Jātaka No. 100). In the Mahāsīlava Jātaka (No. 51) king Mahāsīlava of Kāsi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the king of Kosala. In the Ghata Jātaka (No. 355) and the Ekarāja Jātaka (No. 303) Vanka and Dabbasena, kings of Kosala, are said to have won for their kingdom a decided preponderance over Kāsi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kāmsa, as the epithet "Bārānasiggaho," *i.e.*, conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name (the Seyya Jātaka No. 282 and the Tesakuṇa Jātaka No. 521, Buddhist India, p. 25). The interval of time between Kāmsa's conquest of Kāsi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time, and even later when the Ānguttara Nikāya was composed.

In the time of Mahākosala (sixth century B.C.) Kāsi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy. When Mahākosala married his daughter, the lady Kosalādevī, to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāsi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Harita Māta Jātaka No. 239; Vaḍḍhaki Sūkara Jātaka No. 283).

In the time of Mahākosala's son and successor Pasenadi or Prasenajit Kāsi still formed a part of the Kosalan empire. In the Lohichcha Sutta (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, 288-97) Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions: "Now what think you Lohichcha? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāsi and Kosala?" Lohichcha replies "Yes that is so Gotama." We learn from the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII. 195) that the Viceroy of Kāsi was a brother of Pasenadi.

The Samyukta Nikāya (the Book of the Kindred Sayings, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 106) mentions Pasenadi as the head of a group of five Rājās. One of these was probably his brother who was the Viceroy of Kāsi. Among the remaining Rājās we should include Hiranyanābha Kausalya who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana and consequently of Buddha and Pasenadi, if our identification of Āśvalāyana Kausalya with Assalāyana of Sāvatti mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya be correct.

Another Rājā of the group was probably the Sākya chief of Kapilavastu. From the introductory portion of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) we learn that the Sākya territory was subordinate to the Kosalan monarch. The inclusion of the Sākya territory, the birthplace of Buddha, within the Kosalan empire is also proved by the Sutta Nipāta (SBE, X, Part II, pp. 68-69) and the Majjhima

Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 124, which describe Buddha and his people as Kosalans.

It was probably during the reign of Mahākosalā, that Bimbisāra ascended the throne of Magadha. The Mahāvamsā (Geiger's Translation, p. 12) tells us that "The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father." With the coronation of Bimbisāra ends the period with which this chapter deals.

// KINGSHIP.

We have given the outlines of the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisāra. We have seen that during the major part of this period the prevailing form of Government was monarchical. No political history of this age is complete unless we know something about the rank and status of the monarchs in the different parts of India, their caste, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their households, and their civil and military services, the checks on their authority, etc.

The different kinds of rulerships prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹

Etasyām Prāchyām diśi ye ke cha Prāchyānām
rājānaḥ Sāmrajyāyaiva te'bhisichyante Samrālī-
tyenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānām
vihitimanu.

Etasyām dakṣiṇasyā diśi ye ke cha Satvatām Rājāno
Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhisichyante Bhojetyenānabhishi-
ktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām Prācīchyām diśi ye ke cha Nīchyā-
nām Rājāno ye'pāchyānām Svārajyāyaiva te'

bhishichyante Svarāḷityenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.
 Etasyām Udīchyām diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṃ Janapadā Uttara Kurava Uttara Madrā iti Vairājyāyaiva te' bhishichyante. Virāḷityenāna bhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.
 Etasyām dhruvāyām Madhyamāyāmpratiśthāyām diśi ye ke cha Kuru Pañchalānām Rājānaḥ sa. Vaśośīnarāṇām Rājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Rājetyenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Several scholars assert that Vairājya means a kingless state. But in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ¹ a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called Virāt and worthy of Vairājya. When a king consecrated with the Punarabhisheka ascends his Āsandī or throne, he prays for attaining Vairājya as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sāyaṇa takes the word Vairājyam to mean "itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vaiśishtyam." It is also stated in the Sukraniti (B.K. Sarkar's translation, p. 24) that the Virāt was a superior kind of monarch. In the Mahābhārata (XII. 43.11) Kriṣṇa is called Samrāt, Virāt, Svarāt and Surarāja. Cf. XII., 68.54.

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms Sāmrajya, Bhaujya, Svarājya, Vairājya and Rājya referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brāhmaṇic period. But two terms at least, namely, Sāmrajya and Rājya are clearly distinguished by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ² and also the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.³

Rājā vai Rājasūyeneshtvā bhavati, Samrād Vājapeyenāvaramhi Rājyam param Sāmrajyam kāmayeta vai Rāja Samrād bhavitum avaramhi rājyam paramsamrajyam.⁴

¹ VIII. 17.

² V. 1. 1. 13.

³ XV. 1. 1. 2.

⁴ Śat. Br. V. 1. 1. 13.

“By offering the Rājasūya he becomes Rāja and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; a Rājan might indeed wish to become Samrāj, for the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; but the Samrājas would not wish to become Rājās for the office of Rājan is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher.”

If the Purāṇas are to be believed Bhoja was originally a proper name. But afterwards it came to denote a class of Southern kings. The word Cæsar furnishes an exact parallel. Originally it was the name of a Roman dictator. But afterwards it was a title assumed by Roman Emperors.

In some Vedic texts¹ Svarajya means uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to Rājya.²

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brāhmanas were considered to be unsuited for Kingship. Thus we read in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa “to the king (Rājan) doubtless belongs the Rājasūya; for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and unsuited for kingship is the Brāhmaṇa.”³

We have, however, references to Śūdra and Āyogava kings in the Vedic texts. King Janaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is called a Śūdra in the Chhāndogya Upanishad.⁴ King Marutta Avikshita is styled “Āyogava” in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.⁵ Āyogava denotes a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Śūdra by a Vaiśya wife.⁶ The Jātakas refer to kings of several castes including Brāhmanas (*cf.* Jātakas 73, 432).

Kingship was sometimes hereditary, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced

¹ Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, XIV. 5; Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā, I. 11. 5, etc.

² Vedic Index, II. 221.

³ SBE, XLI. Eggeling, Śat. Br., Part III, p. 4.

⁴ IV. 2. 1-5.

⁵ XIII. 5. 4. c.

⁶ Manusāhita, X. 12.

(*cf.* the Pārikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line ; *cf.* also the expression Daśapurushamrājya—a kingdom of ten generations occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XII. 9. 3. 3), yet in others the monarchy was elective. The selection was made sometimes by the people and sometimes by the ministers. The choice was sometimes limited to the members of the royal family only, as is shown by the legend in Yaska¹ of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Śantanu. In the Saṁvara Jātaka (No. 462) the courtiers of a king asked the latter "when you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the king, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

Sometimes the popular choice fell on persons who did not belong to the royal family. It is stated in the Pādañjali Jātaka, No. 247, that when a certain king of Benares died, his son Pādañjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The Sachchamkira Jātaka, No. 73, tells a story how the nobles, Brāhmaṇas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes an outsider was chosen. The Darimukha Jātaka (No. 378) and the Sonaka Jātaka (No. 529) tell us how on failure of heir at Benares a Prince of Magadha was elected king.

The king during the Brāhmaṇa period had four queens the Mahishī, the Parivṛiktī, the Vāvātā, and the Pālāgalī. The Mahishī was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.² The Parivṛiktī was the neglected wife, probably one that had no son. The Vāvātā is the favourite, while the Pālāgalī was, according to Weber, the daughter of the last of the court officials.³ In

¹ Nirukta, II. 10. Ved. Ind. II. 211.

² VI. 5. 3. 1.

³ Ved. Ind., I. 478.

the Jātaka period several kings kept a fairly big harem. We are told in the Kusa Jātaka, No. 531, that king Okkāko had sixteen thousand wives among whom Silavati was the chief (aggamaheṣi). The king of Benares according to the Dasaratha Jātaka, No. 461, had an equal number of wives. In the Suruchi Jātaka, No. 489, a king of Mithilā says: "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithilā covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen-thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is evidently exaggerated. But it indicates that the kings of the Jātaka period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brāhmanic number of four queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate ritual which is described in several Brāhmaṇas, and for which the Mantras are given in the Saṁhitās. Those who aided in the consecration of the king were called Rājakarṭri or Rājakṛit, "kingmaker." In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the persons meant and specified are the Sūta (minstrel and chronicler or charioteer), and the Grāmaṇi, village chief. Prof. Rādhākumud Mookerji observes¹ "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or sacrifices of royal inauguration were the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, the Punarabhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Vājapeya bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "Sāmrajya," while the Rājasūya merely conferred the ordinary royal dignity.² The Punarabhisekh made the king elect eligible for all sorts of royal

¹ The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 83.

² Rājya, cf. Śat. Br., V. 1, 1. 13.

dignity, *viz.*, Rājya, Sāmrajya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameshthya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatyā, Svāvaśya and Ātishthatva.¹ The object of Aindra Mahābhisekha is thus described :

“Sa ya icchhedevamvit Kshatriyamayam sarvā
jitirjayetāyam sarvāmllokān vindetāyam sarveshām Rājñām
Śraishthyamatishthām paramatām gachcheta Sāmrajyam,
Bhaujyam, Svārājyam, Vairājyam, Pārameshthyām,
Rājyam, Māhārājyam Ādhipatyām ayam samantaparyāyi
syāt Sārvabhaumah sāvāyusha āntādā parārdhdhāt Pri-
thiviyai Samudraparyantāyā ekarāl iti tametena Aindreṇa
Mahābhisekena kshatriyam śāpayitvā bhishiñched.”

Ait. Br., VIII, 15.

The Vājapeya rites include a chariot race, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling, the ceremony perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa says. “Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others.”² The royal sacrificer having descended from the post, is offered a throne-seat with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the Adhvaryu in the following words “thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling, for wealth, for prosperity, *i.e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal.”³

The Rājasūya consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of

¹ Ait. Br. VIII. 6.

² Sat. Br. V. 2. 1. 22.

³ Sat. Br. V. 2. 1. 25: The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 80.

two years (SBE, XLI, p. xxvi). The rite is described at great length in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.¹ Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial (Ved. Ind., II. 219). For example, the king is clothed in the ceremonial garments of his rank, and provided with bow and arrow as emblems of sovereignty. He performs a mimic cow raid against a relative of his;² or engages in a show fight with a Rājanya.³ A game of dice is played in which he is made to be the victim; he symbolically ascends the quarters of the sky as an indication of his universal rule; and steps on a tiger skin, thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger. A notable feature of the Rājasūya is the ceremony of the Ratna-havis or jewel offerings. The recipients of these sacrificial honours, the Ratninaḥ, were the chief members of the royal household and of the king's civil and military service: *viz.*—

1. The Senāni (Commander of the army).
2. The Purohita (Chaplain of the king).
3. The Mahishi (Chief Queen).
4. The Sūta (Court Minstrel and Chronicler).
5. The Grāmaṇi (Village Headman).
6. The Kshattri (Chamberlain).
7. The Saṅgrahītri (Treasurer).
8. The Bhāgadugha (Carver).
9. The Akshāvāpa (Keeper of the Dice).
10. The Go-vikartana (King's Companion in the chase).
11. The Pālāgala (Courier).

The next essential part of the Rājasūya was the Abhisheka or besprinkling. It began with offerings to Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Grihapati, Soma Vanaspati,

¹ V. 2. 3. (*et seq.*).

² Śat. Br. V. 4, 3, 1 *et seq.*

³ Cf. Taittiriya Saṁhitā, I. 8. 15 with commentary; SBE, xli, 100, n. 1.

Bṛihaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeshṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra Satya and Varuṇa Dharmapati. The consecration water (Abhishechanīyā Āpaḥ) was made up of seventeen kinds including the water of the Sarasvatī, Sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa, a kinsman or brother of the king elect, a friendly Rājanya and a Vaiśya.

The two most important kinds of Abhisheka were the Punarabhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Punarabhisheka or Second Coronation is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5-11. It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or Āsandī which was made of Udumbara wood with the exception of the interwoven part (Vivayana) which consisted of Muñja grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said "Rajñam tvam Adhirājo bhaveha; Mahāntam tvā mahinām Samrājām charṣaṇinām.¹ The king was next required to get down from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇās "Brahmaṇa eva tat Kshatram vaśa meti tad yatra vai Brahmaṇaḥ kshatram vaśamēti tad rāshṭram sampriddham tadviravadā hāsmin vīro jāyate" (Ait. Br., VIII. 9). Here there is ample provision for the prevention of royal absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently consecrated with the Punarabhisheka (Ait. Br. VIII. 11).

The Aindra Mahābhisheka or Indra's great unction consisted of three important ceremonies, viz. :

1. Ārohaṇa (Ascending the throne).
2. Utkrośana (Singing the king's praise).
3. Abhimantraṇa (repetition of special formulas or Mantras).

¹ Ait. Br. VIII. 7.

The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābbisheka; Janamejaya, Śāryāta, Śātānika, Āmbāshṭhya, Yudhāmsraushṭi, Viśvakarmā, Sudās, Marutta, Aṅga and Bharata (Ait. Br. VIII. 21-23). The first-mentioned king, and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also belonged to the Post-Parikshit period.¹

Powerful kings and princes performed another important sacrifice called the Aśvamedha. The Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra (XX. i. 1) says that a Śārvabhauma Rājā may perform the Aśvamedha. Among the kings and princes who performed the Aśvamedha were Janamejaya, his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena, and Śrutasena, and Para Ātṅnāra, king of Kosala.

Kingship during the Pārikshita-Janaka period was not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency." The monarch was not merely a "chief noble," "the first among equals," "President of a Council of Peers." In several Vedic texts he is represented as the master of his people. He claimed the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked, and taxing the people as much as he liked. In the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad Janaka says to Yājñavalkya "So'ham Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māñchāpi saha dāsyāyeti" (Brih. Up., IV. 4. 23). The king is called "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati" and is further described as the devourer of the people—Viśāmatā (Ait. Br. VIII. 17). "Rājā ta ekam mukhaṁ tena mukhena Viśōtsi" (Kaush. Up., II. 6).

The king, however, was not an absolute despot in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by

¹ Śātānika defeated Dhṛtarāshṭra of Kāśī who, according to the Mahāgoviṇḍa Suttanta, was a contemporary of Sattabhu of Kaliūga and Brahmādatta of Assaka. As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Pārikshita works, it is probable that Śātānika and his contemporaries flourished after Parikshit. Āmbāshṭhya and Yudhāmsraushṭi were contemporaries of Parvata and Nārada who were very near in time to Nagnajit the contemporary of Nimi the penultimate king of Videha. Aṅga was probably the immediate predecessor of Dadhivāhana who, according to Jaina evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

the Brāhmanas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the Punarabhisheka, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmanas who formed the higher educated community of those days. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27) and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Ed. 1919, p. 11) that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brāhmanas. The Vṛishnis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmanas. This shows that not only the kings, but the republican corporations (Saṅgha) too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brāhmanas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted regularly. In the Vedic texts the Sūta and the Grāmaṇi are styled Rājakartri or Rājakṛit, i.e., "King-maker" (Śat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18). The very title indicates their importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other ratnins, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The claim of the ministers and village headmen to be consulted was certainly recognised by the kings down to the time of Bimbisāra. The Mahāvagga says (SBE, XVII. 304) "King Brahmadaṭṭa of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors and said to them: 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dīghāvu, the son of king Dīghīti of Kosala, what would you do to him?'" The Mahā assāroha Jātaka (No. 302) refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors. In the Mahāvagga we find the following passage (SBE, XVII, p. 1) "Now when Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand Gramikas he sent message to Sona Kolivisa." The Chulla-Sutasoma Jātaka also refers to the eighty thousand councillors of a

king headed by his general. These were asked to elect a king (Cowell's Jātaka, V, p. 97). The king-making power of the councillors is recognised also in the Pādañjali and Sonaka Jātakas.

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (Janāḥ) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmaṇis or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly styled Samiti or Parishad in the Upanishads. In the Utkrośana passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17) the people (Janāḥ) are clearly distinguished from the Rājakartāraḥ among whom, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18) were included the Sūta and the Grāmaṇi. That the Samiti or Parishad was an assembly of the Janāḥ, *i.e.*, the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "Pañchālānām Samitimēyāya," "Pañchālānām Parishadamājagāma." The Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 3. 1) mentions the Samiti of the Pañchāla people presided over by king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, "Śvetaketurhāruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānām Samitimēyāya; tam ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivaliruvācha." The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (VI. 2. 1) uses the term Parishad instead of Samiti "Śvetaketurhavā Āruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānām Parishadamājagāma." The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration (Ait. Br. VIII. 17). The Dummedha Jātaka (No. 50) refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brāhmaṇas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the Atharva Veda (VI. 88. 3) where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity. We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 9. 3. 1 *et seq.*; Eggeling, V., 269) "Now Duṣṭaritu

Paumsāyana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to him through ten generations and the Śrīñjayas also expelled Revottaras Pāṭava Chākra Sthapati." The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 10) refers to personages who were expelled from their rāshṭras and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the Punarabhisheka. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French "emigrants" who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns (*cf.* Lodge, *Modern Europe*, p. 517). We learn from the Vessantara Jātaka that the king of Sivi was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence."

The king was told :

The bidding of the Sivi folk if you refuse to do .

The people then will act, methinks, against your son
and you.

The king replied :

Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.

The Padakusalamaṇava Jātaka (No. 432) tells 'a story how the town and country folk of a kingdom assembled, beat the king and priest to death as they were guilty of theft, and anointed a good man king. A similar story is told in the Sachchankira Jātaka (No. 73). We are told in the Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka that the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcast and anointed a prince as king. The ex-king was not allowed to enter into the capital city. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that in the Telapatta Jātaka a king of Takshaśilā says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above ("Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi," etc.). Evidently the royal power had declined appreciably, at least in the North-west, since the days of Janaka.

The more important attributes of kingship are referred to in the "Utkrośana" passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17). The monarch is there described as "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati," *i.e.*, sovereign lord of all beings. "Viśamattā," *i.e.*, devourer of the people, "Amitrāṇām hantā," *i.e.*, destroyer of enemies, "Brāhmaṇānām Goptā," *i.e.*, protector of the Brāhmaṇas, "Dharmasya Goptā," *i.e.*, protector of the laws.

In the expressions quoted above we have reference to the king's sovereignty and Imperium, his power of taxation, his military functions, his relations with the Hierarchy, and his judicial duties.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA

PART II

From the Coronation of Bimbisara to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty.

The following pages deal with the political history of India from the time of Bimbisāra to that of the Guptas.

For the period from Bimbisāra to Aśoka I cannot claim much originality. The subject has been treated by Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Smith, and a flood of new light has been thrown on the history of particular dynasties by Professors Geiger, Bhandarkār, Rapson, Jayaswal and others. I have made use of the information contained in their works, and have supplemented it with fresh data gathered mainly from epical and Jaina sources. I have also tried to present old materials in a new shape, and my conclusions are not unoften different from those of previous writers.

In the chapter on the Later Mauryas I have examined the causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, and have tried to demonstrate the unsoundness of the current theory that "the fall of the Maurya authority was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brahmans."¹

My treatment of the history of the Early Post-Mauryan and Scythian periods, though not entirely

¹ The chapter on the Later Mauryas was published in the J.A.S.B. 1920.

original, is different in many respects from that of previous writers. I have not been able to accept the current views with regard to the history and chronology of several dynasties, notably of the Early Śātavāhanas, the Greeks of Śākala, and the Śaka-Palhavas of the Uttarāpatha.

In my account of the Gupta period I have made use of the mass of fresh materials accumulated since the publication of the works of Fleet, Smith and Allan. The relations of Samudragupta with the Vākātakas have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present a connected history of the later Guptas.¹

¹ The chapter on the Later Guptas was published in the JASB, 1920.

THE RISE OF MAGADHA.

1. THE AGE OF BIMBISĀRA.

Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisāra and Nanda, Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian history which Wessex played in the history of Pre-Norman England, and Prussia in the history of modern Germany.

The founder of the Magadhan imperial power was Bimbisāra or Śreṇika (called also Seniya Bimbisāra) son of Bhattiya. The Mahāvamsa (Geiger's translation, p. 12) tells us that "the virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father...two and fifty years he reigned." We learn from the Sutta Nipāta (SBE, X. II, 67) that Bimbisāra's capital was at Rājagaha or Rājagriha, "the Giribaja in Magadha."

The early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the political condition of India in the time of Bimbisāra. There were, as Prof. Rhys Davids observes, "besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics four kingdoms of considerable extent and power." In addition to these there were a number of smaller kingdoms, and some non-Aryan principalities. The most important amongst the republics were the Vajjians of Vaiśālī and the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā.¹ An account of both these peoples has already been given. Among the smaller republics Rhys Davids mentions the Śākyas of Kapilavastu,² the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas of Sumsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, and the Moriyas of Pippalivana.

¹ Twelve miles from Kusinārā (Cunningham, AGI, p. 434).

² Piprāvā in the north of the Basti district; or Tilaura Kōṭ in the Tarāi (Smith, EHI, p. 159).

The Śākya, as we have already seen, acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Kosala. The Koliyas were their neighbours. The introductory portion of the Kunāla Jātaka says that the Śākya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohini¹ which flows between Kapilavastu and the Capital of the Koliyas confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. Once upon a time in the month Jetthamūla when the crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from amongst the dwellers of both cities assembled together. Then followed a scramble for water. From the mutual recriminations which ensued we learn that the Śākya had the custom of marrying their own sisters. In the Tirthajātrā section of the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata (III. 84. 31) mention is made of a place called Kapilāvata. It is not altogether improbable that we have here a Brāhmanical reference to the capital of the Śākya.

The Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the Dhona-sākha Jātaka, No. 353, that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana king of the Vatsas, dwelt in Sumsumāragiri and built a palace called Kokanada. The Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas):

Vatsabhūmiṅcha Kaunteyo vijigye balavān balāt.

Bhargānāmadhipaṅchaiva Nishādādhipatiṁ tathā
(*MBh. II. 30. 10-11*).

Pratardanasya putrau dvau Vatsa Bhargau babhuvatuḥ (*Hariv. 29. 73*).

Regarding the Bulis and the Kālāmas we know very little. The name of the Kālāma capital, Kesaputta, reminds us of the Kesins, a people mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Ved. Ind., Vol. I, p. 186) and probably also in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (VI. 4, 165).

¹ A tributary of the Rāptī (Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 96).

The Moriyas were undoubtedly the same clan which gave Magadha its greatest dynasty (*cf.* Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p. 27).¹ Pippalivana, the Moriya Capital, is apparently identical with the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 135; Watters *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 23-24; Cunningham, *AGI*, pp. 429, 433). Fa Hien tells us that the Tope lay twelve Yojanas to the west of Kusinārā (*Legge, Fa Hien*, p. 70).

Among the smaller kingdoms may be mentioned Gandhāra ruled by Pukkusāti, Roruka ruled by Rudrāyaṇa (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 545), Sūrasena ruled by Avanti-putta, and Aṅga ruled by Brahmadata.

The most famous amongst the non-Aryan principalities was the realm of the Yakkha Ālavaka (*Sutta Nipāta*, SBE., X, II, 29-30). The realm of Ālavaka was situated near the Ganges and had Ālavī (*Sutta Nipāta*; the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 275) for its capital. Ālavī seems to be identical with the town of Ālabhiyā mentioned in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (II, p. 103; Appendix, pp. 51-53). Near the city there was a large forest (*cf.* *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 160). According to Hoernle the name of the kingdom represents the Sanskrit Aṭavi which means a forest.—The same scholar points out that in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* Alavī is mentioned in a list of twenty names of cities including Bārānasī, Sāvatti, Vesālī, Mithilā, Ālavī, Kosambhī, Ujjeni, Takka-sīlā, Champā, Sāgala, Sumsumāragira, Rājagaha, Kapilavattu, Sāketa, Indapaṭṭa, Ukkattha, Pāṭalipuṭṭaka, Jettuttara, Samkassa, and Kusinārā.

In the *Uvāsagadasāo* the king of Ālabhiyā is named Jiyasattū. But Jiyasattū seems to have been a common

¹ "Then did the Brāhmaṇa Cānakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas."

designation of kings like the epithet Devanampiya of a later age. The name Jiyasattū is given also to the rulers of Sāvattī, Kampilla, Mithilā, Champā, Vāṇiyagāma Bārānasī and Polasapura (*cf.* Hoernle *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, pp. 6, 64, 100, 103, 106, 118, 166).

Buddhist writers refer to other Yakkha principalities besides Ālavaka (*cf.* *Sutta Nipāta*, SBE, Vol. X, II, p. 45).

The most important factors in the political history of the period were, however, neither the republics nor the Yakkha principalities, but the four great kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha.

In Kosala king Mahākosala had been succeeded by his son Pasenadi or Prasenajit. The new king preserved unimpaired the extensive heritage received from his father, and ruled Kāsi and Kosala. He also exercised suzerainty over the Śākya territory. We have already seen that the *Samyutta Nikāya* refers to him as the head of a group of five Rājās, "on one occasion when the Exalted One was at Sāvattī, five Rājās the Pasenadi being the chief among them, were indulging in various forms of amusements."

In her interesting article "Sage and King in Kosala-Samyutta," Mrs. Rhys Davids admirably sums up the character of Pasenadi, "He is shown combining like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good 'family man,' indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, a magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams due, in reality, to disordered appetites,

and also his shrewd, politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not" (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 134).

We learn from the Ambaṭṭha and Lohichcha Suttas (Dialogues, I, pp. 108, 288) that Pasenadi was a patron of the Brāhmaṇas, and gave them spots on royal domains with power over them as if they were kings. He was also a friend of the Buddha and his followers, and made monasteries for their habitation (Gagga Jātaka, No. 155).

He had many queens, *e.g.*, Mallikā, daughter of the chief of garland makers in Sāvatti, and Vāsabha Khattiyā born to a Śākya named Mahānāman from a slave woman. He had a daughter called Vajirā or Vajiri Kumāri (Majjhima, II, p. 110) and a son named Viḍūḍabha whose mother was Vāsabha Khattiyā. Prince Viḍūḍabha at first appears to have served as his father's Senāpati or General. Afterwards he succeeded to the throne and perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Śākyas.

Hoernle in the Uvāsagadasāo (II, Appendix, p. 56) refers to Mṛigadhara, who is said to have been the first minister of Prasenajit or Pasenadi. Prof. Bhandarkar refers to another minister called Siri-Vaddha. Another important official was Digha Chārāyaṇa (Majjhima N. II, p. 118). He is probably identical with Dīrgha Chārāyaṇa mentioned by Kauṭilya as an author of a treatise on kingly duties, and by Vātsyāyana as an author of the science of Erotics. His uncle Bandhula was a general.

The Buddhist texts throw some light on the foreign and internal affairs of Pasenadi's reign. The Majjhima Nikāya (II, p. 101) tells us that the Kosalan monarch was on friendly terms with Seniya Bimbisāra and the Visālikā Lichchhavi. But he was much troubled by robbers like Angulimālo. We read in the Mahāvagga (SBE, XIII, p. 220) that certain Bikkhus travelling on the road from

Sāketa to Sāvatti were killed by robbers. Then the king's soldiers came and caught some of the ruffians. In another passage (p. 261) of the Mahāvagga it is stated that a residence of the Bikkhus in the Kosala country was menaced by savages.

In the Vatsa kingdom king Śatānika Parantapa was succeeded by his son Udayana who is the hero of many Indian legends. The commentary of the Dhammapada gives the story of the way in which Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti, became his wife. In the preface to the Mātanga Jātaka it is related that in a fit of drunken rage he had Piṇḍola tortured by having a nest of ants tied to him. The Kathāsarit-sāgara of Somadeva a writer of the eleventh century A. D. contains a long account of Udayana's *Digvijaya* (Tawney's Translations, Vol. I, p. 148 ff). But it is difficult to decide how much of it is folklore and how much sober history. The Priyadarsikā of Śrīharsha (Act IV) speaks of a king of Aṅga named Driḍhavarman being restored by Udayana.

We have already referred to Vāsavadattā, the chief queen of Udayana. The Svapna-Vāsavadatta of Bhāsa mentions another queen named Padmāvatī who is represented as sister to king Darśaka of Magadha. Prof. Bhandarkar mentions a queen named Māgandiyā, and Rhys Davids refers to one named Sāmavati (Bud. Ind., p. 7). The Ratnāvalī tells the story of the love of the king of Vatsa and of Sāgarikā an attendant of his queen Vāsavadattā. Stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kālidāsa (*cf.* Meghadūta, "prāpyāvantim Udayana kathā kovida grāmaṇḍhān"). It is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables. It seems that Udayana was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti and Magadha.

The throne of Avanti was at this time occupied by Chanda Pradyota Mahāsena who had two sons named Gopālaka and Pālaka, and a daughter named Vāsavadattā, the queen of Udayana. Regarding the character of Pradyota the Mahāvagga says that he was cruel (SBE, XVII, p. 187). The Purāṇas say that he was "nayavarjita," *i. e.*, destitute of good policy. The same authorities observe that "he will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him—*Sa vai pranata sāmantaḥ.*" That he was a king feared by his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the Majjhima Nikāya (III. 7) that Ajātaśatru, son of Bimbisāra, fortified Rājagriha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.

Magadha, as we have already seen, was ruled by Bimbisāra himself. He maintained friendly relations with his northern and western neighbours. He received an embassy and a letter from Pukkusāti, the king of Gandhāra. When Pradyota was suffering from jaundice the Magadha king sent the physician Jivaka. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the ruling families of Kosala and Vaiśālī. These marriages are of great importance for the history of Magadha. They paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westward and northward. Bimbisāra's Kosalan wife brought a Kāsi village producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Jātaka Nos. 239, 283, 492). According to the Thusa Jātaka (No. 338) and Musika Jātaka (No. 373) the Kosalan princess was the mother of Ajātaśatru. The preface to the Jātakas says "At the time of his (Ajātaśatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra." In the Samyukta Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 110) Pase-nadi of Kosala calls Ajātaśatru his nephew. On page 38 of the Book of the Kindred Sayings Maddā appears as the

name of Ajātaśatru's mother. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, represent Chellanā, daughter of Chetaka of Vaiśālī, as the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. The Nikāyas call Ajātaśatru Vedehiputta. This seems to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaiśālī was situated in Videha. Buddhaghosa, however, resolves "Vedehi" into Veda-Iha, Vedena Ihati or intellectual effort (The Book of the Kindred Sayings, p. 109 n.). In this connection we should remember that even Kosalan monarchs had sometimes the epithet Vaideha (*cf.* Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 190, 491. Para Ātṅnāra is called both Vaideha and Kausalya). It is difficult to come to a final decision with regard to the parentage of the mother of Ajātaśatru from the data at our disposal.

Disarming the hostility of his powerful western and northern neighbours by his shrewd policy, Bimbisāra could devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Aṅga which he annexed after defeating Brahmadaṅga (JASB, 1914, p. 321). The annexation of Aṅga by Bimbisāra is proved by the evidence of the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII, p. 1) and of the Soṇadaṅga Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya in which it is stated that the revenues of the town of Champā have been bestowed by King Bimbisāra on the Brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṅga. We learn from Jaina Sources (Hemachandra, the author of the Sthavirāvalī; *cf.* also the Bhagavatī Sūtra, and the Nirayāvalī Sūtra) that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under a Magadhan prince with Champā as its capital. Thus by war and policy Bimbisāra added Aṅga and a part of Kāśī to the Magadhan dominions, and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kāliṅga. We learn from the Mahāvagga that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseers (Gāmikas) of which used to meet in a great assembly.

Bimbisāra had many sons, namely, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru, Abhaya, Śilavat, Vimala-Koṇḍañña, and Vehalla. Ajātaśatru seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā (Bhagavatī Sūtra, Nirayāvalī Sūtra and the Parisiṣṭaparvaṇ). He is said to have killed his father and seized the entire kingdom.

II. KUṆIKA-AJĀTAŚATRU.

The reign of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was the highwater mark of the power of the Bimbisārian dynasty. He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāsi, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī. The traditional account of his duel with Kosala is given in the Samyutta Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings, pp. 109-110), and the Haritamāta, Vaddhaki-Sūkara, Kummā Sapiṇḍa, Tachchha Sūkara, and the Bhaddasāla Jātakas. It is said that after Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, his father, the queen Kosala Devī died of love for him. Even after her death Ajātaśatru still enjoyed the revenues of the Kāsi village which had been given to the lady Kosalā for bath money. But Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, determined that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance and made war upon Ajātaśatru. Sometimes the uncle got the best of it, and sometimes the nephew. On one occasion the Kosalan monarch fled away in defeat; on another occasion he took Ajātaśatru prisoner. His daughter Vajirā he gave in marriage to his captive nephew and dismissed her with the Kāsi village for her bath money. It is stated in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka that during Pasenadi's absence in a country town, Dīgha Chārāyaṇa, the Commander-in-Chief, raised prince Viḍūḍabha to the throne. The ex-king sent out for Rājagaha, resolved to take his nephew (Ajātaśatru) with him and capture Viḍūḍabha. But he died from exposure outside the gates of Rājagaha.

The traditional account of Ajātaśatru-Kūṇika's war with Vaiśālī is given by Jaina writers. King Seniya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyanaga together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger son Vehalla by his wife Chellanā, the daughter of King Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. His eldest son Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paūmavai demanded from his younger brother the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to his grandfather Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī, Kūṇiya having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitive, commenced war with Cheṭaka (Uvāsagadasāo, II Appendix, p. 7). According to Buddhaghosha's commentary the Sumaṅgala vilāsinī (Burmese Edition, Part II, p. 99) the cause of the war was a breach of trust on the part of the Lichchhavis in connection with a mine of precious gems.

The preliminaries to the struggle between Magadha and Vaiśālī are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. In the Mahāvagga it is related that Sunidha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a fort at Pāṭaligāma in order to repel the Vajjis. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta says "the Blessed One was once dwelling in Rājagaha on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajātaśattu Vedehiputta, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin.'

So he spake to the Brāhmaṇa Vassakāra, the prime minister of Magadha, and said Come now, Brāhmaṇa, do you go to the Blessed One, and ... tell him that Ajātaśatru...has resolved 'I will root out these Vajjians'...

Vassakāra hearkened to the words of the king ...” (and delivered to the Buddha the message even as the king had commanded).

In the Nirayāvali Sūtra it is related that when Kūnika (Ajātaśatru) prepared to attack Chetaka of Vaiśālī the latter called together the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūnika’s demands, or go to war with him. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaiśālī are referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 101. There is thus no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāsi-Kosala on the one hand and Vaiśālī on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāsi-Kosala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. This struggle reminds us of the tussle of the Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls with the rising Roman power.

In the war with Vaiśālī Kūṇiya Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of *Mahūsilākaṇṭaga* and *rahamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men (Uvāsagadasāo, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 60). The *rahamusala* may be compared to the tanks used in the great European war.

The war synchronised with the death of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahāvīra’s death the anti-Magadhan confederacy was still in existence. We learn from the Kalpa Sūtra that

on the death of Mahāvira the confederate kings mentioned in the Nirayāvali Sūtra instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event. The struggle between the Magadha king and the powers arrayed against him thus seems to have been protracted for more than sixteen years. The Atthakathā gives an account of the Machiavellian tactics adopted by Magadha statesmen to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vaiśālians and thus bring about their downfall (*cf.* Modern Review, July 1919, pp. 55-56).

The absorption of Vaiśāli and Kāśī as a result of the Kosalan and Vajjian wars probably brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avanti. We have already referred to a statement of the Majjhima Nikāya that on one occasion Ajātaśatru was fortifying his capital because he was afraid of an invasion of his dominions by Pradyota. We do not know whether the attack was ever made. Ajātaśatru does not appear to have succeeded in humbling Avanti. The conquest of that kingdom was reserved for his successors.

In the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal the Parkham statue is a contemporary portrait of king Ajātaśatru. But this view has not met with general acceptance.

III. AJĀTAŚATRU'S SUCCESSORS.

Ajātaśatru was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by Darśaka. Prof. Geiger considers the insertion of Darśaka after Ajātaśatru to be an error, because the Pāli Canon indubitably asserts that Udāyibhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor. Jaina tradition recorded in the Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan (p. 42) also represents Udāyin as the immediate successor of Kūṇika.

Though the reality of the existence of Darśaka, as king of Magadha, is established by the discovery of Bhāsa's Svapna-Vāsavadatta, yet in the face of Buddhist and

Jaina evidence it cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Nāga-Dāsaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line. The Ceylonese tradition seems to be confirmed by the following passage in Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki*, "To the south-west of the old Saṅghārāma about 100 li is the Saṅghārāma of Ti-lo-shi-kia...It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra raja" (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, p. 102). The name of the second Saṅghārāma was probably derived from that of Darśaka who is here represented as the last descendant of Bimbisāra.

Udāyin : Before his accession to the throne Udāyin or Udāyibhadda, the son of Ajātaśatru, seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champā (Jacobi, *Parīśiṣṭa parvan*, p. 42). The *Parīśiṣṭa parvan* further informs us that he founded a new capital on the bank of the Ganges which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra. This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* according to which Udaya built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign. The *Parīśiṣṭa parvan* (pp. 45-46) refers to the king of Avanti as the enemy of Udāyin. This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that his father had to fortify his capital in expectation of an attack about to be made by Pradyota king of Avanti. The fall of Aṅga and Vaiśālī and the discomfiture of Kosala had left Avanti the only important rival of Magadha. This last kingdom had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of eastern India. On the other hand, if the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney's Translation, Vol. II, p. 484) is to be believed the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was at this time annexed to the realm of Pālaka of Avanti, the successor of Pradyota. The two kingdoms, Magadha and Avanti, were brought face to face with each other. The contest between the two for the

mastery of northern India began, as we have seen, in the reign of Ajātaśatru. It must have continued during the reign of Udāyin. The issue was finally decided in the time of Siśunāga.

In the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal one of the famous "Patna Statues" in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum is a portrait of Udāyin. According to him the statue bears the following words :

Bhage ACHO chhonidhiśe.

He identifies ACHO with king Aja mentioned in the Bhāgavata list of Saiśunāga kings, and with Udāyin of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa lists. Mr. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the inscription have not, however, been accepted by several scholars including Dr. Barnett, and Professors Chanda and Majumdar. Dr. Smith, however, while unwilling to dogmatize, was of opinion that the statue was pre-Maurya. In the third edition of his "Asoka" he considers Mr. Jayaswal's theory as probable.

The characters of the short inscription on the statue are so difficult to read that it is well-nigh impossible to come to a final decision. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved. Cunningham described the statue as that of a Yaksha. According to him the figure bore the words "Yakhe Achusanigika." Prof. Chanda's reading is: Bha (?) ga Achachha nivika (the owner of inexhaustible capital, *i.e.*, Vaiśravaṇa).¹ Dr. Majumdar reads : Gate (Yakhe?) Lechchhai (vi) 40, 4.

Udāyin's successors according to the Purāṇas were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. But the Ceylonese chronicles place after Udaya the kings named Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga Dāsaka. Here again the Ceylonese account is partially confirmed by the Aṅguttara Nikāya

¹ Indian Antiquary, March, 1919.

which refers to Muṇḍa, King of Pāṭaliputra. Prof. Bhandarkar mentions his queen Bhadrādevī and treasurer Priyaka. The Aṅguttara Nīkāya by mentioning Pāṭaliputra as the capital of Muṇḍa indirectly confirms the tradition regarding the transfer of the Magadhan metropolis from Rājagriha to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra.

The Ceylonese chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāga-Dāsaka were parricides. The people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an *amātya* named Susu Nāga (Śiśunāga) to the throne.

The new king seems to have been acting as the Magadhan Viceroy at Benares. The Purāṇas tell us that "placing his son at Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode." The employment of *amātyas* as provincial governors need not cause surprise. The custom was prevalent as late as the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

The Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas proves the correctness of the Ceylonese tradition that he came after Bimbisāra who was a contemporary of Pradyota. In view of this we cannot accept the other Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga was the progenitor of Bimbisāra's family. It may be argued that as Śiśunāga had his capital at Girivraja he must have flourished before Udāyin who was the first to remove the capital to Pāṭaliputra. But the fact that Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, had to retransfer the royal residence from Rājagriha to Pāṭaliputra (SBE, XI, p. xvi) shows that one of his predecessors had reverted to the old capital. Who this predecessor was is made clear by the Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga "will make Girivraja his own abode." The inclusion of Benares within Śiśunāga's dominions also proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśī.

From a statement in the *Mālālakāravatthu*, a Pāli work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, it appears that Śīsunāga had a royal residence at Vaiśālī which ultimately became his capital (SBE, XI, p. xvi). "That monarch (Susunāga), not unmindful of his mother's origin, re-established the city of Vesālī, and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagaha lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered." This passage which says that Rājagriha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śīsunāga, proves that Śīsunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagriha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātasātru.

The most important achievement of Śīsunāga seems to have been the annihilation of the power and prestige of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti. Pradyota, the first king of the line, had been succeeded by Pālaka after whom came Āryaka. The Purāṇas place after Āryaka or Ajaka a king named Nandivardhana, or Vartivardhana (Avantiwardhana?), and add that Śīsunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and be king. Mr. Jayaswal identifies Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti list with Aja-Udāyin and Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list of Śīsunāga kings. But Prof. Bhandarkar says that Āryaka or Ajaka was the son of Gopāla, the elder brother of Pālaka. The important thing to remember is that the Pradyota dynasty was humbled by Śīsunāga. Whether the Śīsunāga occupation of Avanti took place immediately after Pālaka, or two generations later, is immaterial.

Śīsunāga was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by his son Kākavarṇa, according to the Ceylonese chronicles by his son Kālāsoka. Professors Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar suggest that Kālāsoka, "the black Aśoka" and Kākavarṇa, "the crow-coloured" are one and the same person. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence

of the Aśokāvadāna which places Kākavarṇin after Muṇḍa, and does not mention Kālāśoka (Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. xli). The two most important events of the reign of Kālāśoka are the holding of the Second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī, and the retransfer of the capital to Pāṭaliputra. Bāṇa in his Harshacharita (edited by Kāsināth Pāṇḍuraṅg Parab, p. 223) gives a curious legend concerning the death of Kākavarṇa (Kālāśoka). It is stated there that Kākavarṇa Śāisunāgi had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The story about the tragic end of Kākavarṇa-Kālāśoka is, as we shall see later, confirmed by Greek evidence.

The successors of Kālāśoka were his ten sons who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. Their names according to the Mahābodhivamsa were Bhadrāsena, Korāṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañchamaka. Prof. Bhandarkar suggests that Nandivardhana of the Mahābodhivamsa is most probably Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list. Mr. Jayaswal says that the headless Patna statue in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum is a portrait of this king. According to him the inscription on the statue is as follows :—

Sapa (or Sava) khate Vaṭa Nāṁdi.

He regards Vaṭa Nāṁdi as an abbreviation of Vartivardhana (the name of Nandivardhana in the Vāyu list) and Nandivardhana. Mr. R. D. Banerji in the June number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, says that there cannot be two opinions about the reading Vaṭa Nāṁdi. Prof. Chanda, however, regards the statue in question as an image of a Yaksha and reads the inscription which it bears as follows :—

Yakha sa (?) rvaṭa nāṁdi.

Dr. Majumdar says that the inscription may be read as follows:—

Yakhe saṁ Vajināṁ 70.

He places the inscription in the second century A. D., and supports the Yaksha theory propounded by Cunningham and upheld by Prof. Chanda. He does not agree with those scholars who conclude that the statue is a portrait of a Śāisunāga sovereign simply because there are some letters in the inscription under discussion which may be construed as a name of a Śāisunāga. Referring to Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the form Vaṭa Naṁdi is composed of two variant proper names (Vartivardhana and Naṁdivardhana) he says that Chandragupta II was also known as Devagupta, and Vighrahapāla had a second name Śūrapala; but who has ever heard of compound names like Chandra-Deva or Deva-Chandra, and Śūra-Vighraha or Vighraha-Śūra?

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī takes Vaṭa Naṁdi to mean Vrātya Naṁdi and says that the statue has most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the Vrātya Kshatriya. In the Purāṇas the Śīsūnāga kings are mentioned as Kshattrabandhus, *i. e.*, Vrātya Kshatriyas. The Mahāmahopādhyāya thus inclines to the view of Mr. Jayaswal that the statue in question is a portrait of a Śāisunāga king.¹

Mr. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly regards the statue as a Yaksha image, and draws our attention to the catalogue of Yakshas in the Mahāmāyuri and the passage "Nandi cha Vardhanaś chaiva nagare Nandivardhane."² Dr. Barnett is also not satisfied that the four syllables which may be read as Vaṭa Naṁdi mention the name of a Śāisunāga king. Dr. Smith however in the third edition of his "Asoka" admits the possibility

¹ JBORS, December, 1919.

² Modern Review, October, 1919.

of Mr. Jayaswal's contention. We regard the problem as still unsolved. The data at our disposal are too scanty to warrant the conclusion that the inscription on the Patna statue mentions a Śaisunāga king. The script seems to be late.

Messrs. R. D. Banerji and Jayaswal propose to identify Nandivardhana, the Śaisunāga king, with Nandarāja mentioned in the Hāthigūphā inscription of Khāravela king of Kalinga. One of the passages containing the name of Nandarāja runs thus:—

Pamchame cha dāni vase Na (m) da-rāja-tivasasata-o (ghā?) titam Tanasuliyavātā panādim nagaram pavesa...

“In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 (or 103) years since king Nanda conducted into the city.”

Nandivardhana is identified with Nanda on the strength of Kshemendra's reference to the Pūrvanandāḥ who, we are told, should be distinguished from the Navanandāḥ or Later Nandas, and identified with Nandivardhana and Mahānandin (The Oxford History of India, Additions and Corrections). In the Kathā Sarit-Sāgara, however, Pūrvananda is distinguished, not from the Navanandāḥ, but from Yogananda. The Purāṇas and the Ceylonese authorities know of the existence of only one Nanda line. The Purāṇas and the Mahābodhivaṃsa represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Śaisunāga line—a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas. Moreover, as Prof. Chanda points out (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, p. 11), the Purāṇas contain nothing to show that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kalinga. On the contrary we are distinctly told by those authorities that when the kings of the Śaisunāga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha 32 kings reigned in Kalinga in succession synchronously. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is

said to have brought "all under his sole sway" and "uprooted all Kshatriyas." So we should identify Namdarāja of the Hāthigumphā inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons.

We learn from the Purānas as well as the Ceylonese Chronicles that the Śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the Nanda line.

IV. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE BIMBISĀRA-ŚĪSUNĀGA GROUP.

There is considerable disagreement between the Purānas and the Ceylonese Chronicles regarding the chronology of the kings of the Bimbisārian (or Nāga) and Śaiśunāga dynasties. Even Dr. Smith is not disposed to accept all the dates given in the Purānas. Prof Bhandarkar observes (Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 68) "they (the Purānas) assign a period of 363 years to ten consecutive reigns, *i. e.*, at least 36 years to each reign which is quite preposterous." According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Bimbisāra ruled for fifty-two years, Ajātaśatru for 32 years, Udaya for 16 years, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa for 8 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Susunāga for 18 years, Kālāśoka for 28 years, and Kālāśoka's sons for 22 years. Gautama Buddha died when Ajātaśatru was on the throne for 8 years (Carm. Lec., p. 70), *i. e.*, $52+8=60$ years after the accession of Bimbisāra. Fleet and Geiger adduce good grounds for believing that the Parinirvāna really took place in 483 B. C. (JRAS, 1909, pp. 1-34; Geiger, *Mahāvamsā*, p. xxviii). Adding 60 to 483 B. C. we get the year 543 B. C. as the date of the accession of Bimbisāra. In the time of Bimbisāra Gandhāra was an independent kingdom ruled by a king named Pukkusāti. By B. C. 516 Gandhāra had lost its independence and had become subject to Persia, as we know from the Behistun

inscription of Darius. It is thus clear that Pūkkusāti and his contemporary Bimbisāra lived before B. C. 516. This accords with the chronology which places his accession in B. C. 543. Curiously enough this is the starting point of one of the traditional Nirvāna eras. Prof. Geiger shows that the dates 544 (543 according to some scholars) and 483 were starting points of two distinct eras. He proves that in Ceylon down to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. the Nirvāna era was reckoned from 483 B. C. There can thus be no doubt that the era of 483 B. C. was the real Nirvāna era. What then was the origin of the era of 544 or 543 B. C.? It is not altogether improbable that this era was reckoned from the accession of Bimbisāra, and was at first current in Magadha. Later on it travelled to distant lands including Ceylon and was confounded with the Nirvāna era of 483 B. C. Then the real Nirvāna era fell into disuse, and the era of 544 B. C. came to occupy its place.

V. THE NANDAS.

We have seen that the Śāisunāga dynasty was supplanted by the line of Nanda. The name of the first Nanda was Mahāpadma according to the Purāṇas, and Ugrasena according to the Mahābodhivaṃsa. The Purāṇas describe him as Śūdragarbhodbhava, *i. e.*, born of a Śūdra mother. The Jaina Parisiṣṭaparvan (p. 46) represents Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical accounts of the father of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary. Curtius says (McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222) "His (Agrammes', *i. e.*, the last Nanda's) father (*i. e.*, the first Nanda) was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the

queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign; and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king." The murdered sovereign seems to have been Kālāsoka-Kākavarṇa who had a tragic end as we know from the Harshacharita. Kākavarṇa Śāisunāgi, says Bāṇa, had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The young princes referred to by Curtius were evidently the sons of Kālāsoka-Kākavarṇa. The Greek account of the rise of the family of Agrammes fits in well with the Ceylonese account of the end of the Śāisunāga line and the rise of the Nandas, but not with the Purāṇic story which represents the first Nanda as a son of the last Śāisunāga by a Śūdra woman, and makes no mention of the young princes. The name Agrammes is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena." Ugrasena is, as we have seen, the name of the first Nanda according to the Mahābodhi-vaṃsa. His son may aptly be termed Augrasainya which the Greeks corrupted into Agrammes and later on into Xandrames.

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas call Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas (Sarva Kshatrāntaka) and sole monarch (ekarāt) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway which terms imply that he overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Śāisunāgas, viz., the Ikshvākus, Haihayas, Kalingas, Āsmakas, Śūrasenas, etc. The Purāṇic account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the Beas in the time of

Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibothra (Pataliputra). The inclusion of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney's Translation, p. 21) which refers to the camp of king Nanda in Ayodhyā. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas (Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 3). But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and too much cannot be built upon their statements. More important is the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela which mentions Nandarāja in connection with an aqueduct of Kaliṅga. The passage in the inscription seems to imply that Nandarāja held sway in Kaliṅga. A second passage of Khāravela's inscription seems to state that king Nanda carried away as trophies the statue (or footprints) of the first Jina and heirlooms of the Kaliṅga kings to Magadha (JBORS, 1917, December, pp. 447, 457-458). In view of Nanda's possession of Kaliṅga, the conquest of regions lying further south does not seem to be altogether improbable.

The Matsya Purāṇa assigns 88 years to the reign of the first Nanda, but 88 (Ashtāṣīti) is probably a mistake for 28 (Ashtāvīmśati), as the Vāyu assigns only 28 years. According to Tāranāth Nanda reigned 29 years (Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 362). According to the Ceylonese accounts the Nandas ruled only for 22 years.

Mahāpadma-Ugrasena was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled for twelve years according to the Purāṇas. The Ceylonese Chronicles, as we have already seen, give the total length of the reign-period of all the nine Nandas as 22 years. The Purāṇas mention only the name of one son of Mahāpadma, *viz.*, Sukalpa. The Mahābodhivaṃsa gives the following names, Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla,

Rāshtrapāla, Govishāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana. The last king is called by the classical writers Agrammes or Xandrames. Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably the Greek corruption of the Sanskrit patronymic Auṅrasainya.

The first Nanda left to his sons not only a big empire but also a large army and a full exchequer. Curtius tells us that Agrammes king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which, he said, ran up to the number of 3,000. Diodorus and Plutarch give similar accounts. But they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively.

The enormous wealth of the Nandas is referred to by several writers. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar points out (*Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89) that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas "which having accumulated first in Pātali, hid itself in the floods of the Ganges." The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang refers to "the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances." A passage of the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* says (Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21) that king Nanda possessed 990 millions of gold pieces.

The *Ashtādhyayī* of Pāṇini, translated by Mr. S. C. Vasu contains a rule (*Sūtra* II. 4. 21) as an illustration of which the following passage is cited :

Nandopakramāni mānāni.

This indicates that one of the Nanda kings was credited with the invention of a particular kind of measures.

We learn from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Mudrārākshasa* that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Kautilya the famous

minister of Chandragupta Maurya. No detailed account of this great dynastic revolution has survived. The accumulation of an enormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion. Moreover, we are told by the classical writers that Agrammes (the last Nanda) "was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne" (M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222).

The Purānic passage about the revolution stands as follows :

Uddharishyati tān sarvān
 Kauṭilyo vai dvir ashtaḅhiḥ
 Kauṭilyaś Chandraguptam tu
 'Tato rājye' bhishekshyati.

Mr. Jayaswal (*Ind. Ant.*, 1914, p. 124) proposes to read *Virashṭrābhiḥ* instead of *dvirashtaḅhiḥ*. *Virashṭrās* he takes to mean the *Āraṭṭas*, and adds that Kauṭilya was helped by the *Āraṭṭas* "the band of robbers" of Justin.

The *Milinda-Pañho* (*cf.* *SBE.*, XXXVI, pp. 147-48) refers to an episode of the great struggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas : "there was Bhaddasāla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandagutta. Now in that war, Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpse dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses, and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred koṭis of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battlefield." The passage contains a good deal of what is untrustworthy. But we have here a reminiscence of the bloody encounter between the contending forces of the Nandas and the Mauryas (*cf.* *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, p. 124 n.).

THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS.

While the kingdoms and republics of the Indian interior were gradually being merged in the Magadha Empire, those of North-West India were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. In the first half of the sixth century B. C. the Uttarāpatha beyond the Madhyadeśa, like the rest of India, was parcelled out into a number of small states the most important of which were Gandhāra and Kamboja. No sovereign arose in this part of India capable of welding together the warring communities, as Ugrasena-Mahāpadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited, and formed the natural prey of the strong Achæmenian monarchy which grew up in Persia.

Kurush or Cyrus (558-529 B.C.) the founder of the Persian Empire is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia but had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only (H. and F. Strabo, III., p. 74). But he was more successful in the Kābul valley. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśa. Arrian informs us (Chinnock's Edition, p. 399) that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kābul) is inhabited by the Astaceniens (Aśvātakas, ? Mbh. VI. 51) and the Assaceniens (Aśmakas), Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus the son of Cambyses as ruler of their land." Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kshudrakas) from India (*i.e.*, the Pañjāb) to attend them as mercenaries.

In the Behistun inscription¹ of Dārayavaush or Darius, (522-486 B.C.), the third sovereign of the Achæmenian dynasty, the people of Gandhāra (Gadāra) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire. But no mention is there made of the Hidus (people of the Indus Valley) who are included with the Gandhārians in the lists of subject peoples given by the inscriptions on the palace of Darius at Persepolis, and on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustum.¹ From this Rapson infers that the Indians (Hidus) were conquered at some date between 516 B. C., (the date of the Behistun inscription) and the end of the reign of Darius in 486 B. C. The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 4-5) "he (Darius) being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Paktyike sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phœnicians, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea."

Herodotus tells us that "India" constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest, 360 talents of gold dust. Gandhāra was included in the seventh satrapy. The details regarding India left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus valley and was bounded on the

¹ *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achæmenian Inscriptions* by H. C. Tolman.

east by the desert of Rājaputāna. "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands."

Khshayārshā or Xerxes (486-464 B.C.), the son and successor of Darius, maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhāra and "India" were represented. The Gandhārians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. An interesting relic of Persian influence in India is a Taxila inscription in Aramaic characters of the fourth or fifth century B.C. (JRAS., 1915, pp. 340-47).

Indians figured in the army which Darius Codomannus (335-330 B.C.) led against Alexander. "The Indians who were conterminous with the Bactrians, as also the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdianians had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command of Bessus, the Viceroy of the land of Bactria. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia. These were not subject to Bessus but were in alliance with Darius....Barsaentes, the Viceroy of Arachotia, led the Arachotians and the men who were called mountaineer Indians...There were a few Elephants, about fifteen in number, belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela."¹ The hold of the Achæmenians on the Indian provinces had, however, grown very feeble about this time, and the whole of north-western India was parcelled out into

¹ Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis, pp. 142-143.

innumerable kingdoms and republics. A list of the more important among these states is given below :—

1. The Aspasian territory :

It lay in the difficult hill country north of the Kābul river. The chieftain of the Aspasians dwelt in a city on or near the river Euaspla, supposed to be identical with the Kunār, a tributary of the Kābul. Other Aspasian cities were Andaca and Arigaeum.¹

2. The country of the Guræans :

It was washed by the river Guræus (Pañjkora) and lay between the land of the Aspasians and the country of the Assakenians.

3. The kingdom of Assakenus :

It had its capital at Massaga a “formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass but not yet precisely identified.” The name of the Assakenians represents the Sanskrit Aśvaka or Aśmaka. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 173). They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Bṛihat Saṁhitā. A branch of this people probably settled in the Deccan, and gave their name to the Assaka Mahājana-pada mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. The Assakenian king had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry, and 30 elephants. The reigning king at the time of Alexander’s invasion is called by the Greeks Assakenos. His mother was Kleophis. Assakenos had a brother (Invasion of Alexander, p. 378) called Eryx by Curtius and Aphrikes by Diodoros.

4. Peukelaotis :

It lay on the road from Kābul to the Indus. Arrian tells us (Chinnock’s Edition, p. 403) that the Kābul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis, taking with

¹ Chinnock’s *Arrian* pp. 230-231.

itself the Malantus, Soastus and Guraeus. Peukelaotis represents the Sanskrit Pushkarāvati. It formed the western part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra. The capital is represented by the modern Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river, the Soastus of Arrian, and the Suvāstu of the Vedic texts.

The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion was Astes (Hasti?).¹ He was defeated and killed by Hephaestion, a general of the Macedonian king.

5. Nysa :

It was a small hill state with a republican constitution. It was alleged to have been founded by Greek colonists long before the invasion of Alexander.² Arrian says (Chinnock's Edition, p. 399) "the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came into India with Dionysus." Curiously enough a Yona or Greek state is mentioned along with Kamboja in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 149) as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana.

According to Holdich the lower spurs and valleys of Koh-i-Mor are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood. At the time of Alexander's invasion the Nysaeans had Akouphis for their President. They had a Governing Body of 300 members (Invasion of Alexander, p. 81).

6. Taxila or Takshaśilā :

Strabo says (H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 90) "between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jihlam) was Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile." The kingdom of Taxila formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra.

¹ Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica, p. 228.

² M'Crindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 79; Hamilton and Falconer, Strabo, Vol. III, p. 76.

In B.C. 327 the Taxilian throne was occupied by a prince whom the Greeks called Taxiles. When Alexander of Macedon arrived in the Kābul valley he sent a herald to Taxiles to bid him come and meet him. Taxiles accordingly did come to meet him, bringing valuable gifts. When he died his son Mophis or Omphis (Sanskrit Āmbhi) succeeded to the government. Curiously enough Kauṭilya, the famous minister, refers to a school of political philosophers called Āmbhiyas, and Dr. F. W. Thomas connects them with Taxila (Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra, Introduction, p. 15).

7. Abhisāra :

Strabo says (H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 90) that the kingdom was situated among the mountains above the Taxila country. The position of this state was correctly defined by Stein who observed that Dārvābhisāra (*cf.* Mbh. VII. 91.43) comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jihlam and the Chināb. Abisares, the contemporary of Alexander, was a shrewd politician of the type of Charles Emanuel III of Sardinia. When the Macedonian invader arrived he informed him that he was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and the famous Poros, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276).

8. The kingdom of Arsakes :

It represents the Sanskrit Uraśā, the modern Hazāra district. It adjoined the realm of Abisares.

9. The kingdom of the Elder Poros :

It lay between the Jihlam and the Chināb and roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Jihlam, Guzraṭ and Shāhpur. Strabo tells us (H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 91), that it was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities. Diodoros informs us (Invasion of

Alexander, p. 274) that Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, above 3,000 horse, about 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was in alliance with Embisaros, *i.e.*, the king of Abhisāra.

Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Pūru or Paurava. In the Rig Veda the Pūrus are expressly mentioned as on the Sarasvatī. In the time of Alexander we find them on the Hydaspes (Jihlam). The Mahābhārata also refers to a "Puram Paurava-rakshitam" which lay not far from Kaśmīra (Sabhā, 27, 15-17). It is suggested in the Vedic Index (Vol. II, pp. 12-13) that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others had wandered east, or the later Pūrus represent a successful onslaught upon the west from the east.

10. The country of the people called Glauganicians by Aristobulus, Glausians (Govāsas? Mbh. VIII. 73.17) by Ptolemy:

This country was conterminous with the dominion of Poros (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276).

11. Gandaris:

It lay between the Chināb and the Rāvi and probably represented the easternmost part of the old Mahājanapada of Gandhāra. It was ruled by the Younger Poros, nephew of the monarch who ruled the territory between the Jihlam and the Chināb.

12. The Adraistai (Adrijas? Mbh. VII. 159. 5):

They dwelt on the eastern side of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi, and their main stronghold was Pimprama.

13. Kathaioi or Cathaeans:

Strabo says (H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 92) "some writers place Cathaia and the country of Sopeithes, one of the nomarchs, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines, *i.e.*, the Jihlam and the Chināb); some on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hyarotis, on the

confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander." The Kathaioi probably represent the Sanskrit Kantha (Pāṇini, II. 4. 20) or Krātha (Mbh. VIII. 85.16). They were the head of the confederacy of independent tribes dwelling in the territory of which the centre was Sāngala. This town was probably situated in the Gurudāspur district, not far from Fathgarh (JRAS., 1903, p. 687).

The Kathaians enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war. Onesikritos tells us that in Kathaia the handsomest man was chosen as king (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 38).

14. The kingdom of Sophytes (Saubhūti) :

In the opinion of Smith, the position of this kingdom is fixed by the remark of Strabo (H. & F.'s Ed. III, p. 93) that it included a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India; Sophytes was therefore the "lord of the fastnesses of the Salt Range stretching from Jihlam to the Indus." But we have already seen that the classical writers agree in placing Sophytes' kingdom east of the Jiham. Curtius tells us (*Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 219) that the nation ruled by Sopeithes (Sophytes), in the opinion of the "barbarians," excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs. They did not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants might direct, for if they remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed. In contracting marriages they did not seek an alliance with high birth, but made their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children was highly appreciated. Strabo informs us (H. & F. III, p. 93) that the dogs in the territory of Sopeithes (Sophytes) were

said to possess remarkable courage. We have some coins of Sophytes bearing on the obverse the head of the king, and on the reverse the figure of a cock. Strabo calls Sophytes a nomarch which probably indicates that he was not an independent sovereign, but only a viceroy of some other king.

15. The kingdom of Phegelas or Phegeus :

It lay between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias). The name of the king Phegelas, probably represents the Sanskrit Bhagala—the name of a royal race of Kshatriyas mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha (Invasion of Alexander, p. 401).

16. The Siboi :

They were the inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang. They were probably identical with the Śiva people mentioned in a passage of the Rig Veda (VII. 18.7) where they share with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānases, and Viṣāṇins the honour of being defeated by Sudās (Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 381-382). The Jātakas mention a Sivi country and its cities Aritṭhapura (Ummadanti Jātaka, No. 527; cf. Pāṇini VI. 2. 100) and Jetuttara (Vessantara Jātaka No. 547). It is probable that Śiva, Śivi and Siboi were one and the same people. A place called Śiva-pura, is mentioned by the Scholiast on Pāṇini as situated in the northern country (Ved. Ind., II, p. 382). It is, doubtless, identical with Śibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription edited by Vogel. In the opinion of that scholar the mound of Shorkot marks the site of this city of the Śibis. (Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 16.)

The Siboi dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons. The nation had 40,000 foot soldiers in the time of Alexander.

The Mahābhārata (III. 130-131) refers to a *rāshtra* of the Śivis ruled by king Uśnara, which lay not far from the Yamunā. It is not altogether improbable that

the Uśinara country (*vide* pp. 27, 28 *ante*) was at one time the home of the Śivis. We find them also in Madhyamikā in Rājaputāna (Carm. Lec. 1918, p. 173).

17. The Agalassoī :

They lived near the Siboi.

18. The Sudracae or Oxydrakai :

They dwelt on the banks of the Hyphasis (Bias). Their name represents the Sanskrit Kshudraka (Mbh. VII. 68.9).

19. The Malloi :

They occupied the valley of the Hydraotes (Rāvi), on both banks of the river. Their name represents the Sanskrit Mālava. Weber informs us that Āpiśali, one of the teachers cited by Pāṇini, speaks of the formation of the compound—"Kshaudraka-Mālavā." Dr. Smith pointed out that the Mahābhārata coupled the tribes in question as forming part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra war (EHL., 1914, p. 94 n; Mbh. VI. 59.135). Curtius tells us (Invasion of Alexander, p. 234) that the Sudracae and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Pāṇini refers to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms (Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 200). In later times the Mālavas are found in Rājaputāna, Avanti and the Māhī valley.

20. The Abastanoi :

Diodorus calls them the Sambastai (Invasion of Alexander, p. 292), Arrian Abastanoi, Curtius Sabarcae, and Orosius Sabagrae. They were settled on the lower Akesines. Their name represents the Sanskrit Ambashṭha. The Ambashṭhas are mentioned in several Sanskrit works. An Ambashṭha king is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21) whose priest was Nārada. The Mahābhārata (II. 52. 14-15) mentions the Ambashṭhas along with the Śivis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes. In the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra (Ed. F. W. Thomas

p. 21) the Ambashṭha country is mentioned in conjunction with Sind :

Kāsmīra-Hūh-Āmbashṭha-Sindhavaḥ.

In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 109) an Ambaṭṭha is called a Brāhmaṇa. In the Smṛiti literature, on the other hand, Ambashṭha denotes a man of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya parentage. According to Jātaka IV. 363 the Ambaṭṭhas were farmers. It seems that the Ambashṭhas were a tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, *viz.*, those of priests, farmers, and according to the Smṛiti writers, physicians (Ambashṭhānām chikitsitam, Manu, X. 47).

In the time of Alexander the Ambashṭhas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots (Invasion of Alexander, p. 252).

21. The Xathroi and the Ossadioi :

The Xathroi are according to M'Crindle (Invasion of Alexander, p. 156 n.) the Kshatri of Sanskrit mentioned in the Laws of Manu as an impure tribe, being of mixed origin. V. de Saint-Martin suggests that in the Ossadioi we have the Vaśāti of the Mahābhārata (VII. 19.11; 89.37; VIII. 44.46).

22. The Sodrai (Sogdoi) and the Massanoi (occupying N. Sind).

23. The kingdom of Mousikanos :

It included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district. The following peculiarities of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Mousikanos are noticed by Strabo (H. and F., III, p. 96) :

“The following are their peculiarities: to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold nor silver, although

they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like, to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

From the account left by Arrian it appears that the "Brachmans," *i. e.*, the Brāhmaṇas exercised considerable influence in the country. They were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invader (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 319).

24. The principality of Oxykanos:

Curtius calls the subjects of Oxykanos the Praesti (Proshthas? Mbh. VI. 9.61). Oxykanos himself is called both by Strabo and Diodoros Portikanos. Cunningham places his territory to the west of the Indus in the level country around Larkhāna (Invasion of Alexander, p. 158).

25. The principality of Sambos:

Sambos was the ruler of a mountainous country adjoining the kingdom of Mousikanos, with whom he was at feud. His capital, called Sindimana, has been identified with Sehwan, a city on the Indus (M'Crindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 404).

26. Patalene:

It was the Indus delta, and took its name from the capital city, Patala, at or near the site of Brāhmaṇābād.

Diodorus tells us (Inv. Alex., p. 296) that Tauala (Patala) had a political constitution drawn on the same

lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. One of the kings in the time of Alexander was called Moeres (Inv. Alex., p. 256).

The states described above had little tendency to unity or combination. Curtius tells us (Inv. Alex., p. 202) that Āmbhi, king of Taxila, was at war with Abisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abisares were not only enemies of Taxila but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes. On one occasion the two kings marched against the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 279). Arrian further tells us that the relations between Poros and his nephew were far from friendly. Sambos and Mousikanos were also on hostile terms. Owing to these struggles and dissensions amongst the petty states, an invader had no common resistance to fear; and he could be assured that many would welcome him out of hatred for their neighbours.

The Nandas of Magadha do not appear to have made any attempt to subjugate these states of the Uttarāpatha. The task of reducing them was reserved for a foreign conqueror, *viz.*, Alexander of Macedon. The tale of Alexander's conquest has been told by many historians including Arrian, Q. Curtius Rufus, Diodoros Siculus, Plutarch and Justin. We learn from Curtius that Scythians and Dahae served in the Macedonian army (Inv. Alex., p. 208). The expedition led by Alexander was thus a combined Śaka-Yavana expedition. The invader met with no such general confederacy of the native powers like the one formed by the East Indian states against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. On the contrary he obtained assistance from many important chiefs like Āmbhi of Taxila, Sangaesus (Sañjaya?) of Pushkarāvati, Kophaeos or Cophaeus, Assagetes (Aśvajit?), Sisikottos (Śaśigupta)

who got as his reward the satrapy of the Assakenians (Inv. Alex., p. 112). The only princes or peoples who thought of combining against the invader were Poros and Abisares, and the Mālavas (Malloi), Kshudrakas (Oxydrakai), and the neighbouring autonomous tribes. Even in the latter case personal jealousies prevented any effective results. Alexander met with stubborn resistance from individual chiefs and clans, notably from Astes (Hasti?), the Aspasiens, the Assakenians, the elder Poros, the Kathaians, the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, and the Brāhmaṇas of the kingdom of Mousikanos. Massaga, the stronghold of the Assakenians, was stormed with great difficulty, Poros was defeated on the banks of the Hydaspes (B. C. 326), the Malloi and the Oxydrakai were also no doubt crushed. But Alexander found that his Indian antagonists were different from the effete troops of Persia. Diodoros informs us (Inv. Alex., p. 270) that at Massaga, where Alexander treacherously massacred the mercenaries, "the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men." Poros, when he saw most of his forces scattered, his elephants lying dead or straying riderless, did not flee—as Darius Codomannus had twice fled—but remained fighting, seated on an elephant of commanding height, and received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner (*cf.* Bury, Greece, pp. 428-429). The Malloi almost succeeded in killing the Macedonian king. But all this was of no avail. A disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the Hellenic world led by the greatest captain of ancient Europe. Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian satrapies of Gandhāra and "India," but was unable to try conclusions with Agrammes king of the Gangaridæ and the Prasii, *i. e.*, the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them

very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover they were afraid of the "Gandaritai and the Praisiai" who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania he received a report that his satrap Philippos had been murdered. Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The departure of Eudemos (cir. 317 B. C.) marks the final collapse of the Macedonian attempt to establish an empire in India.

The only permanent effect of Alexander's raid seems to have been the establishment of a number of Yona settlements in the Uttarāpatha. The most important of these settlements were :

1. The city of Alexandria in the land of the Parapanisadae, *i. e.*, the Kābul region.
2. Nikaia, where the battle with Poros took place.
3. Boukephala, on the spot whence the Macedonian king had started to cross the Hydaspes (Jihlam).
4. Alexandria in Sind, in the vicinity of the countries of the Sodrai or Sogdoi, and Massanoi, who occupied the banks of the Indus (Inv. Alex., pp. 293, 354).

Aśoka recognised the existence of Yona settlers on the northern fringe of his empire. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea (Schoff's Ed., p. 41). One of the Alexandrias (Alasanda) is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa (Geiger's Ed., p. 194).

Alexander's invasion produced one indirect result. It helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of north-west India, just as the Danish invasion helped the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia. If Ugrasena-Mahāpadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the north-west.

THE MAURYA EMPIRE; THE ERA OF DIGVIJAYA

I. THE REIGN OF CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA.

In B. C. 326 the flood of Macedonian invasion had overwhelmed the Indian states of the Pañjāb, and was threatening to burst upon the Madhyadeśa. Agrammes was confronted with a crisis not unlike that which Arminius had to face when Varus carried the Roman Eagle to the Teutoburg Forest, or which Charles Martel had to face when the Saracens carried the Crescent to the field of Tours. The question whether India was, or was not, to be Hellenized awaited decision.

Agrammes was fortunate enough to escape the onslaught of Alexander. But it is doubtful whether he had the ability or perhaps the inclination to play the part of an Arminius or a Charles Martel, had the occasion arisen. But there was at this time another Indian who was made of a different stuff. This was Chandragupta, the Sandrocottus of the classical writers. The rise of Chandragupta is thus described by Justin (Watson's Ed., p. 142) :

“India after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus. This man was of mean origin but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for having offended Alexander by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first

prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity he drew together a band of robbers, and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty. Sometime after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as tamed down to gentleness, took him on his back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus having thus acquired a throne was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

The above account, shorn of its marvellous element, amounts to this, that Chandragupta, a man of non-monarchical rank, placed himself at the head of the Indians who chafed under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of India. The verdict of the battle of the Hydaspes was thus reversed.

The ancestry of Chandragupta is not known for certain. Hindu tradition connects him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Jaina tradition recorded in the *Parisishtaparvan* (p. 56) represents him as the son of a daughter of the chief of the village of Mayuraposhaka. The *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's Translation, p. 27) calls him a scion of the Moriya clan. In the *Divyāvādāna* (Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 370) Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be a Kshatriya Mūrdhābhishikta. In the same work (p. 409) Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, calls himself a Kshatriya. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (SBE. XI, pp. 134-35) the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. As the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* is the most ancient of the works referred to above, and as it belongs to the early Buddhist period its evidence must be accepted as authentic. It is, therefore, practically

certain that Chandragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community, *viz.*, the Moriya (Maurya) clan.

In the sixth century B. C. the Moriyas were the ruling clan of the little republic of Pippalivana. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan empire along with the other states of Eastern India. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of Chandragupta. The Moriyas were no longer ruler, and were merely Magadhan subjects. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Justin calls Chandragupta a man of humble origin. Plutarch, as well as Justin, informs us that Chandragupta paid a visit to Alexander. Plutarch says (Life of Alexander, LXII) "Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition." From this passage it is not unreasonable to infer that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rānā Sangrāma Sinha who invited Bābar to put an end to the rule of Ibrāhim Lodi. Apparently Chandragupta found Alexander as great a tyrant as Agrammes, for we learn from Justin that the Macedonian king did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech. Chandragupta apparently thought of ridding his country of both the tyrants, Macedonian as well as Indian. With the help of Kauṭilya, also called Chāṇakya or Vishnugupta, he overthrew the infamous Nanda. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Chandragupta and the last Nanda are preserved in the

Milindapañho, the Purānas, the Mudrārākshasa and the Jaina Parisiṣṭaparvan. The Milindapañho (SBE, Vol. XXXVI, p. 147) tells us that the Nanda army was commanded by Bhaddasāla. The Nanda troops were evidently defeated with great slaughter, an exaggerated account of which is preserved in the Milindapañho.

"Sometime after" his acquisition of sovereignty, Chandragupta went to war with the prefects or generals of Alexander (*cf.* Smith, Asoka, third edition, p. 14 n.) and crushed their power.

The overthrow of the Nandas, and the liberation of the Pañjāb were not the only achievements of the great Maurya. Plutarch tells us (Alex. LXII) that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Justin also informs us that he was "in possession of India." In his "Beginnings of South Indian History," Chapter II, Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar shows that Māmulanār, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevely district. The statements of this author are supported by Paraṇar or Param Koṛṇanār and Kallil Āttiraiyanār. The advanced party of the invasion was composed of a warlike people called Kośar (Kośalas?). The invaders advanced from the Konkan passing the hills Elilmalai, about sixteen miles north of Cannanore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district, ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill. Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression "Vamba Moriyar" or Maurya upstarts (Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89) would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, *i.e.*, Chandragupta was meant.

Certain Mysore Inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in north Mysore. Thus one inscription says that

Nāgakhanda in the Shikarpur Taluq was protected by the wise Chandragupta, "an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas" (Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10). This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Māmulanār, and the Mysore inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together they seem to suggest that the first Maurya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India.

Whatever we may think of Chandragupta's connection with Southern India, there can be no doubt that he pushed his conquests as far as Surāshtra in Western India. The Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman refers to his Rāshṭriya, or High Commissioner, Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who constructed the famous Sudarśana Lake.

The Seleukidan War.

We learn from Justin (Watson's Ed., p. 143) that when Chandragupta was in possession of India Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was the son of Antiochus, a distinguished general of Philip of Macedon, and his wife Laodice. After the division of the Macedonian Empire among the followers of Alexander he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon, and then, his strength being increased by this success, subdued the Bactrians. He next made an expedition into India. Appianus says (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI, p. 114) that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. Justin also says that after making a league with Chandragupta, and settling his affairs in the east, Seleukos proceeded to join in the war against

Antigonus. Plutarch supplies us with the information that Chandragupta presented 500 elephants to Seleukos. More important details are given by Strabo who says (H. & F., III, p. 125):

“The Indians occupy (in part) some of the countries situated along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians: Alexander deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in turn 500 elephants.”
 “The Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians.” *Ibid*, p. 78.

It will be seen that the classical writers do not give any detailed record of the actual conflict between Seleukos and Chandragupta. They merely speak of the results. There can be no doubt that the invader could not make much headway, and concluded an alliance which was cemented by a marriage contract. In his *Aśoka* (Third Ed., p. 15) Dr. Smith rightly observes that the current notion that the Syrian king ‘gave his daughter in marriage’ to Chandragupta is not warranted by the evidence, which testifies merely to a ‘matrimonial alliance.’ The Indian Emperor obtained some of the countries situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians, together with the larger portion of Ariana, giving in exchange the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants. Dr. Smith adduces good grounds for believing that the territory ceded by the Syrian king included the four satrapies. Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Parapanisadai, i. e., Herāt, Kandahār, Makrān and Kābul. The inclusion of the Kābul valley within the Maurya Empire is proved by the inscriptions of Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, which speak of the Yonas and Gandhāras as vassals of the Empire.

Megasthenes.

We learn from the classical writers that after the war the Syrian and Indian emperors lived on friendly terms. Athenaios tells us that Chandragupta sent presents including certain powerful aphrodisiacs to the Syrian monarch (*Inv. Alex.*, p. 405). Seleukos sent an envoy to the Maurya court, whose name was Megasthenes. Arrian tells us (*Chinnock's Ed.*, p. 254) that Megasthenes originally lived with Sibyrtios the satrap of Arachosia. He was sent from thence to Pataliputra where he often visited the Maurya Emperor, and wrote a history on Indian affairs. The work of Megasthenes has been lost. The fragments that survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated by M'Crindle. As Professor Rhys Davids observes, Megasthenes possessed very little critical judgment, and was, therefore, often misled by wrong information received from others. But he is a truthful witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation. The most important piece of information supplied by him is, as Rhys Davids has pointed out, the description of Pataliputra which Arrian quotes in Chapter X of his *Indica* :

“The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannobaos and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers. The Erannobaos would be third of the Indian rivers Megasthenes says that on one side where it is longest this city extends 80 stades ($9\frac{1}{2}$ miles) in length, and that its breadth is fifteen ($1\frac{3}{4}$ miles); that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates.”

There were many other cities in the empire besides Pātaliputra. Arrian says "it would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of their cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated near the rivers or the sea are built of wood; for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar." The most important cities of Chandragupta's empire, besides the metropolis, were Taxila and Ujjain.

Ælian gives the following account of the palace of Chandragupta. "In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Susa, nor Ekbatana can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; there are shady groves and pasture grounds planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven; while some trees are native to the soil, others are brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds—because the parrot alone can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds are artificial ponds in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These

youngsters amuse themselves while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats.”¹

The imperial palace probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahār (Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 77). The unearthing of the ruins of the Maurya piliar-hall and palace near Kumrahār, said to have been built on the model of the throne room and palace of Darius at Persepolis, has led Dr. Spooner to propound the theory that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians (*JRAS*, 1915, pp. 63 ff, 405 ff). Dr. Smith observes that the resemblance of the Maurya buildings with the Persian palace at Persepolis is not yet definitely established. Besides, as Professor Chanda observed, “Ethnologists do not recognize high class architecture as test of race, and in the opinion of experts the buildings of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are not Persian in style, but are mainly dependent on Babylonian models and bear traces of the influence of Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor.”

We learn from Strabo (H. & F.'s Ed., Vol. III, p. 106; *cf.* Smith, *EHI*, p. 123) that the king usually remained within the palace under the protection of female guards (*cf.* *strī gaṇair dhanvibhiḥ* of the *Arthaśāstra*) and appeared in public only on four occasions, *viz.*, in time of war; to sit in his court as a judge; to offer sacrifice; and to go on hunting expeditions.

Chandragupta's Government.

Chandragupta was not only a great soldier and conqueror, but a great administrator. Kauṭilya and Megasthenes have left detailed accounts of his system of government, and the edicts of his grandson Aśoka confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation

¹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-42.

of the empire given by the great minister and the distinguished envoy.

The supreme Government consisted of two main parts :

1. The Rājā, and
2. the Mahāmātras, Amātyas or Sachivas.

The Rājā or sovereign was the head of the state. He had military, judicial, legislative, as well as executive functions. We have already seen that one of the occasions when he left his palace was war (*cf.* Kautilya, Bk. X). He considered plans of military operations with his Senāpati (Kaut., p. 38).

He also sat in his court to administer justice. "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him" (H. & F., Strabo, III, pp. 106-107). Kautilya says (Shamasastri's translation, p. 43), "when in the court, he (the king) shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and of women ;—all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once.

As to the king's legislative function we should note that Kautilya (Bk. III, Chap. I) calls him "dharmapravar-taka," and includes Rājasāsana among the sources of law.

Among executive functions of the king, Kauṭilya (Bk. I, Ch. XVI; XVIII; Bk. VIII, Ch. I) mentions the posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of ministers, priests and superintendents, corresponding with the Mantriparishad, collection of the secret information gathered by spies, reception of envoys, etc.

Kauṭilya holds that Rājatva (sovereignty) is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ Sachivas and hear their opinion. The Sachivas or Amātyas of Kauṭilya correspond to the "seventh caste" of Megasthenes which assisted the king in deliberating on public affairs. This class was small in number, but in wisdom and justice excelled all the others (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413).

The most important amongst the Sachivas or Amātyas were undoubtedly the Mantrins or High Ministers. They were selected from those Amātyas whose character had been tested under all kinds of allurements (Sarvopadhā sūddhān Mantrinaḥ kuryāt, Arthaśāstra, p. 17). They were given the highest salary, viz., 48,000 paṇas per annum (*ibid*, p. 247). They assisted the king in examining the character of the Amātyas who were employed in ordinary departments (*ibid*, p. 16). All kinds of administrative measures were preceded by consultation with three or four of them (*ibid*, pp. 26, 28). In works of emergency (ātyāyike kārye) they were summoned along with the Mantriparishad (*ibid*, p. 29). They exercised a certain amount of control over the Imperial Princes (*ibid*, p. 333). They accompanied the king to the battlefield, and gave encouragement to the troops (*ibid*, p. 368). Kauṭilya was evidently one of these Mantrins. That there were more than one Mantrin is proved by the use of the plural Mantrinaḥ.

In addition to the Mantrins there was the Mantriparishad or Assembly of Imperial Councillors. The existence of the Parishad as an important element of the Maurya constitution is proved not only by the Arthasāstra but by the third and sixth Rock Edicts of Aśoka. The members of the Mantriparishad were not identical with the Mantrins. In several passages of Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra the Mantrins are sharply distinguished from the Mantriparishad (*cf.* pp. 20, 29, 247). The latter evidently occupied an inferior position. Their salary was only 12,000 paṇas whereas the salary of a Mantri was 48,000. They do not appear to have been consulted on ordinary occasions, but were summoned along with the Mantrins when Ātyāyika kārya, *i.e.*, works of emergency had to be transacted. The king was to be guided by the decision of the majority (Bhūyishṭhāḥ). They also attended the king at the time of the reception of envoys (p. 45). From the passage "Mantriparishadam dvādaśamātyān kurvīta" it appears that the Parishad used to be recruited from all kinds of Amātyas (not necessarily from Mantrins). From Kauṭilya's denunciation of a king with a "Kshudraparishad" (p. 259), his rejection of the views of the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas, and his reference to Indra's Parishad of a thousand Rishis, it may be presumed that his master was prevailed upon to constitute a fairly big assembly.

Besides the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad, there was another class of Amātyas who filled the great administrative and judicial appointments. Kauṭilya says (p. 17) that the "dharmopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be employed in civil and criminal courts; the "arthopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be employed as Samāhartri and Sannidhātri, the "kāmapadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be

appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, the "bhayopadhāsuddha" Amātyas should be appointed to immediate service (āsanna kārya) while those who are proved impure should be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories. Untried Amātyas were to be employed in ordinary departments (sāmānya adhikarāṇa). Persons endowed with the qualifications required in an Amātya (Amātya sampadopeta) were appointed Nisriṣṭārthāḥ (ministers plenipotentiary), Lekhakas or Ministers of Correspondence, and Adhyakshas or Superintendents.

The statements of Kauṭilya regarding the employment of Amātyas as the chief executive and judicial officers, are confirmed by the classical writers. Arrian says "from them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure, and superintendents of agriculture." Strabo also observes (H. and F. Vol. III, p. 103) "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs."

The Adhyakshas who formed the pivot of the Maurya administration, are evidently referred to by Strabo as Magistrates in the following passage :

"Of the Magistrates, some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs, from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend

the public roads, and place a pillar at every ten stadia, to indicate the by-ways and distances. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each.¹ Next to the Magistrates of the city is a third body of governors, who have the care of military affairs. This class also consists of six divisions, each composed of five persons."²

The Magistrates in charge of the city and those in charge of military affairs are evidently the same as the Nagarādhyakshas and Balādhyakshas of the Arthasāstra (Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 55. Nagara Dhānya Vyāvahārika Karmāntika Balādhyakshah). Dr. Smith remarks (EHI., 1914, p. 141) "the Boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital and the army are unknown to the author (Kautilya), who contemplated each such charge as the duty of a single officer. The creation of the Boards may have been an innovation effected by Chandragupta personally." But the historian overlooks the fact that Kautilya distinctly says "Bahumukhyam anityam chādhikaraṇam sthāpayet" each department shall be officered by several temporary heads³; "Adhyakshah Saṅkhyāyaka Lekhaka Rūpadarśaka Nivṛgṛāhakottarādhyakshasakhah karmāṇi kuryuḥ." Evidently Dr. Smith notices only the Adhyakshas but ignores the existence of the Uttarādhyakshas and others. As in regard to the Arthasāstra Smith notices only the Adhyakshas, so in regard to the classical accounts he

¹ Each body was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., the mechanical arts, foreign residents, registration of births and deaths, sales and exchanges, supervision of artisans, and collection of tithes on sales.

² Each division or Board was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., the navy, transport and commissariat, (*cf. Vishṭi Karmāṇi* of Kautilya, Bk. X., Ch. IV) the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants.

³ Arthasāstra, 1919, p. 69. On page 57 we have the following passage—Hastyasvarathapādētamanekamukhyamavasthāpayet, i. e., elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.

takes note only of the Boards, but ignores the chiefs who are expressly mentioned in two passages, *viz.*—(H. & F. Strabo, III, p. 104):

“One division is associated with the *Chief Naval Superintendent*,” “another (division) is associated with the *person who has the charge of the bullock-teams*.” The Chief Naval Superintendent and the Person in Charge of the Bullock-teams, doubtless, correspond to the Nāvadhyaaksha and Go’adhyaksha of the Arthasāstra.

The central popular assemblies like those that existed among the Lichchhavis, Mallas, Śākyas and other Saṅghas had no place in the Maurya constitution. The custom of summoning a great assembly of Grāmikas seems also to have fallen into disuse.

Provincial Government.

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces, because “no single administration could support the Atlantean load.” The exact number of provinces in Chandragupta’s time is unknown. In the time of his grandson Aśoka there were at least five, *viz.* :

1. Uttarāpatha	...	capital, Taxila
2. Avanti	...	„ Ujjayinī
3. Dakṣiṇāpatha	...	„ Suvarṇagiri (?)
4. Kaliṅga	...	„ Tosali
5. Prāchya (Prasii)	...	„ Pātaliputra

Of these only the first two and the last one can be said, with any amount of certainty, to have formed parts of Chandragupta’s Empire. But it is not altogether improbable that Dakṣiṇāpatha, too, was one of Chandragupta’s provinces. The outlying provinces were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were styled Kumāras. We learn from Kauṭilya’s Arthasāstra (p. 247) that the salary of a Kumāra was 12,000 paṇas per annum.

The Home Provinces, *i.e.*, Prāchya and the Madhyadeśa, were directly ruled by the Emperor himself.

Besides the Imperial Provinces Maurya India included a number of territories which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Arrian refers to cities which enjoyed a democratic Government (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413). Kautilya (p. 378) refers to a number of Saṅghas, *e. g.*, Kamboja, Surāshtra, etc. The Kambojas are referred to as an autonomous tribe even in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka. That Surāshtra was also autonomous in the time of Aśoka seems probable from Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh which refers to its Rājā, the Yavana Tushāspha, the contemporary and vassal of Aśoka. The Yavanarāja was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed supervisor of the Surāshtra Saṅgha by Aśoka, just as Rājā Mānsingh of Amber was appointed *Sūbadāra* of Bengal by Akbar. His title of Rājā probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. His relations with Aśoka remind us of the relationship subsisting between the Rājā of the Śākya state and Pasenadi. In the time of the first Maurya Surāshtra had an officer named Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who is described as a Rāshṭriya of Chandragupta. In the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part J, p. 13, the word Rāshṭriya was taken to mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, took the term to mean a provincial governor. This meaning does not seem to be quite satisfactory because we have already seen that Surāshtra was very probably an autonomous vassal state, and not an Imperial Province. Rāshṭriya seems to have been a sort of Imperial High Commissioner, and the position of Pushyagupta in Surāshtra was probably like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt. Neither the *Arthasāstra* nor the Edicts of Aśoka mention any class of officials called Rāshṭriya. It is, however, probable that

the Rāshṭriyas were identical with the Rāshṭrapālas whose salary was equal to that of Kumāras (Arthaśāstra, p. 247).

Overseers and Spies.

The classical writers refer to a class of men called Overseers who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make reports to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the magistrates where the people have a democratic government (Chinock, Arrian, p. 413). Strabo calls this class of men the Ephori or Inspectors. "They are," says he, "intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king...The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of Inspector" (H. & F. Strabo, III, p. 103). The overseers of Arrian and the Inspectors of Strabo probably correspond either to the Pradeshtṛis or the Chāras of the Arthaśāstra. Dr. Thomas derives the word Pradeshtṛi from Pradeśa which means "report" (J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 97) by the rule of Pāṇini, II. 2. 15 (Tṛijakābhyām kartari).

Strabo tells us that the City Inspectors employed as their co-adjutors the city courtesans; and the Inspectors of the Camp, the women who followed it. The employment of women of easy virtue as spies is also alluded to by Kauṭilya. According to him there were two groups of spies, viz. :

1. Samsthāḥ consisting of Kāpatika, Udāsthita, Gṛihapatika, Vaidehaka and Tāpasa, *i.e.*, fraudulent disciples, recluses, householders, merchants and ascetics.

2. Sañchārāḥ including Satri, Tikshṇa and Rashada, *i.e.*, class-mates, firebrands, and poisoners, and certain women described as Bhikshukīs, Parivrājikās, Muṇḍas and Vṛishalīs. It is to the last class, *viz.*, the Vṛishalīs that Strabo evidently refers. We have explicit references

to courtesan (Punśchalī, veśyā, rūpājivā) spies on pp. 221, 249, 316 of the Arthśāstra.

Village Administration.

The administration of villages was carried on by the Grāmikas (Arthśāstra, pp. 157, 172) who were, no doubt, assisted by the Grāmavṛidhas (pp. 48, 168, 169) or village elders. The omission of the Grāmika from the list of salaried officials given in Bk. V, Ch. III of the Arthśāstra is significant. It probably indicates that the Grāmika was not a paid servant of the crown, but an elected official of the villagers. The king's servant in the village was the Grāmabhṛitaka (pp. 175, 248). Above the Grāmika were the Gopa, who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and the Sthānika who controlled one quarter of a janapada or district. The work of these officers was supervised by the Samāhatri (p. 142) with the help of the Pradeshtṛis.

The last days of Chandragupta.

Jaina tradition avers that Chandragupta was a Jaina and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated and repaired to Mysore where he died. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāverī near Seringapatam of about 900 A.D., describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, *i.e.*, Chandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadravāhu and Chandragupta Munipati (Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 3-4). Dr. Smith observes (The Oxford History of India, p. 76) "The Jain tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists". Chandragupta died about 298 or 297 B.C. after a reign of 24 years.

If the Parisiṣṭaparvan of Hemachandra is to be believed Chandragupta had a queen named Durdharā who became the mother of Bindusāra, the son who succeeded

him on the throne. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, the name of the queen cannot be accepted as genuine.

II. THE REIGN OF BINDUSĀRA.

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in or about the year 298 B.C. by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. The name or title Amitraghāta (slayer of foes) is a restoration in Sanskrit of the Amitrachates of Athenaios, and Allitrochades of Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus. Dr. Fleet prefers the rendering Amitrakhāda or devourer of enemies, which is said to occur as an epithet of Indra (JRAS., 1909, p. 24). From Aśoka's Rock Edict VIII (Kālsī Text) it appears that Bindusāra, as well as other predecessors of Aśoka, used the style Devānampiya.

If Hemachandra and Tāranātha are to be believed, Kauṭilya or Chānakya continued to serve as minister for some time after the accession of Bindusāra (Jacobi, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 62; *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 364). "Chānaka," says Tāranātha, "one of his (Bindusāra's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns, and as king he made himself master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." The conquest of the territory between the eastern and western seas has been taken by some scholars to refer to the annexation of the Deccan. But we should not forget that already in the time of Chandragupta the Maurya Empire extended from Surāshtra to Bengal (Gangaridæ), *i.e.*, from the western to the eastern sea. Tāranātha's statement need mean nothing more than the suppression of a general revolt. No tradition expressly connects the name of Bindusāra with the conquest of the Deccan. The story of the subjugation of sixteen towns may or may not be

true, but we are told in the Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 371) that at least one town of note, *viz.*, Taxila, revolted during the reign of Bindusāra. The king is said to have despatched Aśoka there. While the prince was nearing Taxila with his troops the people came out to meet him, and said "we are not opposed to the prince, nor even to king Bindusāra, but the wicked ministers (Dushtāmātyāḥ) insult us." The high-handedness of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces is alluded to by Aśoka himself in his Kalinga Edict (Aśoka, third edition, pp. 194-195). Addressing his Mahāmātras the Emperor says :

"All men are my children ; and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. *You, however, do not grasp this truth* to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, *it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture*, and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, *many other people are deeply grieved*. In such a case you must desire to do justice...and for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons (Mahāmātra) as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instructions. From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. *In the same way from Taxila.*"

Foreign relations.

In his relations with the Hellenistic powers Bindusāra pursued a pacific policy. We learn from the classical

writers (*e.g.*, Strabo) that the king of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deimachos. Pliny (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 108) tells us that (Ptolemy) Philadelphos sent an envoy named Dionysios. Dr. Smith however points out that it is uncertain whether Dionysios presented his credentials to Bindusāra or to his son and successor, Aśoka. The same historian says (Aśoka, third edition, p. 19) that Patrokles, an officer who served under both Seleukos and his son, sailed in the Indian seas and collected much geographical information which Strabo and Pliny were glad to utilize. Athenaios tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos, king of Syria, and Bindusāra which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness. We are told that Amitrochates (Bindusāra) the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochos asking that king to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist, and Antiochos replied : we shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold (M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 409).

Bindusāra's Family.

Bindusāra had many children besides Aśoka the son who succeeded him on the throne. We learn from a passage of the Fifth Rock Edict in which the duties of the Dharmamahāmātras are described, that Aśoka had many brothers and sisters. The Divyāvadāna mentions two of these brothers, namely, Susīma and Vigatāśoka. The Ceylonese Chronicles seem also to refer to these two princes though under different names, calling the former Sumana and the latter Tishya. Susīma-Sumana is said to have been the eldest son of Bindusāra and a step-brother of Aśoka, while Vigatāśoka-Tishya is reputed to

have been the youngest son of Bindusāra and a uterine brother of Aśoka. Hiuen Tsang mentions a brother of Aśoka named Mahendra. Ceylonese tradition, however, represents the latter as a son of Aśoka.

Bindusāra died after a reign of 25 years according to the Purānas, and 28 years according to the Ceylonese Chronicles. According to Dr. Smith's chronology his reign terminated about 273 B.C. (Aśoka, p. 73). If the Ceylonese account be correct the date of his death was 270 and not 273 B.C.

III. THE EARLY YEARS OF AŚOKA.

Both the Divyāvadāna and the Ceylonese Chronicles agree that there was a fratricidal struggle after the death of Bindusāra. Aśoka is said to have overthrown his eldest stepbrother with the help of Rādhagupta whom he made his Agrāmātya (Chief Minister). Dr. Smith observes (The Oxford History of India, p. 93), "the fact that his formal consecration or coronation (abhisheka) was delayed for some four years until 269 B. C. confirms the tradition that his succession was contested, and it may be true that his rival was an elder brother named Susīma." In his Aśoka (third edition) published a few months later, he says, "it is possible that the long delay may have been due to a disputed succession involving much bloodshed, but there is no independent evidence of such a struggle." Mr. Jayaswal (JBORS, 1917, p. 438) gives the following explanation for the delay in Aśoka's coronation: "It seems that in those days for obtaining royal abhisheka¹ the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession."

¹ There were other abhishekas also, e.g., that of Yuvarāja, Kumāra, Senāpati.

Dr. Smith characterises (EHI, p. 155) the Ceylonese tales which relate that Aśoka slew many of his brothers as silly because Aśoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth or eighteenth year of his reign, whose households were objects of his anxious care. But we should remember that the Fifth Rock Edict refers only to the female establishments of his brothers (olodhanesu bhātinām) as existing. This does not necessarily imply that the brothers also were alive. We should, however, admit that there is nothing to show, on the contrary, that the brothers were dead. The Fifth Rock Edict, in our opinion, proves nothing regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese tradition.

The first four years of Aśoka's reign is, to quote the words which Dr. Smith uses in another connection, "one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history; vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is, at the best, unprofitable."

Like his predecessors (*cf.* Rock Edict VIII, Kālsi Text) Aśoka assumed the title of Devānāmpīya. He generally described himself as Devānāmpīya Piyadasi. The name Aśoka is found only in literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, *viz.*, the Māski Edict of Aśoka himself, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman. The name Dharmāśoka is found in one Mediæval epigraph, *viz.*, the Sārnath inscription of Kumāradevī (Dharmāśokanarādhīpasya samaye Śrī Dharmachakro Jīno yādrik tannaya rakṣitaḥ punaray-añchakre tatopyadbhutam).

During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India, and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers, which was in vogue after the Seleukidan war. Like Chandragupta and Bindusāra he was aggressive

at home but pacific abroad. The Divyāvadāna credits him with the suppression of a revolt of Taxila. In the thirteenth year of his reign (eight years after consecration) he effected the conquest of Kalinga. We do not know the exact limits of this kingdom in the time of Aśoka. But if the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas are to be believed, it extended to the river Vaitarani in the north (Mbh. III. 114. 4), the Amarakanṭaka Hills in the west (Kūrma Purāṇa II. 39. 9) and Mahendragiri in the south (Raghuvamśa IV. 38-43; VI. 53-54).

An account of the Kalinga war and its effects is given in Rock Edict XIII. We have already seen that Kalinga formed a part of the Magadhan dominions in the time of the Nandas. Why was it necessary for Aśoka to reconquer it? The question admits of only one answer, *viz.*, that Kalinga severed its connection with Magadha after the fall of the Nandas. If the story of a general revolt in the time of Bindusāra be correct then it is not unlikely that Kalinga, like Taxila threw off the allegiance of Magadha during the reign of Bindusāra. It appears, however, from Pliny who probably based his account on the Indica of Megasthenes, that Kalinga was already an independent kingdom in the time of Chandragupta. In that case there can be no question of a revolt in the time of Bindusāra. Pliny says (Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 338) "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea.....the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in 'procinct of war.' "

The Kalinga kings probably increased their army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes to that of Aśoka, because during the war with Aśoka the casualties exceeded 250,000. It is, however, possible that the huge total included not only combatants but also non-combatants. The existence of

a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army 'in procinct of war,' could not be a matter of indifference to the kings of Magadha. Magadha learnt to her cost what a powerful Kalinga meant, in the time of Khāravēla.

We learn from the thirteenth Rock Edict that Aśoka made war on the Kalinga country and annexed it to his empire. "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times that number died." Violence, slaughter, and separation from their beloved ones befell not only to combatants, but also to the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics, and householders.

The conquered territory was constituted a viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family stationed at Tosali, apparently situated in the Purī district. The Emperor issued special edicts prescribing the principles on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes should be treated. These two edicts are preserved at two sites, now called Dhauri (in Purī) and Jaugaḍa (in Gañjam). They are addressed to the Mahāmātras or High Officers at Tosali and Samāpā. In these documents the Emperor makes the famous declaration "all men are my children," and charges his officers to see that justice is done to the people.

The conquest of Kalinga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Aṅga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of Digvijaya was over, the era of Dhammavijaya was about to begin.

We should pause here to give an account of the extent of Aśoka's dominions and the manner in which they were administered before the Emperor embarked on a new policy.

Aśoka mentions Pātaliputra, Khalatikapavata, Kosambi, Lumminigāma, Kalinga (including Tosali and Samāpā), Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā expressly as being among those places which were under his rule.

Beyond Takshaśilā lay the vassal states of the Yonas, Kambojas and the Gandhāras. The exact situation of the Yona state has not yet been determined. The Mahāvamsa evidently refers to it and its chief city Alasanda which Geiger identifies with the town of Alexandria founded by the Macedonian conqueror near Kābul (Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. 194). Kamboja, as we have already seen, corresponds to Rājapura or Rajaur near Punch in Kaśmīr. The territory of the Gandhāras at this time lay to the west of the Indus, and did not include Takshaśilā which was ruled by a princely Viceroy, and was the capital of the province of Uttarāpatha (*cf.* Kalinga Edict; Divyāvadāna, p. 407, Rājño'sokasyottarāpathe Takshaśilā nagaram, etc). The capital of the vassal state of Gandhāra was apparently Pushkarāvati (*cf.* Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 54).

The inclusion of Kaśmīra within Aśoka's empire is proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang's Records (Watters, Vol. I, pp. 267-271) and Kalhaṇa's Rājatarānginī (I. 102-107): Kalhaṇa says: "The faithful Aśoka, reigned over the earth. This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina, covered Śuśkaletra and Vitastātra with numerous Stūpas. At the town of Vitastātra there stood within the precincts of the Dharmāraṇya Vihāra a Chaitya built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye. That illustrious king built the town of Śrīnagarī. This sinless prince after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of

the shrine of Vijayēśvara built in its stead a new one of stone. He...erected within the enclosure of Vijayēśa, and near it, two temples which were called Aśokeśvara." The description of Aśoka as a follower of Jina, *i. e.*, Buddha, and the builder of numerous stūpas leaves no room for doubt that the great Maurya monarch is meant. We are told by Kalhaṇa himself that he is indebted for much of the above account to an earlier chronicler named Chhavillākara.

The inscriptions on the Rummindel and the Niglīva pillars prove the inclusion of the Tarāi within the limits of Aśoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapātan attest his possession of the valley of Nepāl. Further evidence of the inclusion of the Himālayan region within Aśoka's empire is furnished by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nabhapamtis of Nabhaka (Na-pei-kea of FaHien? Legge, 64).

According to Bühler the Rock Edict XIII mentions two vassal tribes Viśa and Vajri. Several scholars do not accept Bühler's reading, and substitute Visayamhi in its place. That is no doubt the reading of the Girnar text, but according to Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar (The Inscriptions of Aśoka, published by the University of Calcutta, Part I, p. 53) the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra texts read Vishavajri. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra (p. 378) refers to the Vrijikas as a Saṅgha along with Kamboja and other states. It is not unlikely that Vrijika is identical with Vajri, and that like Kamboja, the Vrijikas were an autonomous vassal state within the Maurya Empire. The capital of the state was, of course, Vaiśālī. A tribe called Besatae is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean sea (Schoff's Ed., p. 48) and is located on the borders of the land of This, *i. e.*, China. It is not altogether improbable that the Vishas of Aśoka's Edict are identical with the Besatae of the

Periplus, and the names of the products Bisi and Mahābisi (mentioned in Arthasāstra, p. 79) were derived from them. In the commentary on the Arthasāstra (Shamasastri's Translation, p. 91, n. 10) it is stated that the twelve villages producing Bisi and Mahābisi, are situated on the Himālayas.

We learn from the classical writers that the country of the Gangaridae, *i. e.* Bengal, formed a part of the dominion of the king of the Prasii, *i. e.*, Magadha, as early as the time of Agrammes, *i. e.*, the last Nanda King (M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, pp. 221, 281). A passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the "Palibothri" dominated the whole tract along the Ganges (*Ind. Ant.*, 1877, 339). That the Magadhan kings retained their hold on Bengal as late as the time of Aśoka is proved by the testimony of the Divyāvadāna (*cf.* Smith's Aśoka, 3rd ed., p. 255) and of Huen Tsang who saw Stūpas of that monarch near Tāmra-lipti and Karnasuvarṇa (in West Bengal), in Samatata (East Bengal) as well as in Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal). Kāmarūpa (Assam) seems to have lain outside the empire. The Chinese pilgrim saw no monument of Aśoka in that country.

We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had penetrated as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevely district. In the time of Aśoka the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennār river near Nellore. The major part of the Deccan was ruled by the viceregal princes of Tosali and Suvarṇagiri. But certain strips of territory were occupied by vassal tribes, *e. g.*, the Andhras, Pulindas, Bhojas and Rāshṭrikas. The word Pitinika mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII should, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, not be read as a separate name but as an adjective qualifying Rāshṭrika (Edict V) and Bhoja (Edict XIII). The Professor draws our attention to certain passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya

(III. 70, 300) where the term Pettanika occurs in the sense of one who enjoys property given by father (Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 80). The Andhras and the Pulindas are, as we have already seen, mentioned in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Bhojas are also mentioned in that work as rulers of the south. Pliny, quoting from Megasthenes, says that the Andaræ (Andhras) possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants (Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 339). The Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river which, says Prof. Bhandarkar, is either the modern Tel or Telingiri both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. The Pulindas are invariably associated with the Vindhyan region in the Purāṇas.

Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha (Matsya. p. 114, 48).

Pulindā Vindhya Mulikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha (Vāyu, 55, 126).

Their capital Pulindanagara lay not far from Bhilsā.

The Bhojas and the Rāshṭrikas were apparently the ancestors of the Mahābhojas and the Mahārathis of the Sātavāhana period (Smith, Aśoka, third ed., pp. 169-170). The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar, and the Rāshṭrikas in Mahārāshṭra.

In the west Aśoka's Empire extended to the Arabian Sea and included Aparānta (Sūrpāraka, Nāsik, etc., according to Mārkaṇḍeya P. 57. 49-52) and the vassal state of Surāshṭra which was governed by the Yavanarāja Tushāshpha. Dr. Smith says that the form of the name shows that the Yavanarāja must have been a Persian, but according to this interpretation the Yavana Dhammadeva, the Śaka Ushavadāta (Rishabhādatta) and the Kushān Vāsudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks

and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Irānic appellations. There is, then, no good ground for assuming that Tushāshpha was not a Greek, but a Persian.

Having described the extent of Aśoka's empire we now proceed to give a brief account of its administration. Aśoka continued the Council government of his predecessors. There are references to the Emperor's dealings with the Parishad in Rock Edicts III and VI. Senart took Parishā to mean Saṅgha and Bühler understood by it the Committee of caste or sect. But Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out that the Parishā of the Edicts is the Mantriparishad of the Arthaśāstra. The inscriptions prove that Aśoka retained also the system of Provincial Government existing under his forefathers. Tosali, Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā were each under a prince of the blood royal (Kumāla or Ayaputa).

The Emperor and the Princes were helped by a host of officials who fell under the following classes:—

1. The Mahāmātras (*cf.* also Arthaśāstra, pp. 16, 20, 58, 64, 215, 237-39).
2. The Rājukas.
3. The Pradesikas or Prādesikas.
4. The Yutas (the Yuktas of the Arthaśāstra, pp. 59, 65, 199, Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 127.34; Manu, VIII, 34).
5. Pulisā.
6. Pativedakā.
7. Vachabhumikā.

There was a body of Mahāmātras in each great city and district (āhāla) of the empire. The inscriptions mention the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbi, Tosali, Samāpā, Suvarṇagiri and Isila. In the Kalinga Edicts we have certain Mahāmātras distinguished by the term Nagala Vijohālakā. The Nagala Vijohālakā of the Edicts correspond to the Pauravyāvahārikas of the Arthaśāstra.

(p. 20) and no doubt administered justice in cities.¹ In Pillar Edict I mention is made of the *Amṛta Mahāmātras* or the Wardens of the Marches, who correspond to the *Antapālas* of the *Arthasāstra* (pp. 20, 247) and the *Goptris* of the age of Skanda Gupta. Kauṭilya tells us that the salary of an *Antapāla* was equal to that of a *Kumāra*, a *Pauravyāvahārika*, a member of the *Mantriparishad* or a *Rāshṭrapāla* (p. 247). In Edict XII mention is made of the *Ithījhaka Mahāmātras* who, doubtless, correspond to the *Stryadhyakshas* (the Guards of the Ladies) of the *Mahābhārata* (IX. 29.68, 90; XV. 22, 20; 23, 12).

As to the *Rājukas*, Dr. Smith takes the word to mean a governor next below a *Kumāra* (Aśoka 3rd, p. 94). Bühler identifies the *Rājuka* of the Aśokan inscriptions with the *Rajjuka* or the *Rajjugāhaka amachcha* of the *Jātakas* (The Social Organisation in North-east India by Fick, translated by S. Maitra, pp. 148-151). Pillar Edict IV refers to the *Rājukas* as officers "set over many hundred thousands of people," and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of the *Jānapadas*, to whom Aśoka granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. The reference to the award of penalties (*Danḍa*) probably indicates that the *Rājukas* had judicial duties. In Rock Edict III as well as in Pillar Edict IV they are associated with the *Yutas*. Strabo (H. and F., Vol. III, p. 103) refers to a class of Magistrates who "have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, have charge also of the hunters and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either." The measuring of the land connects these Magistrates with the *Rajjugāhaka Amachcha* of the *Jātakas* (cf. Maitra, Fick, pp. 148-149) while the power of rewarding and punishing people connects them with the *Rājukas* of Aśoka. It is probable, therefore, that the Magistrates referred to by Strabo were

¹ Cf. also *Nagara-dhānya Vyāvahārika*, p. 55.

identical with the Rājukas and the Rajjugāhaka Amachchas. The Arthaśāstra (p. 234) refers to a class of officials called "Chora Rajjukas," but there is no reference to the Rajjukas proper, although on p. 60 "Rajju" is mentioned in conjunction with "Chora Rajju."

As regards the Pradesīkas or Prādesīkas, Senart, Kern and Bühler understood the term to denote local governors or local chiefs. Smith took it to mean District Officers. The word occurs only in the third Rock Edict where the functionaries in question are included with the Rājukas and the Yutas in the ordinance of the Anusāmyāna. Thomas derives the word from *pradeśa* which means report (JRAS, 1915, p. 97; Arthaśāstra, p. 111) by the rule of Pāṇini *trījakābhyāṅkartari* (II. 2.15) and identifies the Prādesīkas or Pradesīkas of the Edict with the Pradeshtṛis of the Arthaśāstra. The most important functions of the Pradeshtṛis were Balipragraha (collection of taxes, or suppression of recalcitrant chiefs), Kaṇṭakaśodhana (administration of criminal justice), Choramārgaṇa (tracking of thieves) and Adhyakshāṇām adhyaksha purushāṇām cha niyamanām (checking superintendents and their men). They acted as intermediaries between the Samāhatṛi on the one hand, and the Gopas, Sthānikas and Adhyakshas on the other (*cf.* Arthaśāstra, pp. 142, 200, 217, 222).

As to the Yutas or Yuktas they are represented by Manu (VIII.34) as the custodians of Pranashṭādhigata dravya (lost property which was recovered). In the Arthaśāstra, too, they are mentioned in connection with Samudaya or state funds which they are represented as misappropriating. The Pulisā are apparently identical with the Purushas or Rāja Purushas of the Arthaśāstra (pp. 59, 75). The Pativedakā are doubtless the Chāras referred to in Chap. 16 (p. 38), while the Vachabhūmikas were evidently charged with the superintendence of "Vraja" referred to in chapter 24 (pp. 59-60).

THE MAURYA EMPIRE: THE ERA OF DHAMMAVIJAYA AND DECLINE.

1. AŚOKA AFTER THE KALINGA WAR.

We have already seen that the Kalinga war opened a new epoch in the history of Magadha and of India. During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka was a typical Magadhan sovereign—the inheritor of the policy of Bimbisāra, of Mahāpadma and of Chandraguptā—conquering peoples, suppressing revolt, annexing territory. After the Kalinga war all this is changed. The older political philosophy of Vassakāra and Kauṭilya gave way to a new state-craft inspired by the teaching of the sage of the Śākyas. Before proceeding to give an account of the remarkable change, we should say a few words about the religious denominations of India and the condition of society during the reign of the great innovator.

In the days of Aśoka the people of India were divided into many sects of which the following were the most important:—

1. The orthodox Deva-worshippers.
2. The Ājīvikas or the followers of Gosāla Maṅkhali-putta.
3. The Nirgranthas or Jainas, *i.e.*, the followers of Nigaṅtha Nāṭaputta who is commonly called Mahāvira or Vardhamāna.
4. The followers of Gautama Buddha Śākyamuni.

In Edict IV we have the following account of the prevailing state of society: “for a long period past, even for many hundred years, have increased the sacrificial

slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, unseemly behaviour to Brāhmanas and ascetics (Śramaṇas).” The kings used to go out on so-called Vihāra-yātrās (tours of pleasure, cf. Māhābhārata, XV. 1,18,¹ Kautilya, p. 332), in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised (R. Edict VIII). The people performed various ceremonies (maṅgala)² on occasions of sickness, weddings of sons,³ the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on journeys. The womankind performed many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies (R. Edict IX).

The Change of Asoka's Religion.

Aśoka himself was at first a Deva-worshipper. He had no scruple about the slaughter of men and animals; “formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries.” The hecatomb of the Kalinga war has already been mentioned. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anusochanam*, “remorse, profound sorrow, and regret.” About this time he came under the influence of Buddhist teaching. We read in Rock Edict XIII “directly after the Kalingas had been annexed began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety (*dhramapalanam*), his love of that Law (*dhramakamata*), and his inculcation of that Law (*dhramanuṣati*).”

Although Aśoka became a Buddhist he was not an enemy either of the Devas or the Brāhmanas. Up to the last he took pride in calling himself Devānampiya. He

¹ Vihārayātrāṣaṇaṃ punaḥ Kururājo Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ
Sarvān kāmān mahāstejāḥ pradad Āvambikāsute.

² For “Maṅgala” see also Jātaka No. 87, and No. 163 (Hatthimaṅgala).

³ For Āvāha and Vivāha see also Mbh. V. 141. 14.

found fault with unseemly behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas (Edict IV), and inculcated liberality to the same class. He was perfectly tolerant. "The king does reverence to men of all sects" (Edict XII). He reprobated Ātma-pāsaṇḍa-pujā when coupled with Para-pāsaṇḍa-garabhā. That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barābar Cave Dedications to the Ājivika monks. His hostility was chiefly directed, not towards the Devas and the Brāhmaṇas, but to the killing of men in war and Samājas, and the slaughter of animals in sacrifice.

The Change of Foreign Policy.

The effect of the change of religion was at once felt in foreign policy. The Emperor declared that "of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in Kalinga, if the hundredth part or the thousandth part were now to suffer the same fate, it would be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with." In Kalinga Edict I, the Emperor expressed his desire that the unconquered peoples in the frontiers of his realm (Aṃtā avijitā) should not be afraid of him, that they should trust him, and should receive from him happiness not sorrow. The chiefest conquest in the Emperor's opinion was the conquest of the Law of Piety (Dhammavijaya). In Edict IV he exultingly says "the reverberation of the war drums (Bherighoso) has become the reverberation of the Law (Dhammaghoso)." Not content with what he himself did he called upon his sons and even his grandsons to eschew new conquests—putro papotra me asu navaiṃ vijayaṃ mavijetaviyaṃ. Here we have a complete renunciation of the old policy of Digvijaya and the enunciation of a new policy, viz., that of Dhammavijaya. The full political effects of this change of policy became manifest only after the death of Aśoka. From the time of Bimbisāra to the

Kalinga war the history of India was the history of the expansion of Magadha from a tiny state in South Bihār to a gigantic Empire extending from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kalinga war ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire gradually dwindled down in extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisāra and his successors had raised it.

True to his principle Aśoka made no attempt to annex the frontier (Prachamta) kingdoms, *viz.*, Chola, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapamni (Ceylon) and the realm of Am̐tiyako Yonarāja. On the contrary he maintained friendly relations with them.

The Chola country was drained by the river Kāveri and comprised the districts of Trichinopoli and Tanjore. We learn from a South Indian inscription (Hultsch, SII, Vol. I, p. 34) that Hara asked Gunabhara "How could I standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kāveri"? When Pulakesin II strove to conquer the Cholas "the Kāveri had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants." The Chola capital was Uraiyr̥ (Sanskrit Urāgapura?) or Old Trichinopoly.

The Pāṇḍya country corresponded to the Madurā and Tinnevely districts and had its capital at Madurā (Dakṣiṇa Mathurā). The rivers Kṛitamālā or Vaigai and Tāmraparṇī flowed through it. Kātyāyana derives Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu. The Pāṇḍus are mentioned as the ruling race of Indraprastha in the Mahābhārata as well as in several Jātakas. Ptolemy (cir. 150 A. D.) speaks of the country of the Pandoouoi in the Pañjāb. There can be no doubt that Pāṇḍu was the name of a real tribe in northern India. Kātyāyana's statement regarding the connection of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍus receives some support from the fact that the name of the Pāṇḍya

capital (Madurā) was identical with the famous city of Mathurā in the Śūrasena country which according to Epic tradition was the seat of a family intimately associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Pāṇḍus of Indraprastha. The connection between the Pāṇḍus, the Śūrasenas, and the Pāṇdyas seems to be alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes regarding Herakles and Pandaia (Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 249).

Satiyaputra is identified by Mr. Venkatesvaraiyar (JRAS, 1918, pp. 541-42) with Satyavratakshetra or Kāñchīpura. But Prof. K. Aiyangar points out that the term Satyavratakshetra is applied to the town Kāñchī or a part of it, not to the country dependent upon it. There is besides the point whether *vrata* could become *puta*. Mr. Aiyangar prefers Bhandarkar's identification with Satpute. He takes Satiyaputra to be a collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nāyars (JRAS, 1919, pp. 581-584). According to Dr. Smith (Āśoka, Third Ed., p. 161) Satiyaputra is represented by the Satyamangalam Tāluk of Coimbatore.

Keralaputra (Ketalaputra or Chera) is Mālabār. Its capital was Vañji near Cochin.

Ceylon was known in ancient times as Pārasamudra (Greek Palaesimundu, see Ray Chaudhuri, Ind. Ant., 1919, pp. 195-96¹) as well as Tāmraparṇī (Greek Taprobane). Tambapamni, *i.e.*, Tāmraparṇī is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Āśoka. Dr. Smith now (Āśoka, 3rd Ed., p. 162) takes the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevely. He refers to the Girnar text "ā Tambapamni" which according to him indicates that the river is meant not the island. Now, in Edict II the phrase "ā Tambapamni" comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pādā. The expression "Ketalaputo as

¹ On reading Law's Ancient Hindu Polity (p. 87 n.) I find that the identification was also suggested by Mr. N. L. Dey.

far as the Tāmraparṇī ” is hardly appropriate, because the Tāmraparṇī is a Pāṇḍya river. We, therefore, prefer to take Tāmraparṇī to mean Ceylon. Aśoka’s Ceylonese contemporary was Devānampiya Tissa whose accession may be dated about 251 or 247 B. C.

Aśoka maintained friendly relations not only with the Tamil powers of the south, but also with his Hellenistic frontager Antiochos Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia (B. C. 261-246); and even with the kings the neighbours of Antiochos, namely Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt (B. C. 285-247): Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa (about B. C. 285-258); Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (B. C. 277-239); and Alexander who ruled over Epirus according to Dr. Smith. Beloch and Hultzsch, however suggested (JRAS, 1914, pp. 943 ff.) that Alikasudara of Edict XIII is Alexander of Corinth (B. C. 252—Cir. 244) and not Alexander of Epirus (272-cir. 255) son of Pyrrhus.

Though Aśoka did not covet the territories of his neighbours, there is evidence that he gave them advice on occasions, and established philanthropic institutions in their dominions. In other words he regarded them as objects of religious conquest (Dhammavijaya).

“My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson” (M. R. Edict I).”

“Among his frontagers the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputra, the Ketalaputra as far as Tāmraparṇī, Antiochos the Greek king, and even the kings the neighbours of that Antiochos everywhere have been made healing arrangements of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King.”

In Edict XIII Aśoka declares that the “conquest of the Law of Piety,.....has been won by His Sacred Majesty... ..among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells,

and to the north of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings named severally Ptolemy (Turamāyo), Antigonos (Antekina), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudaro)—(likewise) in the south, the Cholas and Pāṇdyas as far as Tam̄bapāṇni....Even where the envoys (dutā) of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law."

The Ceylonese chronicles do not refer to the envoys sent to the Tamil and Hellenistic kingdoms but name the missionaries sent to Ceylon and Suvāṇṇabhūmi (Pegu and Moulemein according to Dr. Smith). The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra. No reference to Suvāṇṇabhūmi occurs in the Edicts hitherto discovered.

The Change in Internal Policy.

The effects of Aśoka's change of religion after the Kalinga war were felt not only in foreign policy but also in internal affairs. The principal objects of his complaint according to Rock Edict IV and the Kalinga Edicts were :

1. The sacrificial slaughter (ārambho) of living creatures.
2. Violence (vihimsā) to animate beings.
3. Unseemly behaviour (asampratipati) to kinsmen (jñāti).
4. Unseemly behaviour to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.
5. Maladministration in the Provinces.

According to Rock Edict I, Aśoka saw much offence not only in the sacrificial slaughter of animals, but also in certain Samājas or Gatherings which, as we learn from Kauṭilya (p. 45), were often witnessed by the Maurya Emperor. The Samāja, says Smith, was of two kinds. The popular festival kind, accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat, was necessarily

condemned by Aśoka, as being inconsistent with his principles. The other kind, the semi-religious theatrical performance, sometimes given in the temples of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was apparently not included among offensive Samājas. Dr. Thomas (JRAS, 1914, pp. 392 ff.) describes the disapproved Samāja as "a celebration of games or contests taking place in an arena or amphitheatre surrounded by platforms (mañcha) for spectators (Prekshā)." This kind of Samāja is apparently referred to in the following lines of the Virāta parva of the Mahābhārata.

Ye cha kechin niyotsyanti Samājeshu niyodhakāḥ
(Virata, 2, 7.)

Tatra Mallāḥ samāpetur digbhyo rājan sahasrasaḥ
Samāje Brahmaṇo rājan tathā Paśupaterapi
Mahākāyāḥ mahāvīryāḥ Kālakañjā ivāsurāḥ.

(Ibid, 13, 15-16.)

The harmless Samāja is probably the one referred to in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Pakshasya māsasya vā prajñāte' hani Sarasvatyā bhavane niyuktānām nityam Samājah).

Aśoka determined to put a stop to the practices, referred to above, which he did not approve. At the same time he wanted to improve the moral and material condition of the people to such an extent as to effect the "association of gods with men" (cf. Minor Rock Edict I). The means employed to achieve this object may be classed under four heads:

1. Administrative reforms.
2. Dissemination of instructions in the Dhamma (Law of Piety).
3. Benevolent activity; promotion of the welfare of man and beast.
4. Religious toleration and prevention of schism in the Buddhist church.

Administrative Reforms.

In the first place, Āsoka instituted the Quinquennial *Anusamyāna* or circuit of the Yutas, Rājukas, Pradeśikas, and Mahāmātras. Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Smith (Asoka, 3rd edition, p. 164) are of opinion that the whole administrative staff from the Rājuka and the Pradeśika down to the Yuta could not possibly go on circuit at once every five years. They interpret the term as signifying a regular system of transfers from one station to another. But there is nothing in the text to show that ALL the officers were required to go on circuit AT ONCE. The *anusamyāna* of the Yutas, Rājukas and Pradeśikas was mainly intended for propaganda work. The *anusamyāna* of the Mahāmātras was specially instituted for the purpose of checking miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment, and torture in the outlying Provinces (Kaliṅga, Ujjayinī and Takshasilā).

Secondly, Āsoka created a number of new posts, *e. g.*, Dharmamahāmātras and Dharmayutas. The Dharma mahāmātras were given a protective mission among people of all sects including the Brāhmaṇas and the Nirgranthas or Jainas, and among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāshṭrikas and all the Aparāntas. "Among servants and masters, Brāhmaṇas and the wealthy, among the helpless and the aged, they are employed in freeing from worldly cares their subordinates (in the department) of the Law of Piety. They are also employed on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having children, instigation, or advanced years. At Pāṭaliputra and in all provincial towns, in the female establishments of the king's brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives, they are everywhere employed." The Dharmamahāmātras were further engaged everywhere in the imperial dominions

among the Dharmayutas with regard to "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of alms-giving."

The emperor was naturally anxious to keep himself fully informed without delay about all public affairs, specially about the doings of the Mahāmātras on whom the success of his mission mainly depended. He therefore gave special directions to the Pativedakas that when a matter of urgency committed to the Mahāmātras and discussed in the Parishad occasioned a division of opinion or adjournment, he must be informed without delay.

It is apparent from the Kalinga Edicts and Rock Edict VI that Aśoka kept a watchful eye on the Mahāmātras especially on those who administered justice in cities. But he was more indulgent towards his Rājukas who were "eager to serve him." To the Rājukas "set over many hundred thousands of people" the emperor granted independence in the award of honours and penalties in order that those officials might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly. He however wanted to maintain some uniformity in penalties as well as in procedure. For this reason he issued the following rule :—

"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted."

Lastly Aśoka issued certain regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals, and up to the twenty-seventh year of his coronation effected twenty-five jail deliveries.

*Measures adopted to disseminate Instructions in
the Law of Piety.*

The Law of Piety according to the Second Pillar Edict, consisted in Apāsinave, bahukāyāne, dayā, dāne sache, sochaye, "little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity." In Minor

Rock Edict II the virtues of the Law which must be practised are thus stated "father and mother must be hearkened to ; respect for living creatures must be firmly established ; truth must be spoken."

We learn from Minor Rock Edict I that for more than two-and-a-half years Aśoka was a lay disciple without exerting himself strenuously. He then entered the Saṅgha and began to exert himself strenuously. He issued the famous proclamation "Let small and great exert themselves," sent missions (Vyutha)¹ to expound and expand his teaching, began to write the imperishable record of his purpose on the rocks and engraved it upon stone pillars wherever there were stone pillars in his dominions. Aśoka at first utilised the existing administrative machinery for religious propaganda. He commanded his Parishad to inculcate the Dharma on the Yutas and ordered the latter as well as the Rājukas, and Prādesīkas to inculcate the same while they set out for the anusamyāna. The dharma which they were to preach was explained thus :

"An excellent thing is the hearkening to father and mother ; an excellent thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmanas and ascetics ; excellent is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures ; excellent is small expense with small accumulation."

When he had been consecrated thirteen years, Aśoka created the new officials called Dharma mahāmātras who were specially entrusted with the work of dhammādhithāna and dhammavadhi, i.e., the establishment and increase of Piety.

The Emperor also exhibited spectacles of the dwellings of the gods (Vimānadasanā), spectacles of elephants

¹ The interpretation of Vyutha as missionary was pointed out by Senart and accepted by Dr. Smith (Aśoka, third Ed., p 153). Prof. Bhandarkar takes Vyutha or Vivutha to mean "officials on tour."

(Hastidasanā), masses of fire (Agikhamdhāni) and other representations of a divine nature. Prof. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 26) refers to the Pāli Vimānavatthu which describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes (Vimānas) in order to induce listeners and spectators to lead good and unblemished lives and thereby attain to these. Aśoka seems to have made representations of these Vimānas and paraded them in various places. Hasti, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is Sveto hasti, *i.e.*, Buddha himself who is also described as "Gajatama," *i.e.*, Gajottama. As regards Agikamdhā (Agniskandha) the Professor draws our attention to the Jātaka No. 40 which refers to a blazing fire pit created by Māra on the surface of which the Bodhisattva strode and gave a bowl to a hungry Pachcheka Buddha and extolled alms-giving.

While his officers were busy preaching the new Gospel, the Emperor himself did not remain idle. In his eleventh regnal year he went out to Bodhi Gayā (ayāya Sambodhim¹) and thus commenced the tours of Piety (Dhammayātā) in the place of the old tours of pleasure (Vihārayātā). In the tours of Piety this was the practice—visiting ascetics and Brāhmaṇas, with liberality to them; visiting elders, with largess of gold; visiting the people of the country (Janapada) with instruction in the Law of Piety, and discussion of that Law. The memory of a pious tour in Aśoka's twenty-first regnal year (B.C. 249 according to Smith) is preserved by the Rummindel and Niglīva epigraphs in the Nepalese Tarāi. These records prove that Aśoka visited the birth-place of Gautama and paid reverence to the stūpa of Konākamana, one of the former Buddhas.

In 242 B.C., according to Dr. Smith, Aśoka issued the Seven Pillar Edicts which contain a review of the measures taken during his reign for the "promotion of religion, the teaching of moral duty."

¹ Some scholars take Sambodhi to mean supreme knowledge. But Prof. Bhandarkar contends that Sambodhi is equivalent to Bodhi or Mahābodhi.

*Benevolent Activity. Promotion of the Welfare
of Man and Beast.*

Aśoka abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals and offensive Samājas and the massacre of living creatures to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the vihārayātrās or tours of pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations (Dhammaniyama) restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals. Dr. Smith points out that the prohibitions against animal slaughter in this edict coincide to a considerable extent with those recorded in the Arthaśāstra.

The Emperor established healing arrangements in two kinds, namely, healing arrangements for men and healing arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also, both for men and for beasts, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. Roots also and fruits, wheresoever lacking were imported and planted. On the roads wells were dug and trees planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

Pillar Edict VII refers to the employment of superior officers (mukhyas) in the distribution of alms, both the emperor's own and those of the queens and princes. One of the Minor Pillar Edicts refers to the donations of the second Queen Kāruvāki, mother of Tivara: "Whatever gift has been given here by the second Queen—be it a mango-garden, or pleasure-grove, or alms house, or aught else—is reckoned as proceeding from that queen."

*Religious Toleration and the Prevention of Schism
in the Buddhist Church.*

In Rock Edict XII the Emperor declares that he "does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics (Pavajitāni) or householders (Gharastāni) by gifts and various forms of reverence. That he was sincere in his

professions is proved by the Barābar cave dedications in favour of the Ajivika ascetics, who were more akin to the Jainas than to the Buddhists.

The Emperor only cared for the "growth of the essence (Sāra) of the matter in sects." He says that "he who docs reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." Concord (Samavāyo) is praised by him as meritorious (Samavāyo eva sādhu).

Just as Aśoka tried to secure concord among the various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist Council was convened at Pātaliputra during his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy. The Sārnāth Edict and its variants may be regarded as embodying the resolution of this Council (Smith, Aśoka, third Ed., p. 55).

The Success and Failure of Aśoka.

Dr. Smith observes that Aśoka, by his comprehensive and well-planned measures of evangelization, succeeded in transforming Buddhism which was a local Indian sect into one of the great religions of the world. His teaching continued to bear wholesome fruit long after he had passed away. Even in the fifth century A. D. the rest-houses and free hospitals of Magadha excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners. The benefactions of Dharmāśoka were a source of inspiration to royal personages as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gaharwār dynasty.

The political record of the great Maurya's early years was no less brilliant. His reign saw the final triumph of those centripetal forces that had been at work since the days of Bimbisāra. The conquest of Kalinga

completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha.

But the policy of Dhammavijaya which he formulated after the Kalinga War was not likely to promote the cause for which a long line of able sovereigns from Bimbisāra to Bindusāra had lived and struggled. Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer. Magadha after the Kalinga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ikhnaton. The result was politically disastrous as will be shown in the next section. Aśoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson.

According to Dr. Smith's chronology Aśoka died in 232 B. C., after a reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the great Emperor breathed his last at Taxila (The Oxford History of India, pp. 116-120).

II. THE LATER MAURYAS AND THE DECLINE OF THEIR POWER.

The Magadha Empire under Aśoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. But the withdrawal of the strong arm of Piyadasi was perhaps the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand." The provinces fell off one by one. Foreign barbarians began to pour across the north-western gates of the empire, and a time came when the proud monarchs of Pātaliputra and Rājagṛiha had to bend their knees before the despised provincials of Andhra and Kalinga.

Unfortunately, no Kauṭilya or Megasthenes has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist works.

Aśoka had many children. In Pillar Edict VII, he pays attention to the distribution of alms made by all his children, and in particular to those made by the "Princes, sons of the Queens." It is to this last category that belonged the Kumāras who represented the Imperial authority at Takshaśilā, Ujjayinī, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali. Tivara, the son of queen Kāruvākī, the only prince named in the inscriptions, does not appear to have mounted the throne. Three other sons, namely, Kunāla (Suyāśas), Jalauka and Mahendra are mentioned in literature. It is, however, uncertain whether Mahendra was a son of Aśoka or his brother.

The Vāyu Purāṇa says that after Aśoka's death his son Kunāla reigned for eight years. Kunāla's son and successor was Bandhupālita, and Bandhupālita's dāyāda or heir was Indrapālita. After Indrapālita came Devavarman, Śatadhanus and Bṛihadratha.

The Matsya Purāṇa gives the following list of Aśoka's successors:—Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa furnishes the following names:—Suyāśas, Daśaratha, Saṅgata, Śālisūka, Somaśarman, Śatadhanvan and Bṛihadratha.

The Divyāvadāna (p. 433) has the following names:—Saṃpadī, Vṛihaspati, Vṛihasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra.

The Rājatarāṅginī mentions Jalauka as the successor of Aśoka in Kāśmīr.

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence

of Kunāla is established by the combined testimony of the Purāṇic and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Saṃpadī) as well as the evidence of the Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri, the well known Jaina writer. The name Suyāśas found in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas was probably a *biruḍa* or epithet of this prince. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunāla to the imperial throne. He is reputed to have been blind. His position was, therefore, probably like that of Dhṛitarāshṭra of the Great Epic and though nominally regarded as the sovereign, he was physically unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by the Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka.

Kunāla's son was Bandhupālita according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, and Saṃpadī (Samprati) according to the Divyāvadāna and the Pāṭaliputrakalpa. Either these princes were identical or they were brothers. If the latter view be correct then Bandhupālita must be identified with Daśaratha whose reality is established by the brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings at the Nāgārjuni Hills which he bestowed upon the Ājīvikas. Daśaratha, who receives the epithet "devānāmpīya" in the inscriptions, was a grandson of Aśoka according to the Matsya and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, and the predecessor of Samprati (variant Saṅgata) according to the same authorities.

Indrapālita must be identified with Samprati or Sālīśūka according as we identify Bandhupālita with Daśaratha or Samprati. In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records do of Aśoka. Jinaprabhasuri says, "in Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunāla, lord or Bhārata with its three continents, the

great Arhanta who established Vihāras for Śramaṇas even in non-Aryan countries." Dr. Smith shows good grounds for believing that the dominions of Samprati included Avanti and western India.

In his *Aśoka* (third Ed., p. 70) he admits that the hypothesis that Aśoka left two grandsons, of whom one (Daśaratha) succeeded him in his eastern and the other (Samprati) in his western dominions, is little more than a guess. The Jaina writers represent Samprati as ruling over Pāṭaliputra as well as Ujjayinī. His name is mentioned in the Purāṇic list of Aśoka's Magadhan successors.

The existence of Śālisūka is proved not only by the testimony of the Vishṇu Purāṇa but also by that of the Gārgī Saṁhitā¹ and the *e* Vāyu manuscript referred to by Pargiter. He may have been identical with Vṛihaspati, son of Samprati according to the Divyāvadāna.

Devavarman and Somaśarman are variant readings of the same name. The same is the case with Śatadhanus and Śatadhanvan. It is not easy to identify Vṛishasena and Pushyadharma; possibly they are merely birudas or secondary names of Devavarman and Śatadhanvan.

The last Imperial Maurya of Magadha, Brīhadratha, is mentioned not only in the Purāṇas but also in Bāṇa's Harshacharita. He was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Śuṅga who is wrongly described by the Divyāvadāna as of Maurya descent.

Petty Maurya kings continued to rule in western India as well as Magadha long after the extinction of the Imperial line. King Dhavala of the Maurya dynasty is referred to in the Kanaswa inscription of A. D. 738. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with Dhavalappadeva the

¹ Kielhorn's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, p. 37.

The Gārgī Saṁhitā says "There will be Śālisūka a wicked quarrelsome king. Unrighteous, although theorising on righteousness (dharma-vādi adhārmikāḥ) he cruelly oppresses his country."

overlord of Dhanika mentioned in the Dabok (Mewar) inscription of A. D. 725 (Ep. Ind., XII, p. 11). Maurya chiefs of the Koṅkaṇa are referred to in the Early Chalukya epigraphs. A Maurya Prince of Magadha named Pūrṇavarman is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

There can be no doubt that during the rule of the later Mauryas the Magadha Empire experienced a gradual decay. Aśoka died about the year 232 B. C. Within a quarter of a century after his death a Greek army crossed the Hindukush which was the Maurya frontier in the days of Chandragupta and his grandson. The Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgī Samhitā bears testimony to the decline of the Maurya power in the Madhyadeśa after the reign of Śāliśūka :

Tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañchālam Mathurāmstalhā
Yavanah dushṭavikrāntah prāpsyati Kusumadhvajam
Tataḥ Pushpapure prāpto karddame prathite hite
Ākulā vishayā sarve bhaviṣhyanti na saṁśayaḥ.

(Kern, Brihat Samhitā, p. 37.)

Where was now the power that had expelled the prefects of Alexander and hurled back the battalions of Seleukos? According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī (JASB, 1910, p. 259) a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas had sapped the foundations of the Maurya authority and dismembered the empire.

Among the causes of the alienation of the Brāhmaṇas the foremost place is given to Aśoka's Edict against animal sacrifices. The Edict, in Paṇḍit Śāstrī's opinion was certainly directed against the Brāhmaṇas as a class and was specially offensive because it was promulgated by a Śūdra ruler. As to the first point we should remember that prohibition of animal sacrifices did not necessarily imply hostility towards Brāhmaṇas. Long before

Aśoka Brāhmaṇa sages whose teachings have found a place in the Holy Śruti, the most sacred literature of the Brāhmaṇas, declared themselves in no uncertain terms against sacrifices, and in favour of Ahimsā. In the Muṇḍaka Upanishad (1. 2. 7) we have the following Śloka:—

Plavā hyete adṛiḍhā yajñarūpā
 Aṣṭādaśoktamavaram yeshu karma
 Etachchhreyo ye'bbhinandantimūdhā
 Jarāmṛityum te punarevāpi yanti.

“Frail, in truth are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Fools, who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death.” In the Chhāndogya Upanishad (III. 17. 4) Ghora Āngirasa lays great stress on Ahimsā.

As to the second statement we should remember that tradition is not unanimous in representing the Mauryas as Śūdras. The Purāṇas, assert, no doubt, that after Mahāpadma there will be kings of Śūdra origin. But this statement cannot be taken to mean that all the Post-Mahāpadman kings were Śūdras, as in that case the Śūngas and the Kāṇvas also will have to be classed as Śūdras. The Mudrārākshasa which calls Chandragupta a Śūdra, is a late work, and its evidence is contradicted by earlier books. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta the Moriyas (Mauryas) are represented as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. The Mahāvamsa (Geiger's Translation, p. 27) refers to the Moriyas as a noble (kshatriya) clan and represents Chandragupta as a scion of this clan. In the Divyāvādāna (p. 370) Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta said to a girl “Tvam Nāpini aham Rājā Kshatriyo Mūrdhābhishikṭaḥ katham mayā sārḍham samāgamo bhavishyati.” In the same work (p. 409) Aśoka says to one of his queens

(Tishyarakshitā) "Devi ahaṃ Kshatriyaḥ katham palāṇḍum paribhakshayāmi." In a Mysore inscription Chandragupta is described as "an abode of the usages of eminent kshatriyas" (Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10). Kautilya's preference of an "abhijāta" king seems also to suggest that his sovereign was born of a noble family (*cf.* Arthaśāstra, p. 326).

Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices Paṇḍit Śāstrī says: "this was followed by another edict in which Aśoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as Bhūdevas or gods on earth had been shown up by him."

The original passage referred to above runs thus:—

Y (i)-imāya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m (i) s- kaṭā.

Paṇḍit Śāstrī followed the interpretation of Senart. But Prof. Sylvain Levi has shown that the word amisā cannot stand for Sanskrit amṣishā, for in the Bhābru edict we find Musā and not Misā for Sanskrit mṣishā. The recently discovered Māsī version reads misibhūtā for misam-kaṭā showing that the original form was miśribhūtā. It will be grammatically incorrect to form misibhūtā from Sanskrit mṣishā. The word miśra means mixed. And miśribhūtā means "made to mix" or made to associate. The meaning of the entire passage is "during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated with them." (*Cf.* Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, II, 7. 16. 1).¹ There is thus no question of "showing up" anybody. The true import

¹ "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell with the gods and Brahma in heaven." My attention was first drawn to this passage by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

of the passage has been pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 170.

Pandit Śāstri adds that the appointment by Aśoka of Dharmamahāmātras, *i.e.*, of superintendents of morals was a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmanas. It is hardly correct to represent the Dharmamahāmātras as mere superintendents of morals when their duties consisted in the establishment of the Law of Piety (which included liberality to Brāhmanas), the promotion of the welfare of the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Rāshṭrikas, Brāhmanas and others, revision of sentences of imprisonment or execution, the supervision of the female establishments of the Emperor's brothers and other relatives, and the administration of almsgiving (Aśoka, third Ed., pp. 168-169). These duties were not essentially those of a superintendent of morals, and were not a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmanas. Moreover there is nothing to show that the Dharmamahāmātras were wholly recruited from non-Brāhmanas.

Our attention is next drawn to the passage where Aśoka insists upon his officers strictly observing the principles of Daṇḍasamatā and Vyāvahārasamatā. Pandit Śāstri takes the expressions to mean equality of punishment and equality in lawsuits irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order was very offensive to the Brāhmanas who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.

The passage containing the expressions Daṇḍasamatā and Vyāvahārasamatā should not be divorced from its context and interpreted as if it were an isolated ukase. We quote the passage with the context below :—

To my Rājukas set over many hundred thousands of people I have granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. But as it is desirable that there

should be uniformity in judicial procedure (Vyāvahārasamatā) and uniformity in penalties (Daṇḍasamatā), from this time forward my rule is this—"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me."

It is clear from the extract quoted above that the order regarding Vyāvahārasamatā and Daṇḍasamatā is to be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation which the Emperor introduced. Aśoka granted independence to the Rājukas in the award of penalties, but he did not like that the Daṇḍa and Vyāvahāra prevalent within the jurisdiction of one Rājuka should be entirely different from those prevailing within the jurisdiction of others.¹ He wanted to maintain some uniformity (samatā) both in Daṇḍa (penalties) as well as in Vyāvahāra (procedure). As an instance he refers to the rule about the granting of a respite of three days to condemned men. The Samatā which he enforced involved a curtailment of the autonomy of the Rājukas and did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brāhmaṇas from capital punishment.

But were the Brāhmaṇas really immune from capital punishment in ancient India? The immunity was certainly not known to the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas who thronged to the court of Janaka. In the Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad (III. 9. 26) we have a reference to a Brāhmaṇa disputant who failed to answer a question of Yājñavalkya and lost his head. We learn from the Pañchaviṃśā Brāhmaṇa (Vedic Index, II, p. 84) that a Purohita might be punished with death for treachery to his master. Kauṭilya, p. 229, tells us that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of treason was to be drowned. Readers of the Mahābhārata are familiar with the stories of the punishments inflicted

¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr. S. N. Majumdar.

on Māṇḍavya (Ādi, 107) and Likhita (Śānti, 23, 36). The life of a Brāhmana was not so sacrosanct in ancient as in mediæval and modern India. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmana that king Hariśchandra of the Ikshvāku family did not scruple to offer a Brāhmana boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Against the surmises regarding the anti-Brāhmanical policy of Aśoka we have the positive evidence of some of his inscriptions which proves the Emperor's solicitude for the well-being of the Brāhmanas. Thus in Rock Edict III he inculcates liberality to Brāhmanas. In Edict IV he speaks with disapproval of unseemly behaviour towards Brāhmanas. In Edict V he refers to the employment of Dharmamahāmātras to promote the welfare and happiness of the Brāhmanas.

Paṇḍit Śāstrī says further that as soon as the strong hand of Aśoka was removed the Brāhmanas seemed to have stood against his successors. We have no evidence of any such conflict between the children of Aśoka and the Brāhmanas. On the other hand if the Brāhmana historian of Kaśmīr is to be believed the relations between Jalauka, one of the sons and successors of Aśoka and the Brāhmanical Hindus were entirely friendly.

In conclusion Paṇḍit Śāstrī refers to the assassination of the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha by Pushyamitra Śuṅga and says, "We clearly see the hands of the Brāhmanas in the great revolution." But the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected "during the supremacy of the Śuṅgas" do not bear out the theory which represents Pushyamitra and his descendants as the leaders of a militant Brāhmanism. Are inferences deduced from uncorroborated writings of late authors like Tāranāth to be preferred to the clear testimony of contemporary monuments? Even admitting that Pushyamitra was a militant Brāhmanist we fail to see how the decay and dismemberment of the Maurya

Empire can be attributed primarily to him or his Brāhmaṇist followers. The Empire was a shrivelled and attenuated carcass long before the Śūṅga *coup d'état* of 185 B. C. We learn from the Rājatarāṅginī that immediately after the death of Aśoka one of his own sons, Jalauka, made himself independent in Kāśmīr and conquered the plains including Kanauj. The loss of the northern provinces is confirmed by Greek evidence. We learn from Polybius that about 206 B. C., there ruled over them a king named Sophagasenus (Subhāgasena). We quote the passage referring to the king below :—

“He (Antiochos the Great) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androstenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him.”

It will be seen that Subhāgasena was a king and not a petty chief of the Kābul valley as Dr. Smith would have us believe. He is called “King of the Indians” a title which was applied by the Classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrios. There is nothing in the account of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary the statement that Antiochos “renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians” proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established between them. The renewal of friendship on the part of the Greek king and the surrender of elephants on the part of his Indian brother only remind us of the relations subsisting between Chandragupta and Seleukos. Further the expression “renewal of friendship” seems to suggest that Subhāgasena

had had previous dealings with Antiochos. Consequently he must have come to the throne sometime before 206 B.C. The existence of an independent kingdom in the north-west before 206 B.C. shows that the Maurya Empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Pushyamitra.

We have seen that the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire to a Brāhmaṇical revolution led by Pushyamitra Śūṅga does not bear scrutiny. Was the Maurya disruption due primarily to the Greek invasions? The earliest Greek invasion after Aśoka, that of Antiochos the Great, took place about 206 B.C., and we have seen that the combined testimony of Kalhana and Polybius leaves no room for doubt that the dissolution of the empire began long before the raid of the Hellenistic monarch.

What then were the primary causes of the disintegration of the mighty empire? There are good grounds for believing that the government of the outlying provinces by the imperial officials was oppressive. Already in the time of Bindusāra ministerial oppression had goaded the people of Taxila to open rebellion. The Divyāvadāna says (p. 371):—

“Atha Rājño Vindusārasya Takshaṣilā nāma nagaram viruddham. Tatra Rājñā Vindusāren Āśoko visarjitaḥ... yavat Kumāraschaturāṅgena balakāyena Takshaṣilān gataḥ, śrutvā Takshaṣilā nivāsinaḥ paurāḥ pratyudgamyā cha kathayanti ‘na vayam Kumārasya viruddhāḥ nāpi Rājño Vindusārasya api tu dushtāmātyā asmākaṃ paribhavaṃ kurvanti.’”

“Now Taxila a city of Bindusāra’s revolted. The king Bindusāra despatched Aśoka there.....while the prince was nearing Taxila with the four-fold army, the resident Pauras of Taxila, on hearing of it...came out to meet him and said:—‘We are not opposed to the prince nor even

to king Bindusāra. But these wicked ministers' insult us!'"

Taxila again revolted during the reign of Aśoka and the cause was again the tyranny of the ministers. "Rājñośokasyottarāpathe Takshaṣilā nagaram viruddham...." Prince Kunāla was deputed to the government of the city. When the prince went there the people said "na vyaṃ Kumārasyaviruddhā na rājño' śokasyāpitu duṣṭātmano'mātyā āgatyāsmākam apamānam kurvanti."

The Divyavadāna is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression to which it refers is affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kalinga Edicts. Addressing the High officers (Mahāmātras) in charge of Tosali he says: "All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved... Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard... The restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life.... From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. In the same way—from Taxila" (Smith, Aśoka, third Ed., pp. 194-196).

From the concluding words of the Edict it appears that official maladministration was not confined to the province of Kalinga. The state of affairs at Ujjain and Taxila was similar. It is thus clear that the loyalty of the provincials was being slowly undermined by ministerial oppression long before the Śunga revolution of 185 B.C., and the Greek invasion of 206 B.C. Aśoka no doubt did his best to check the evil, but he was ill served by his officers. It is significant that the provincials of the north-west—the very people who complained of the oppression of the *dushtāmātyas* as early as the reign of Bindusāra were the first to break away from the Maurya empire.

The Magadhan successors of Aśoka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption.¹ The martial ardour of imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battlefields of Kalinga. Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of Dhammavijaya which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire. He had called upon his sons and grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and gentleness. These latter had heard more of Dhammaghosa than of Bherighosa. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya.

The disintegration which set in before 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the Gārgī Saṁhitā and the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. The final *coup de grace* was given by Pushyamitra Śunga.

¹ On the contrary, if the Gārgī Saṁhitā is to be believed, one of his successors, namely, Śālisūka actually quickened the pace by his tyranny—*Sarāṣṭra mardate ghorāṁ dharmavādi adhārmikāḥ*.

THE ŚUNGA EMPIRE AND THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

I. THE REIGN OF PUSHYAMITRA.

Bṛihadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, was, according to the Purāṇas and the Harshacharita, assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Śuṅga who usurped the throne, and founded a new dynasty—that of the Śuṅgas.

The origin of the Śuṅga family is wrapped up in obscurity. According to one theory the Śuṅgas were Irāṇians, worshippers of the Sun (Mithra). Others regard them as Brāhmaṇas. Curiously enough Pāṇini in Sūtra IV. 1. 117 connects the Śuṅgas with the well known Brāhmaṇa family of the Bharadvājas. Śauṅgi-putra “son of a female descendant of Śuṅga” is the name of a teacher in the Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad (VI. 4. 31). Śauṅgāyani “descendant of Śauṅga” is the name of a teacher in the Vaiśā Brāhmaṇa. Macdonell and Keith point out that the Śuṅgas are known as teachers in the Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra (XII. 13. 5, etc.). It is not known for certain when and why the Śuṅgas, like the Kadambas of a later date, exchanged the ferule for the sword. There is no reason to think that Aśoka tyrannised over the Brāhmaṇas and that his oppression forced them to engage in non-priestly pursuits. Brāhmaṇa *Senāpatīs* were by no means rare in ancient India (*cf.* the cases of Dīoṇa, Kṛipa and Aśvatthāman in the Mahābhārata).

The dominions of Pushyamitra extended to the river Narmadā, and included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Vidiśā and, if Tāranātha is to be believed, Jalandhara. It appears from the Divyāvadāna, p. 434, that the Emperor himself continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. The Mālavikāgnimitram tells us that Vidiśā was governed by

Prince Agnimitra, probably as his father's Viceroy. Agnimitra's queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Virasena. He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā (Atthi devīe vanāvaro bhādā Viraseṇo nāma, so bhāṭṭinā antavāladugge Nammadāṭṭire thāvido). Lüders' Inscriptions, Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bharhut (in Baghelkhand) was governed by a Śuṅga feudatory.

Affairs in the Deccan.

It appears from the Mālavikāgnimitram that the foundation of the Śuṅga dynasty synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, viz., Vidarbha. Agnimitra's Amātya refers to the kingdom as achirādhishṭhita (established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and therefore not firm (navasaṁropanasīthilastaru). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation of the Maurya minister (Sachiva) and a natural enemy (prakṛityamitra) of the Śuṅgas. It appears that during the reign of Bṛihadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the king's Sachiva or minister, the other headed by his Senāpati or general. The minister's partisan Yajñasena was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra got the Viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the general organised his *coup d'état*, killed the king, and imprisoned the minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the usurping family. This is why he is called achirādhishṭhitarājya and prakṛityamitra by Agnimitra and his Amātya.

The Mālavikāgnimitram says that when Kumāra Mādhasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, he was

captured by an Antapala (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Agnimitra demanded his surrender. The Vidarbha king promised to give him up on condition that his brother-in-law the Maurya minister should be released. This enraged the Śuṅga Prince who ordered Virasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated. Mādhavasena was released and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two states.

In the opinion of several scholars an enemy more formidable than Yajñasena threatened the Śuṅga dominions from Kalinga. In his Oxford History of India (Additions and Corrections and p. 58 n.) Dr. Smith accepts the view that Khāravela, king of Kalinga, defeated Pushyamitra who is called Bahapatimita or Bahasatimita in the Hāthigumphā Inscription. Prof. Dubreuil also seems to endorse the view that Khāravela was the antagonist of Pushyamitra, and that the Hāthigumphā Inscription is dated the 165th year of Rāja-Muriyakāla which corresponds to the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela.

Dr. Majumdar points out (Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 189) that of the six letters of the Hāthigumphā Inscription which have been read as Bahasatimitam, the second letter seems to have a clear *U* sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like *pa* and *sa*. Even if the reading Bahasatimitam or Bahapatimitam be accepted as correct, the identification of Bahasati (Brihaspatimitra) with Pushyamitra on the ground that Brihaspati is the regent of the nakshatra or Zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab, cannot be regarded as final in the absence of further evidence. In this connection we should note that the Divyāvadāna (p. 434) represents Pāṭaliputra as the residence of

Pushyamitra whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāravēla is called Rājagahanapa and apparently resided in the city of Rājagriha.

The date "165th year of the Muriyakāla" is deduced from a passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription which was read as follows (Jayaswal, JBORS, 1917, p. 459):—

Pānaṃtariyasathivasasate Rāja-Muriya-kālevochchhine.

There is another passage in the same inscription which runs thus:—

Paṃchame cha dānī vase Namda-rāja ti-vasa-sata (m ?)—ogbāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā-panāḍiṃ Nagaraṃ pavesa-ti (*ibid*, p. 455).

If Pānaṃtariya sathivasasate be taken to mean 165 years, tivasasata should be taken to mean 103 years and we shall have to conclude that Khāravēla flourished 165 years after a Maurya king and only 103 years after Nandarāja which is impossible as the Nandas preceded the Mauryas. If on the other hand tivasasata be taken to mean 300 years, pānaṃtariyasathivasasate should be taken to mean not 165 but 6,500 years. In other words Khāravēla will have to be placed 6,500 years after a Maurya which is also impossible. Mr. Jayaswal has himself now given up the reading "pānaṃtariya-sathivasasate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine cha chhe-yāṭhi Argasi ti kaṃtāriyaṃ upādiyati" in line 16, and proposes to read "pānatariya sata-sahasehi Muriya kālam vochhinam cha choyathi agasatikantariyaṃ upādāyati." He translates the expression beginning with Muriyakāla "he (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted, and being of an interval of 64 with a century" (JBORS, Vol. IV, Part IV). With regard to this new reading and translation Professor Chanda observes (M. A. S. I., No. 1, p. 10) "the rendering of vochhine as 'counted' is even more far-fetched than 'expired.' The particle *cha* after vochhine makes

it difficult to read it as *vochhinam* qualifying the substantive *Muriyakālam*. Even if we overlook *vochhine*, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a *praśasti*." It may be added that there is no trace of the existence of a Maurya era.

Mr. Jayaswal takes *tivasasata* to mean 300 years and places Khāravēla and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identifies with Nandavardhana. But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaisunāga king, and that the Śaisunāgas do not appear to have had anything to do with Kalinga. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas' or the old reigning families. So we should identify Nandarāja of the Hathigumphā inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons." (M. A. S. I., No. I, p. 12.) As Mahāpadma and his sons ruled in the fourth century B. C. Khāravēla must be assigned either to the third century B. C. (taking *tivasasata* to mean 103) or to the first century B. C. (taking *tivasasata* to mean 300). In either case he could not have been a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śūnga who ruled from about 185 to 149 B. C.

The Yavana Invasion.

The only undoubted historical events of Pushyamitra's time, besides the *coup d'état* of 185 B. C. and the Vidarbha war, are the Greek invasion from the North-West referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, and the celebration of the horse sacrifice.

Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the passage in the

Māhābhāshya—iha Pushyamitra yājayāmaḥ “here we perform the sacrifices by Pushyamitra” which is cited as an illustration of the Vārtika teaching the use of the present tense to denote an action which has been begun but not finished (Ind. Ant., 1872, p. 300). The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, Arunad Yavanaḥ Śāketam : Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām. This, says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Śāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā (near Chitor; cf. Mbh. II. 32.8) when Patañjali wrote this. Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitram refers to a conflict between the Śūnga prince Vasumitra and a Yavana on the southern bank of the Sindhu. Unfortunately the name of the invader is not given either in the Mahābhāshya or the Mālavikāgnimitram. There is a considerable divergence of opinion with regard to his identity. But all agree that he was a Bactrian Greek.

The Bactrian Greeks were originally subjects of the Seleukidan Empire. We learn from Strabo, Trogus and Justin that about the middle of the third century B. C. when the Seleukid rulers were pre-occupied in the west Diodotos or Theodotus “Governor of the thousand cities of Bactria” revolted and assumed the title of king. He was succeeded, according to Justin, by his son Theodotus II who entered into an alliance with Arsakes who about this time tore Parthia from the Seleukidan Empire.

The successor of Theodotus II (Diodotos II) was Euthydemos. We learn from Strabo (H. & F.’s Ed., Vol. II, p. 251) that Euthydemos and his party occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana. We are told by Polybius that Antiochos III of Syria made an attempt to recover the lost provinces but afterwards

made peace with Euthydemos. The historian says "Antiochos the Great received the young prince (Demetrios, son of Euthydemos) and judging from his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal honour he first promised to give him one of his daughters, and secondly, conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemos. He crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

Not long after the expedition of Antiochos the Great, the Bactrian Greeks themselves formed the design of extending their kingdom by the conquest of the territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. Strabo says "the Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis ¹ to the east and reached Isamus ²) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene, but of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār), and Sigerdis (probably Sāgaradvīpa of the

¹ i.e., the Hyphasis or Vipāsā (the Beas).

² The Trisāmā? In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (V. 19. 17) a river of this name is mentioned in conjunction with the Kauṣiki, Mandākinī, Yamunā, etc.

Mahābhārata, II. 31. 66, *i. e.* Cutch) which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus in short says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni." (Strabo, Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-253.)

Strabo gives the credit for spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the east into India partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios, son of Euthydemus and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great.

Menander has been identified with the king Milinda who is mentioned in the Milindapañho as a contemporary of the Buddhist Thera Nāgasena. This monarch was born at Kalsigrāma (Trenckner, Milindapañho, p. 83) in the Island of Alasanda or Alexandria (*ibid.*, p. 82) and had his capital at Sāgala or Sākala, modern Siālkot, in the Pañjāb (*ibid.*, pp. 3, 14), and not at Kābul as Dr. Smith seemed to think (EHI., 1914, p. 225). The extent of his conquest is indicated by the great variety and wide diffusion of his coins which have been found over a very wide extent of country, as far west as Kābul, and as far east as Mathurā (SBE., Vol. XXXV, p. xx). The author of the Periplus states that small silver coins, inscribed with Greek characters and bearing the name of Menander were still current in his time (cir. 60-80 A. D.) at the port of Barygaza (Broach). Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The statement of Plutarch is important as showing that Menander's dominions included many cities.

Demetrios has been identified by some with king Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 139. 23) and the "grete Emetreus, the king of Inde" of Chaucer's *Knights Tale*. The wide extent of his conquests is proved by the existence of several cities named after him

or his father in Afghanistan as well as India. Thus in the work of Isidore of Charax (JRAS., 1915, p. 830) we have a reference to a city named Demetrias Polis in Arachosia. The Mahābhāshya mentions a city in Sauvira called Dattāmitri (Ind. Ant., 1911, Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population; Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 11). Ptolemy the Geographer mentions the city of Euthymedia (Euthydemia?) which was identical with Śākala (Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 349-350) and was, according to the Milindapañho, the capital of the Indo-Greek Empire in the time of Menander.

It is permissible to conjecture that one of the two conquering kings, *viz.*, Menander and Demetrios, was identical with the, Yavana invader who penetrated to Śāketa in Oudh, Madhyamikā near Chitor, and the river Sindhu in Central India, in the time of Pushyamitra. Goldstücker, Smith and many other scholars identified the invader with Menander who crossed the Hypanis and penetrated as far as the Isamus (Trisāmā¹?). On the other hand, Prof. Bhandarkar suggested, in his Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, the identification of the invader with Demetrios. We learn from Polybius that Demetrios was a young man at the time of Antiochus III's invasion cir. 206 B. C. Justin says that Demetrios was "king of the Indians" when Eukratides was king of the Bactrians and Mithridates was king of the Parthians. "Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eukratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men ... Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrios king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies,

¹ Trisāmā is a river mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, together with the Kauṣīki, Mandūkī, Yamunā, etc.

a force of 60,000 enemies." Dr. Smith assigns Mithridates to the period from 171 to 136 B. C. Eukratides and Demetrios must also be assigned to that period, that is, the middle of the second century B. C.

We have seen that Demetrios was a young man and a prince in 206 B. C. We now find that he ruled as king of the Indians in the middle of the second century B. C. He was, therefore, the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Śunga who ruled from 185 to 149 B. C. Menander, on the other hand, must have ruled over the Indo-Greek kingdom much later, as will be apparent from the facts noted below. Justin tells us that Demetrios was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides (Watson's Ed., p. 277). Eukratides was killed by his son with whom he had shared his throne (*ibid*, 277). The identity of the parricide is uncertain but no one says that he was Menander.¹

Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. We know that Greek rulers who reigned conjointly sometimes issued joint coins. Thus we have joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, of Strato and Agathokleia, of Strato I and Strato II, and of Hermaios and Kalliope. The only Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a coin together with those of Eukratides are Heliokles and his wife Laodike. Gardner suggested that

¹ According to Cunningham and Smith the parricide was Apollodotos. But Rapson shows good reasons for believing that Apollodotos did not belong to the family of Eukratides but was on the other hand a ruler of Kāpiśa who was ousted by Eukratides (JRAS., 1905, pp. 784-785). Rawlinson points out (Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 73) that Apollodotos uses the epithet Philopator, and the title would be somewhat incongruous if he were a parricide. It may be argued that the parricide was Apollodotos Soter and not Apollodotos Philopator, but we should remember that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin (Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins, p. 48) and therefore it is impossible to justify the separation of Apollodotos Soter and Apollodotos Philopator as two entities.

Heliokles and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides. But Von Sallet (Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 256) proposed an entirely different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that they were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliokles with a Laodike whom Von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Demetrios by the daughter of Antiochos III. If Von Sallet's conjecture be accepted then it is permissible to think that Heliokles was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

It is clear from what has been stated above that Demetrios was succeeded by Eukratides, who in his turn, was followed by Heliokles. Menander could not have reigned earlier than Heliokles. It may however be argued that after Demetrios the Indo-Greek kingdom split up into two parts, one part which included the Trans-Indus territories was ruled by Eukratides and his son, the other part which included Euthymedia or Śākala was ruled by Menander who thus might have been a younger contemporary of Eukratides (cir. 171 B.C.) and consequently of Pushyamisra Śūnga (cir. 185-149 B.C.).

Now, the disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Demetrios may be accepted as an historical fact. The existence of two rival Greek kingdoms in India and their mutual dissensions are proved by literary and numismatic evidence. The Purānas say :—

Bhaviṣhyantiha Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
naiva mūrdhābhishiktās te bhaviṣhyanti narādhipāḥ
yuga-dosha-durāchārā bhaviṣhyanti nripās tu te
strīnām bāla-vadhenaiva *hatvā chaiva parasparam.*

“There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason

of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children and *killing one another*, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age." (Pargiter.)

The Gārgī Saṁhitā says—

Madhyadesē na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha durmadāḥ
Teshāmanyonya saṁbhāvā (?) bhavishyanti nasamśayaḥ
Ātmachakrotthitam ghoram yuddham paramadāruṇam

"The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in the Madhya-deśa; there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves" (Kern, Brihat Saṁhitā, p. 38).

Coins bear testimony to struggles between kings of the house of Eukratides and kings of the family of Euthydemos. But the evidence which we have got clearly indicates that the contemporaries and rivals of Eukratides and Heliokles were Apollodotos, Agathokleia and Strato I, and not Menander. Certain square bronze coins of Eukratides have on the obverse a bust of the king and the legend Basileus Megalou Eukratidou. On the reverse there is the figure of Zeus and the legend Kavisiye nagara-devatā. They are often coins of Apollodotos restruck (Rapson, JRAS., 1905, 785). From this it is clear that Apollodotos was a rival of Eukratides and was superseded in the rule of Kāpiśa by the latter. Rapson further points out (JRAS., 1905, pp. 165 ff) that Heliokles restruck the coins of Agathokleia and Strato I ruling conjointly. Further, the restriking is always by Heliokles, never by Agathokleia and Strato I. From this it is clear that Agathokleia and Strato I ruled over an Indo-Greek principality either before, or in the time of Heliokles, but not after him.

We have seen that according to the evidence of Justin and the Kāpiśa coins Eukratides fought against two rivals

namely Demetrios and Apollodotos, his son Heliokles also fought against two rivals, namely, Agathokleia and Strato I. As Demetrios and Apollodotos were both antagonists of Eukratides and used the same coin-types, the inevitable inference is that they were very near in time as well as in relationship to one another, in fact that one immediately followed the other. Now Demetrios was beyond doubt the son and successor of Euthydemos, consequently Apollodotos must have been his successor.

As Heliokles was a son of Eukratides, the rival of Apollodotos, he must have been a younger contemporary of Apollodotos. Consequently Heliokles' antagonists Agathokleia and Strato I, whose coins he restruck, were very near in time to Apollodotos. Strato I later on ruled conjointly with his grandson Strato II. There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrios to Strato II. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Milindapañho, Milinda or Menander flourished "500 years" (*i. e.*, in the fifth century, *cf.* Smith, EHI, 3rd edition, 328) after the Parinirvāṇa (parinibbānato pañchavassasate atikkante ete upajjissanti, Trenckner, the Milinda-pañho, p. 3). This tradition probably points to a date in the first century B. C. for Menander. Thus both according to numismatic evidence and literary tradition Menander could not have been the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra Śūṅga. It is Demetrios who should, therefore, be identified with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa.

The Aśvamedha Sacrifice.

After the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas Pushyamitra celebrated a horse-sacrifice. This sacrifice is regarded by some scholars as marking an early stage in the

Brāhmaṇical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors. Late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut erected "during the supremacy of the Śuṅgas" do not bear out the theory that the Śuṅgas were the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism the Śuṅgas do not appear to have been so intolerant as some writers represent them to be.

The Mantriparishad in the Śuṅga Period.

If Kālidāsa is to be believed the Mantriparishad (Assembly of Councillors) continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery during the reign of Pushyamitra. The poet supplies us with the important information that even the viceregal princes were assisted by Parishads.¹ The *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the viceroy of Viḍiśā, with his own Parishad :

"Deva ! evam Amātyaparishado vijñāpayāmi "

"Mantriparishado'pyetadeva darśanam

Dvidhā vibhaktām śriyamudvahantau

dhuram rathāśvāviva samgrahituḥ

sthāshyataste nripate nideśe

parasparāvagrahanirvikārau

Rājā : tena hi Mantriparishadam brūhi senānye Vīrasenāya
lekhyatāmevaṁ kriyatāmiti."

It seems that the Amātyaparishad or Mantriparishad was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided.

¹ Bühler points out that Aśoka's Kumāras also are each assisted by a body of Mahāmātras. These probably correspond to the Kumārāmātyas of the Gupta period.

II. AGNIMITRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Pushyamitra died in or about 149 B.C. after a reign of 36 years, and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. The name of a prince named Agnimitra has been found on several copper coins discovered in Rohilkhand. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79) was of opinion that this prince was probably not a Śuṅga, but belonged to a local dynasty of North Pañchāla (Rohilkhand). He gave two reasons for this conclusion :

1. Agnimitra's is the only coin-name found in the Purāṇic lists. The names of the other Mitra kings do not agree with those found in the Purāṇas.
2. The coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Pañchāla.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac (*Ind. Ant.*, 1880, 311) and Jayaswal have shown (*JBORS*, 1917, p. 479) that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra can be identified with those found in the Purāṇic lists of Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings ; for example, Jethamitra may be identified with the successor of Agnimitra, Vasu-Jyeshṭha or Su-Jyeshṭha who is called simply Jyeshṭha in the *k* Vishṇu manuscript (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31, n.12). Bhadrāghosha may be identified with Ghosha the seventh king of the Purāṇic list of Śuṅga kings. Bhūmimitra may be identified with the Kāṇva king of that name. Several names indeed cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kāṇva, and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the Andhrabhṛityas and Śīsunandi (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 49).

As to the second point we should remember that Mitra coins have been found at Kosāmbi, Ayodhyā and Mathurā as well as in Pañchāla. Names of the Mitra kings Brahmamitra and Indramitra are found engraved

on two rail pillars at Budh Gayā as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā and North Pañchāla. In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the Mitras were a local dynasty of North Pañchāla.

Agnimitra's successor, as we have already seen, was Jyeshtha of the *k* Vishṇu manuscript who is very probably identical with Jethamitra of the coins (Coins of Ancient India, p. 74).

The next king Vasumitra was a son of Agnimitra. During the life-time of his grandfather he had led the Śunga army against the Yavanas and defeated them on the Sindhu (in Central India) which probably formed the boundary between the Śunga and Indo-Greek dominions.

Vasumitra's successor is called Bhadraka in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Ādraka and Odraka in the Vishṇu, Andhraka in the Vāyu, and Antaka in the Matsya Purāṇa. Mr. Jayaswal identifies him with Udāka mentioned in a Pabhosā Inscription which runs thus: "By Āsādhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosā Inscription that Āsādhasena belonged to the royal family of Adhichhatrā, the capital of North Pañchāla. Mr. Jayaswal maintains that Odraka (Udāka) was the paramount Śunga sovereign, while the family of Āsādhasena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne. Marshall (A Guide to Sanchī, p. 11 n.) on the other hand identifies the fifth Śunga with king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra mentioned in a Garuḍa Pillar Inscription found in the old city of Vidiśā, now Besnagar. Mr. Jayaswal identifies Bhāga-bhadra with Bhāga Śunga, *i.e.*, Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas. This theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription (of the twelfth year after the

installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata) which proves that there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata apart from king Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting Udāka with Vidiśā it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhāgavata. The view of Marshall seems to be more probable.

It appears that the successors of Agnimitra at Vidiśā cultivated friendly relations with the Greek sovereigns of the Pañjāb. The policy of the Bactrian Greeks in this respect resembled that of their Seleukidan predecessors. Seleukos, we know, first tried to conquer the Magadha Empire, but being frustrated in his attempts thought it prudent to make friends with the Mauryas. The Bactrians, too, after the reverses they sustained at the hands of Pushyamitra's general, apparently gave up, for a time at least, their hostile attitude towards the Śūngas. We learn from the Besnagar Inscription of the reign of Bhāgabhadra that Heliadora, the son of Diya (Dion) a native of Taxila came as an Ambassador from Mahārāja Antialkidas (Antialkidas) to Rājan Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra the Saviour (Trātāra), who was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign. The ambassador, though a Greek, professed the Bhāgavata religion and set up a Garuḍadhvaja in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods. He was apparently well-versed in the Mahābhārata¹ which he might have heard recited in his native city of Taxila.

Nothing in particular is known regarding the three immediate successors of Bhadraka. The ninth king Bhāgavata had a long reign which extended over 32 years. Prof. Bhandarkar identifies him with the Mahārāja Bhāgavata mentioned in one of the Besnagar

¹ The three immortal precepts (dama, dhāra, apramāda), mentioned in the second part of Heliadora's inscription, occur in the Mahābhārata (XI.7.23: *Damas tyāgo' pramādāśca te trayo Brahmano hayāh*). Cf. also Gitā, XVI. 1.2.

Inscriptions mentioned above. Bhāgavata's successor Devabhūti or Devabhūmi was a young and dissolute prince. The Purāṇas state that he was overthrown after a reign of 10 years by his Amātya Vasudeva. Bāṇa in his Harshacharita says that the over-libidinous Śuṅga was bereft of his life by his Amātya Vasudeva with the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman (Dāsī) disguised as his queen. Bāṇa's statement does not necessarily imply that Devabhūti was identical with the murdered Śuṅga. His statement may be construed to mean that Vāsudeva entered into a conspiracy with the emissaries of Devabhūti to bring about the downfall of the reigning Śuṅga (Bhāgavata), and to raise Devabhūti to the throne. But in view of the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas this interpretation of the statement of Bāṇa cannot be upheld.

The Śuṅga power was not altogether extinguished after the tragic end of Devabhūti. It probably survived in Central India (*cf.* Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49) till the rise of the Andhrabṛityas or Sātavāhanas who "swept away the remains of the Śuṅga power" and probably appointed Śīsunandi (*ibid.*, p. 49) to govern the Vidiśā region. Śīsunandi's younger brother had a grandson (dauhitra) named Śīśuka who became the ruler of Purikā. Curiously enough Śīśuka is also the Purāṇic name of the first king of the Andhrabṛitya dynasty. It is not improbable that the two Śīśukas were identical, and that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Śīśuka (Śīmuka of the Inscriptions) annexed Purikā but placed Vidiśā under his maternal relations.

THE FALL OF THE MAGADHAN AND INDO-GREEK POWERS.

1. THE KĀNVAS AND THE LATER ŚUNĠAS.

Vasudeva at whose instance the "overlibidinous Śunġa" was "reft of his life" founded about 73 B.C. a new line of kings known as the Kānva or Kānvāyana dynasty. The Purānas give the following account of this family. "He (Vasudeva), the Kānvāyana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the Śunġabhṛitya Kānvāyana kings. These four Kānva Brāhmanas will enjoy the earth. They will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Andhras." Bhūmimitra seems to be identical with the king of that name known from coins.

The chronology of the Kānva dynasty is a matter of controversy. In his *Early History of the Deccan*, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes "the founder of the Andhrabhṛityas is said to have uprooted not only the Kānvas, but 'whatever was left of the power of the Śunġas'. And the Kānvas are pointedly spoken of as Śunġabhṛityas or servants of the Śunġas. It therefore appears likely that when the princes of the Śunġa family became weak, the Kānvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śunġas include the 45 assigned to the Kānvas."

✓ Now, the Purāṇic evidence only proves that certain princes belonging to the Śuṅga stock continued to rule till the Andhrabhṛitya conquest and were the contemporaries of the Kāṇvas. But there is nothing to show that these *rois faineants* of the Śuṅga stock were identical with any of the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned by name in the Purāṇic lists who reigned 112 years. On the contrary the distinct testimony of the Purāṇas that Devabhūti the tenth and last Śuṅga of the Purāṇic lists was the person slain by Vasudeva the first Kāṇva, probably shows that the *rois faineants*, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva and his successors, were later than Devabhūti and were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the ten Śuṅga kings from Pushyamitra to Devabhūti do not include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. It is therefore not unreasonable to accept Dr. Smith's date B. C. 73-28 for the Kāṇva dynasty.

II. THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE CHETAS.

While the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Sātavāhana or Andhrabhṛitya kingdom of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the Cheta kingdom of Kaliṅga.

The founder of the Sātavāhana or Andhrabhṛitya dynasty was Simuka whose name is misspelt as Śisuka, Sindhuka and Śipraka in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas state that the Andhra Simuka will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and Suśarman, and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth. If this statement be true then it cannot be denied that Simuka flourished in the first century B. C. Dr Smith and many other scholars however reject the *unanimous* testimony of the Purāṇas. They

attach more importance to a statement found in certain Purānas *but not in all*, that the Andhras ruled for four centuries and a half. Accordingly they place Simuka in the third century B. C. and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A. D.

A discussion of Simuka's date involves the consideration of the following questions :—

1. What is the age of the script of the Nānāghāṭ record of Nayanikā, daughter-in law of Simuka ?

2. What is the actual date of Khāravela's Hāthigumphā Inscription which refers to a Śātakarni who was apparently a successor of Simuka ?

3. What is the exact number of Andhrabhṛitya kings and what is the duration of their rule ?

As to the first point we should note that according to Prof. Chanda the inscription of Nayanikā is later than the Besnagar Inscription of Bhāgavata the penultimate king of the Early Śuṅga dynasty (MASI. No. 1, pp. 14-15.) Consequently Simuka may be placed in the Kāṇva period *i. e.* in the first century B. C.—a date which accords with Purānic evidence.

As to the second point Mr. R. D. Banerji gives good grounds for believing that the expression *Ti-vasa-sata* occurring in the passage "*Pamchame cha dāni vase Namdarāja ti-vasa-sata.....*" of the Hāthigumphā Inscription means not 103 but 300 (JBORS. 1917, 495-497.) This is also the view of Mr. Jayaswal and Prof. Chanda.* If

* In his fifth year Khāravela extended an aqueduct that had not been used for *tivasasata* since Nandarāja. If "*tivasasata*" is taken to mean 103, Khāravela's accession must be placed $103-5=98$ years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place 9 years before that *i. e.* $98-9=89$ years after Nandarāja (*i. e.*, not later than 323 B.C. - 89 = 234 B.C.) Khāravela's father must have been on the throne at that time, and he was preceded by his father. But we learn from Aśoka's inscriptions that Kalinga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra under the suzerainty of Aśoka himself. Therefore *tivasasata* should be taken to mean 300 and not 103.

Tivasa-sata means 300 Khāravela and his contemporary Śātakarṇi must have flourished 300 years after Nandarāja, i.e. in or about 23 B. C. This agrees with the Purānic evidence which makes Śātakarṇi's father a contemporary of the last Kāṇva king Suśarman (38-28 B. C.)

We now come to the third point viz. the determination of the exact number of Śātavāhana kings, and the duration of their rule.

Regarding each of these matters we have got two different traditions. As to the first the Matsya Purāṇa says :—

“Ekōnavimśatirhyete Andhrā bhokshyanti vai mahīm,” but it gives thirty names.

The Vāyu Purāṇa with the exception of the ‘M’ manuscript says—

“Ityete vai nṛpās trimsad Andhrā bhokshyantiye mahīm,” but most of the Vāyu manuscripts name only seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen kings.

As to the duration of the Andhra rule several Matsya manuscripts say—

Teshām varsha śātāni syuś chatvārishashṭir eva cha.

Another Matsya manuscript puts it slightly differently.

Dvādaśādhikam eteshām rājyaṁ śatachatuṣṭayam.

While a Vāyu passage gives altogether a different tradition :

Andhrā bhokshyanti vasudhām śate dve cha śatām cha vai.

Obviously according to one tradition there were about nineteen kings who probably ruled for 300 years as the Vāyu says, while according to another tradition there were thirty kings the lengths of whose reigns covered a period of more than 400 years. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of

the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, and that the longer period represents the total duration of the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of 300 years, and the seventeen, eighteen or nineteen names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa, and hinted at in the Matsya, refer to the main branch. That there was at least one line of Śātakarṇis distinct from the main branch is admitted by all. Inscriptions in Aparānta, in Kanara and in the north of Mysore testify to the existence of a family of Śātakarṇis who ruled over Kuntala (the Kanarese districts) before the Kadambas. The Matsya list includes at least two kings of this line named Skandasvāti and Kuntala Śātakarṇi, but the Vayu list does not. *Skandanāga-Sātaka* actually appears as the name of a prince of the Kanarese line of Śātakarṇis in a Kanheri inscription. (Rapson, Andhra Coins, liii.) As to Kuntala Śātakarṇi, the commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra takes the word Kuntala in the name Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana to mean "Kuntalavishaye jātatvāt tatsamākhyāḥ." It is therefore fair to conclude that the Matsya Purāṇa which mentions 30 Śātavāhana kings includes not only the main branch but also the Kuntala line. On the other hand the Vāyu Purāṇa omits the Śātakarṇis of Kuntala and mentions only about 19 kings who presumably belonged to the main line and ruled for 300 years. If the main line of Śātavāhana kings consisted only of about nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C. and that his dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D. The Kuntala line lasted longer and did not come to an end before the fourth or fifth century A.D., when it was supplanted by the Kadambas. Thus the total duration of the rule of both the branches of Śātakarṇis is really more than 400 years. The kings of the Kuntala line are

no doubt placed before Gautamîputra and his successors. But we have other instances of the inversion of the order of kings in the Purānas (see pp. 52, 58 *ante*).

Regarding the original home of the Sātavāhana family there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars think that the Sātavāhanas were not Andhras but merely Andhrabhṛityas of Kanarese origin. In the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIV (1917) Dr. Sukthankar edited an Inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi "king of the Sātavāhanas" which mentions a place called Sātavāhani-hāra. The place occurs also in the Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman in the slightly altered form of Sātāhani-raṭṭha. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the territorial division Sātavāhani-Sātāhani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district, and that it was the original home of the Sātavāhana family. Other indications point to the territory immediately south of the Madhyadeśa as the original home of the Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇis. The Vinaya Texts (S.B.E., XVII, 38) mention a town called "*Setakannika*" which lay on the southern frontier of the Majjhimadeśa. It is significant that the earliest records of the Sātakarṇis are found in the Northern Deccan and Central India. The name Andhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛishṇā.

There is reason to believe that the Andhrabhṛitya or Sātavāhana kings were Brāhmaṇas with a little admixture of Nāga blood. The Dvātrimśatputtalikā represents Śālivāhana as of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin. The Nāga connection is suggested by names like Skandanāga-Sataka, while the claim to the rank of Brāhmaṇa is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nāsik

praśasti of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi the king is called "Eka Bamhana," i.e., the unique Brāhmaṇa. Some scholars, however, are inclined to take Bamhana to mean merely a Brāhmanical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Gautamīputra is also called "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana," i.e., the destroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. The expression "Ekabamhana" when read along with the passage "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana" leaves no room for doubt that Gautamīputra of the Śātavāhana family claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa like Paraśurāma. As a matter of fact in the praśasti the king is described as "the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma."

According to the Purāṇas Śimuka gave the final *coup de grace* to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva power. He was succeeded by his brother Krishṇa. This king has been identified with Kanha "Rājā of the Śādavāhanakula" mentioned in a Nāsik inscription. The inscription tells us that a certain cave was caused to be made by an inhabitant of Nāsik in the time of King Kanha.

Kanha-Krishṇa was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by Śātakarṇi. This Śātakarṇi has been identified with

(1) King Śātakarṇi Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati, son of Simuka Śātavāhana mentioned in the Nānāghaṭ Inscription of Nayanikā.

(2) Śātakarṇi lord of the west who was defied by Khāavela, king of Kalinga.

(3) Rājan Śrī Śātakarṇi of a Sāñchī Inscription and

(4) The elder Saraganus mentioned in the Periplus.

The first identification is accepted by all scholars. The second identification is also probable because the Purāṇas place Śātakarṇi the successor of Krishṇa, after the Kāṇvas, i.e., in the first century B.C., while the Hāthigumpha Inscription places Khāavela 300 years after Nanda-rajā, i.e., in the first century B.C.

Marshall objects to the third identification on the ground that Śrī Śātakarṇi who is mentioned in the Nānāghaṭ and Hāthigumphā Inscriptions reigned in the middle of the second century B.C.; his dominions therefore could not have included Eastern Mālwa (the Sāñchī region) which in the second century B.C., was ruled by the Śuṅgas and not by the Andhras (A Guide to Sāñchī p. 13). But we have seen that the date of the Hāthigumphā Inscription is the first century B.C. (300 years after Nanda-rāja). Moreover the Purāṇas place the kings mentioned in the Nānāghaṭ Inscription not earlier than the Kāṇvas, *i.e.*, the first century B.C. The identification of the successor of Kṛishṇa of the Sātavāhana family with Śātakarṇi of the Sāñchī Inscription, therefore, does not conflict with what is known of the history of Eastern Mālwa in the second century B.C. Lastly, it would be natural for the first Śātakarṇi to be styled simply Śātakarṇi or the elder Śātakarṇi (Saraganus, from a Prakṛit form like Sāḍaganna) while it would be equally natural for the later Śātakarṇis to be distinguished from him by the addition of a geographical designation like Kuntala, or a metronymic like Gautamīputra or Vāsishṭhīputra.

We learn from the Nānāghaṭ Inscription that Śātakarṇi, son of Simuka, was the sovereign of the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha. He conquered Eastern Mālwa and performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The conquest of Eastern Mālwa is proved by the Sāñchī Inscription which records the gift of a certain Ānaṃda, the son of Vasīṭhī, the foreman of the artisans of Rājan Sīri-Sātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi seems to have been the first prince to raise the Sātavāhanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvarī valley which rivalled in extent and power the Śuṅga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers.

After the death of Śātakarṇi his wife Nayanikā or Nāgaṇikā daughter of the Mahārathi Tranakayiro Kalālāya, the scion of the Aṅgiya family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vedīśrī and Sakti-Śrī (Sati-Srimat) or Haku-Śrī.

The Sātavāhanas were not the only enemies of Magadha in the first century B.C. We learn from the Hāthigumphā Inscription that when Śātakarṇi was ruling in the west, Khāravela of Kalinga carried his arms to Northern India and humbled the king of Rājagriha.

Khāravela belonged to the Cheta dynasty. Prof. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the Vessantara Jātaka (No. 547). The Milindapañho contains a statement which seems to indicate that the Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the *Cheta* king Sura Parichara agree with what we know about the *Chedi* king Uparichara (Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, p 287 ; Mbh. I. 63. 14).

Very little is known regarding the history of Kalinga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Cheta dynasty in the first century B.C., (three hundred years after the Nandas). The names of the first two kings of the Cheta line are not given in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Lüders Ins. No. 1347 mentions a king named Vakradeva. But we do not know whether he was a predecessor or successor of Khāravela. During the rule of the second king, who must have reigned for at least 9 years, Khāravela occupied the position of Yuvarāja. When he had completed his 24th year, he was anointed Mahārāja of Kalinga.¹ In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kalinganagara. In the next year, without taking head of Śātakarṇi, he sent a large army to the west and took the city of Masika (?) with the help of the

¹ Khāravela's chief queen was the daughter of a prince named Lalaka the great grandson of Hathisiñha.

Kusambas. He followed up his success by further operations in the west and, in his fourth year, compelled the Rāthikas and Bhojakas to do him homage. In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 300 years since Nandarāja conducted into his capital.

Emboldened by his successes in the Deccan the Kalinga king turned his attention to the North. In the eighth year he harassed the king of Rājagriha so that he fled to Mathurā. If Mr. Jayaswal is right in identifying this king with Bṛihaspatimitra, then king Bṛihaspati must have ruled over Magadha after the Kāṇva dynasty. Udāka of the Pabhosā Inscription who came later than Bṛihaspatimitra cannot, in that case, be identified with the fifth Śūṅga king who must be identified with Bhāgabhadra.

The attack on Northern India was repeated in the tenth and twelfth years. In the tenth year the Kalinga king organised a grand expedition against Bhāratavarsha, perhaps identical with the valley of the Jumna, the scene of the exploits of Bharata Dauṣanti and his descendants, where the king of Rājagriha had fled for shelter. He could not achieve any great success in that region. He simply claims to have harassed the kings of Uttarāpatha and watered his elephants in the Gaṅgā. But in Magadha he was more successful; the repeated blows certainly "struck terror into the Magadhas," and compelled the Magadha king (Bṛihaspatimitra?) to bow at his feet. Having subjugated Magadha, the invader once more turned his attention to southern India and made his power felt even by the King of the Pāṇḍya country. In the thirteenth year Khāravela erected pillars on the Kumāri Hill in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats.

III. THE END OF GREEK RULE IN NORTH-WEST INDIA.

While the Magadhan monarchy was falling before the onslaughts of the Sātavāhanas and the Chetas, the Greek power in the North-West was also hastening towards dissolution. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eukratides. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, one derived from Demetrios holding Śākala (Sialkot) with a considerable portion of the Indian interior, the other derived from Eukratides holding Takshaśilā, the Kābul valley and Bactria. According to Gardner and Rapson, Apollodotos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Agathokleia, the Stratos and Menander belonged to the house of Euthydemos and Demetrios. Most of these sovereigns used the same coin-types, specially the figure of the goddess Athene hurling the thunderbolt, which is characteristic of the Euthydemian line. Pantaleon and Agathocles strike coins with almost identical types.¹ They both adopt the metal nickel for their coins, and they alone use in their legends the Brāhmī alphabet. They seem, therefore, to have been closely connected probably as brothers. It is not improbable that Agathokleia was their sister. Agathokles issued a series of coins in commemoration of Alexander, Antiochos Nikator (Antiochos III Megas according to Malala), Diodotos, and Euthydemos.

Apollodotos, the Stratos and Menandar use the Athene type of coins. Apollodotos and Menander are mentioned together in literature. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* says that "to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotos and Menander." Again, in the

¹ Dancing girl in oriental costume according to Whitehead; Māyā, mother of the Buddha, in the nativity scene according to Foucher (*JRAS.*, 1919, p. 90).

title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotos are mentioned as Indian kings (Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, p. xix). It appears from the *Milindapañho* that the capital of the dynasty to which Menander belonged was Śākala or Sāgala.¹ We learn from Ptolemy the geographer that the city had another name Euthymedia (Euthydemia?) a designation which was probably derived from the Euthydemian line.

To the family of Eukratides belonged Heliokles and probably Lysias and Antialkidas who ruled conjointly. A common type of Antialkidas is the Pilei of the Dioscuri, which seems to connect him with Eukratides; his portrait according to Gardner resembles that of Heliokles. It is not improbable that he was an immediate successor of Heliokles. (Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. xxxiv). A Besnagar Inscription makes him a contemporary of Kāsîpūtra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā who probably ruled in the third quarter of the second century B.C. (sometime after Agnimitra). The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Takshaśilā or Taxila, the place whence his ambassador Heliodoros went to the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra.

The Greek power must have been greatly weakened by the feuds of the rival lines of Demetrios and Eukratides. The evils of internal dissension were aggravated by foreign inroads. We learn from Strabo (H. & F.'s Ed. vol. II, pp. 251-253) that the Parthians deprived Eukratides by force of arms of a part of Bactriana, which embraced the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva. There is reason to believe that the Parthian king Mithridates I penetrated even into India. Orosius, a Roman historian who flourished about 400 A.D. makes

¹ "Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāputabhedanam Sāgalanūma nagaram." "Jambudīpe Sāgala nagare Milindo nāma Rājā abosi." "Atthi kho Nāgasena Sāgalanūma nagaram, tattha Milindo nāma Rājā rajjam Kāreti."

a definite statement to the effect that Mithridates or Mithradates subdued the natives between the Hydaspes and the Indus. His conquest thus drove a wedge between the kingdom of Eukratides and that of his rival of the house of Euthydemus.

The causes of the final downfall of the Bactrian Greeks are thus stated by Justin: "the Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weaker Parthians."

The Sogdians were the people of the region now known as Samarkand and Bukhārā. They were separated from Bactriana by the Oxus. By the term Sogdian Justin probably refers not only to the Sogdiani proper but also to the well-known tribes who, according to Strabo (H. and F's Ed. vol. II pp. 245-246) deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, *viz.*, the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacarauli and the Sacae or Śakas. The story of the Śaka occupation of the Indo-Greek possessions will be told in the next chapter. The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus describes how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the Sarancae and Asiani, who finally conquered Sogdiana and Bactria. The occupation of Sogdiana probably entitled them to the designation Sogdian used by Justin. Sten Konow (Modern Review, 1921, April, p. 464) suggests the identification of the Tochari of the Classical writers with the Ta-hia of the Chinese historians. He further identifies the Asii, Asioi or Asiani with the Yue-chi. We are inclined to identify the Tochari with the Tukhāras who formed an important element of the Bactrian population in the time of Ptolemy and are described by that author as a great people (Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 395-396.) They are apparently "the warlike nation of the Bactrians" of the time of the Periplus.

The Drangians referred to by Justin inhabited the country between Areia, Gedrosia and Arachosia, including the province now called Sistan (Śakasthāna). Numismatic evidence indicates that a Drangian family, *viz.*, the dynasty of Vonones supplanted Greek rule in a considerable part of Afghanistan specially in Arachosia. Vonones is a Parthian name. Hence some scholars call his dynasty a Parthian family. But names are not sure proofs of nationality. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the dynasty Śaka.¹ The best name for the family would be Drangian, because their home territory was Drangiana. On coins Vonones is associated with two princes, *viz.*:

- i. Spalahora who is called Mahārājabhrātā.
- ii. Spalagadama, son of Spalahora.

There is one coin which Thomas and Cunningham attributed to Vonones and Azes I. But the coin really belongs to Maues (Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, p. 93.) There is a silver coin of a prince named Spalirises which bears on the obverse the legend Basileus Adelphoy Spaliriso, and on the reverse "Maharaja Bhraba Dhramiasa Spalarishisa," *i. e.*, Spalirises the Just, brother of the king. This king has been identified with Vonones. Vonones thus was a supreme ruler, and he appointed his brothers Spalirises and Spalahora viceroys to govern the provinces conquered by him, and after the death of the latter, conferred the viceroyalty on his nephew Spalagadama. Vonones was succeeded as supreme ruler by his brother Spalirises. The coins of Spalirises present two varieties, *viz.*:

1. Coins which bear his name alone in both the legends;
2. Coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of Azes on the reverse in the Kharoshthī legend. The second variety proves that

¹ Isidore of Charax (JRAS, 1915, p. 831) refers to Sigal in Sacastene as the residence of a Śaka king.

Spalirises had a colleague named Azes who governed a territory where the prevailing script was Kharoshthī. This Azes has been identified with king Azes of the Pañjāb about whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

As regards the Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks we need only refer to the Śuṅgas who are represented in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram* as coming into conflict with the Yavanas. In the Nāsik praśasti of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi the king is said to have defeated the Yavanas.

The final destruction of Greek rule was, as Justin says, the work of the Parthians. Marshall tells us (*A Guide to Taxila* p. 14) that the last surviving Greek principality, that of Hermaios in the Kābul valley, was overthrown by the Parthian king Gondophernes. The Chinese historian Fan-ye also refers to the Parthian occupation of Kābul (*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, vol. I p. 81): "Whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien Tchou, Ki-pin or Ngansi became powerful, it brought Kābul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kābul..... Later, Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia."

SCYTHIAN RULE IN NORTHERN INDIA.

1. THE ŚAKAS.

In the first century B. C. Greek rule in Gandhāra was supplanted by that of the Śakas. The history of the First Han Dynasty states "formerly when the Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yue-tchi the latter emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Ta-hia; whereupon the Sai-wang went to the south, and ruled over Kipin" (JRAS, 1903, p. 22; *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p. 464). Sten Konow points out that the Sai-wang are the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation Śakamuruṇḍa, Muruṇḍa being a later form of a Śaka word which has the same meaning as Chinese wang, master, lord. In Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word Svāmin.

The Chinese Emperor Yüenti (B. C. 48-33) refused to take any notice of an insult offered to his envoy by In-mo-fu, the king of Kipin, and the Emperor Ching-ti (B. C. 32-7) declined to acknowledge an embassy sent from Kipin (JRAS, 1903, p. 29).

S. Lévi identifies Kipin with Kāsmīr. But his view has been ably controverted by Sten Konow (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 291) who accepts Chavannes' identification with Kāpiśa (the country drained by the northern tributaries of the river Kābul, *ibid*, p. 290; cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, 259-260). Gandhāra was the eastern part of Kipin. A passage of Hemachandra's Abhidhāna-Chintāmani seems to suggest that the capital of the Sai-wang (Śaka-Muruṇḍas) was Lampāka or Laghman (Lampākāstu Muruṇḍah Syuh) Sten Konow says that the Sai,

i.e., the Śakas, passed Hientu, *i.e.*, the gorge west of Skardu on their way to Kipin (p. 291). Though the Śakas wrested Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) from the hands of the Greeks they could not permanently subjugate Kābul (Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. I, p. 81), where the Greeks maintained a precarious existence. They were more successful in India. Inscriptions at Mathurā and Nāsik prove that the Śakas extended their sway as far as the Jumna in the east and the Godāvarī in the south.

No connected or detailed account of the Śaka kings of Kipin is possible. Śakas are mentioned along with the Yavanas in the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 54. 22; IV. 43. 12), the Māhābhārata (II. 32. 17), the Manusmṛhitā (X. 44), and the Mahābhāṣhya (Ind. Ant. 1875, 244). The Hari-vaṁśa (Chap. 14.16) informs us that they shaved one half of their heads, and the Jaina work Kālakāchāryakathānaka states that their Kings were called Sāhi. (Z. D. M. G., 34, p. 262).

The Śakas are also mentioned in the Prasastis of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Samudra Gupta. Their empire "Śakasthāna" is probably mentioned in the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription. The passage containing the word Śakasthāna runs thus:—

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae

Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit of the people of Śakastan." Dr. Fleet however maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthiāwād and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa." He took Sarva to be a proper name and translated the inscriptional passage referred to above as "a gift of Sarva in honour of his home."

Fleet's objection is ineffective. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Śakas in Kipin, *i.e.*,

Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathurā, the site of the inscription, we should note that the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Chapter 58) refers to a Śaka settlement in the Madhyadeśa. Dr. Thomas (Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 138 ff.) points out that the epigraphs on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Śaka and Persian nomenclature. The name Mevaki, for instance, which occurs in the inscriptions is a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes (*cf.* Maues, Moga, and Mavaces the commander of the Śakas who went to the aid of Darius Codomannus, Chinnock, Arrian, p. 142). The termination "us" in Komusa and Samuso seems to be Scythic. Dr. Thomas further points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the "whole realm of the Śakas" since we find in the Wardak, Sue Vihār and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, *e.g.*, Sarva sattvanam—of all living creatures. As regards Fleet's renderings "svaka" and "sakatthana" one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A pūjā addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion Capital contains a similar pūjā addressed to the chief representatives of the Śaka dominion.

Śakasthāna, doubtless, included the district of Scythia mentioned in the Periplus, "from which flows down the river Sinthus, the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythræan Sea." The metropolis of "Scythia" in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara; and its market-town was Barbaricum on the seashore.

Princes bearing Śaka names are mentioned in several inscriptions discovered in Taxila, Mathurā and western India. According to Dr. Thomas "whatever Śaka dynasties may have existed in the Pañjāb or India reached India neither through Afghanistan nor through Kāśmīr

but, as Cunningham contended, by way of Sind and the valley of the Indus" (JRAS, 1906, p. 216). This theory cannot be accepted in its entirety in view of the Chinese account of the Śaka occupation of Kipin, and the fact that some of the Śaka names hitherto discovered are those of the Northern Śakas who lived near the Sogdianoi (Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 399-400), *e.g.*, the names—Maues, Moga (Taxila plate) and Mevāki (Mathura Lion Capital) are variants of the Śaka name Mauakes. We learn from Arrian that a chief named Mauakes or Mavaces led the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwelt in Asia, who lived outside the jurisdiction of the Persian governor of the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, but were in alliance with the Persian king. Kshaharāta or Khaharata, the family designation of a Satrapal house of Western and Southern India, is perhaps equivalent to Karatai the name of a Śaka tribe of the North (Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400).

The conquest of the Lower Indus valley and part of western India may, however, have been effected by the Śakas of western Sakasthāna (Sīstān) who are mentioned by Isidore of Charax. The name of the capitals of "Scythia" (*i.e.*, Lower Indus valley) and of the Kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidore (JRAS, 1915, p. 830). Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line, *viz.*, "Dāman" is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārdamaka family from which the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārdama river in Persia (Shamsastry's trans. of Arthasastra, p. 861).

✓ The earliest Śaka king mentioned in Indian inscriptions and coins is, perhaps, Maues (identified with Moga of the Taxila plate). He was a paramount sovereign (Maharaya). His dominions included Taxila which was ruled by a Satrapal family.

The dates assigned to Maues by various scholars range from B. C. 135 to A. D. 154. His coins are found ordinarily in the Pañjāb, and chiefly in the western portion of the province of which Taxila was the ancient capital. There can thus be no doubt that Maues was the king of Gandhāra. Now it is impossible to find for Maues a place in the history of the Pañjāb before the Greek king Antialkidas who was reigning at Taxila when king Bhāgabhadra was on the throne of Vidiśā for fourteen years. The date of Bhāgabhadra is uncertain but he must be placed later than Agnimitra Śūnga who ruled from B. C. 149-141. The fourteenth year of Bhāgabhadra could not have fallen before 127 B. C. Consequently Antialkidas must have been ruling in the second half of the second century B. C., and his reign could not have ended before 127 B. C. The Śaka occupation of Gandhāra must therefore be later than 127 B. C. All scholars except Fleet identify Maues with Maharaya Moga of the Sirsukh or Taxila plate dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. The generally accepted view is that the era is of Śaka institution. As the era is used only in N. India and the border land it is permissible to conjecture that it marks the completion of the Śaka occupation of those regions. We have already seen that this occupation could not have taken place before 127 B. C. The era used in the Taxila plate could not therefore have originated before 127 B. C. The year 78 of the era could not have fallen before B. C. 49. Consequently Maues-Moga cannot be placed before B. C. 49. He must be placed even later, because we learn from the

Chinese records that In-mo-fu was in possession of Kipin or Kāpīsa-Gandhāra about 48-33 B.C. Maues therefore will have to be placed after 33 B. C. He cannot perhaps be placed later than the middle of the first century A. D., because we learn from Apollonios and the author of the *Periplus* that about that time or a little later both Taxila and Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia or the Śaka Kingdom in the Indus valley, had passed into the hands of the Parthians. It seems therefore that Maues ruled after 33 B. C., but before the closing years of the first century A. D. It is not altogether improbable that he flourished in the year 22 A. D.—the year 78 of the era commencing 58 B. C., which afterwards came to be known as the Mālava-Vikrama era. But the matter must be regarded as not finally settled.

Numismatists say that Maues was succeeded on the throne of the Pañjāb by Azes. The coins of Azes are very closely related to the issues of the Vonones family, and the assumption has always been made that Azes, the king of the Pañjāb, is identical with Azes, the colleague of Spalirises. Some scholars think that Azes was the immediate successor, not of Maues, but of Spalirises, and that Maues came not only after Azes, better known as Azes I, but also after Azes II. But this theory cannot be accepted in view of the synchronism of Gondophernes and Azes II proved by the fact that Aspavarma served as Strategos under both the monarchs (Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Pañjāb Museum*, p. 150). As Gondophernes ruled in the year 103 (*cf.* the Takht-i-Bahai Inscription), while Maues-Moga ruled in the year 78 (*cf.* the Taxila Plate of Patika), and as both these dates are referred by scholars to the same era, both Gondophernes and Azes II must be later than Maues-Moga. There is no room for Maues-Moga between Azes I and Azes II, because we shall see presently that the succession from Azes I to Azes II is clearly established

by numismatic evidence. Maues came either before Azes I or after Azes II; but we have already seen that he could not have reigned after Azes II. He must therefore be placed before Azes I. He must have been ruling in the Pañjāb when Vonones was ruling in Sistān. When Vonones was succeeded by Spalirises, Maues was succeeded by Azes I. We have already seen that Spalirises and Azes I issued joint coins. The relationship between the two monarchs is not known. They may have been related by blood, or they may have been mere allies like Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises (*cf.* Whitehead, p. 178, Marshall—Taxila, p. 16).

King Azes I struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of Azilises in Kharoshthī on the reverse. Then again we have another type of coins on which the name in Greek is Azilises, and in Kharoshthī is Aya or Azes. Dr. Bhandarkar and Smith postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordinate colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot be identical, and they must be distinguished as Azes I and Azes II. Whitehead however observes that the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best didrachms of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouri reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then following Dr. Smith we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. In conclusion Whitehead says that the differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign. Marshall however says that the stratification of coins at

Taxila clearly proves the correctness of Smith's theory, according to which Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, and Azilises by Azes II.¹

Recent discoveries have unearthed the gold coin of a king named Athama. Whitehead has no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. His date is however uncertain.

Unlike the Indo-Greek princes, the Śaka kings style themselves on their coins Basileus Basileon, corresponding to the Prākṛit on the reverse Mahārājasa Rājārājasa. They also appropriate the epithet Mahatasa, corresponding to the Greek Megaloy, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. The title Rājarāja—king of kings—was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the Viceroy Liaka and Patika of Chhahara and Chukhsa near Taxila. Azes had under him at least two subordinate rulers, *e.g.*, the Satrap Zeionises and the Strategos Aspavarma. The title Satrap or Kshatrapa occurs in the Behistun Inscription in the form Kshatrapāvan which means protector of the kingdom (*cf.* Goptri). The word "Strategos" means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians revived in North-western India the system of government by Satraps and military governors. Coins and Inscriptions prove the existence of several other Satrapal families besides those mentioned above.

The North Indian Kshatrapas or Satraps may be divided into three main groups, *viz.*:—

1. The Satraps of Kāpiśa,
2. The Satraps of the Western Pañjāb,
3. The Satraps of Mathurā.

Rapson tells us (Ancient India, p. 141) that an inscription affords the bare mention of a Satrap of Kāpiśa.

¹ The coins which Smith assigns to Azes II are found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I (J.R.A.S., 1914, 979).

The Pañjāb Satraps belonged to three families, viz. :—

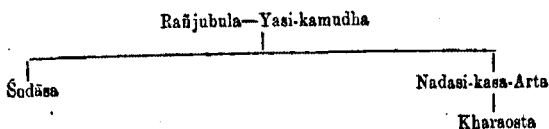
(a) *The Kusulaa or Kusuluka family.*—It consisted of Liaka and his son Patika, and governed the territories of Chhahara and Chukhsa (Bühler, Ep. Ind., IV, p. 54). According to Fleet there were two Patikas (JRAS, 1907, p. 1035). But according to Marshall there was only one Viceroy of the name of Patika (JRAS, 1914, pp. 979 ff). The Satrapal family of Kusuluka was intimately connected with the Satraps of Mathurā (*cf.* Inscription G on the Mathurā Lion Capital). The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the district to which they belonged from the rule of the Greek house of Eukratides to the Śakas (Rapson's Ancient India, p. 154). We know from the Taxila or Sirsukh plate, dated in the year 78, that Liaka was a Satrap of the great king Moga.

(b) *Manigul or Managula and his son Zeionises or Jihonia.*—They were probably Satraps of Taxila during the reign of Azes II.

(c) *Indravarma and his son Aspavarma.*—The latter acted as governor of both Azes II and Gondophernes.

The Satraps of Mathurā.

The earliest of this line of princes probably were the associated rulers Hagāna and Hagāmāsha. They were perhaps succeeded by Rañjubula. A genealogical table of the house of Rañjubula is given below :



Rañjubula is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription in Brāhmī characters at Mora near Mathurā calls him a Mahākshatrapa. But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as "king of kings, the Saviour" showing that he probably declared his independence.

Rañjubula was probably succeeded by his son Śodāsa. Inscription B on the Mathurā Lion Capital mentions him as a Chhatrava (Satrap) and as the son of Mahāchhatrava Rājūla (Rañjubula). But later inscriptions at Mathurā written in Brāhmī characters call him a Mahākshatrapa. One of these inscriptions gives a date for him in the year 72 of an unspecified era. It is clear that during his father's lifetime he was only a Satrap. But on his father's death sometime before the year 72, he became a Great Satrap. Sten Konow adduces good grounds for believing that Śodāsa dated his inscription in the Vikrama era (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 139-141). Consequently the year 72 corresponds to A.D. 15.

Dr. Majumdar refers the dates of the Northern satraps (of Taxila and Mathurā) to the Śaka era, and places them in the middle of the second century A.D. But Ptolemy, who flourished about that time, places neither Taxila nor Mathurā within Indo-Scythia, *i.e.*, the Śaka dominion. This shows that neither Taxila nor Mathurā was a Śaka possession in the second century A.D. The principal Indo-Scythian possessions in Ptolemy's time were Patalene (the Indus Delta) Abiria and Syrastrene (Kathīawār) (Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 354). This is exactly what we find in the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. In Ptolemy's time Taxila was included within the Arsa (Sans. Uraśa) territory (Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 348) and Mathurā belonged to the Kaspeiraioi (Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 350). Dr. Majumdar suggests that Ptolemy probably noticed the Śaka empire of Maues and his successors (which included Taxila, Mathurā and Ujjayini) under the name of Kaspeiraioi (University of Calcutta Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. I, p. 98 n). But we should remember that far from including Taxila, Mathurā and Western India within one empire, Ptolemy sharply

distinguishes the Kaspeiraioi from Indo-Skythia which was the real Śaka domain in the middle of the second century A.D. (*cf.* Ptolemy, *Ind. Ant.*, 1884, p. 354, and the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman). Moreover, the territory of the Kaspeiraioi must have included Kaśmīr (the land of Kaśyapa); and there is no evidence that the dynasty of Maues ever ruled in Kaśmīr. It was only under the kings of Kanishka's dynasty that Kaśmīr and Mathurā formed parts of one and the same empire. The Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy evidently referred to the Kushān empire.

We learn from the Mathurā Lion Capital that when Śudāsa, *i.e.*, Śoḍāsa was ruling as a mere Kshatrapa, Padika, *i.e.*, Patika was a Mahākshatrapa. As Śoḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa in the year 72, he must have been a Kshatrapa before 72. Consequently Padika or Patika must have been reigning as a Mahākshatrapa contemporary of the Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa before the year 72. The Taxila plate of the year 78 however does not style Patika even as Kshatrapa. Dr. Fleet thinks that we have to do with two different Patikas. But Marshall and Sten Konow think that Patika, who issued the Taxila plate, is identical with the Mahākshatrapa Padika of the Mathurā Lion Capital, and that the era in which the inscription of Sam 72 is dated is not the same as in the Taxila plate of Sam 78. In other words while Fleet duplicates kings, Marshall and Sten Konow duplicate eras. It is difficult to come to any final decision from the scanty data at our disposal. We should however remember that there are instances among the Western Kshatrapas of Chasṭana's line, of Mahākshatrapas being reduced to the rank of Kshatrapas (*cf.* Majumdar, *The Date of Kanishka*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1917), and of a Kshatrapa (Jayadāman) being mentioned without a title (Andhau Inscriptions). It is therefore not altogether improbable that the inscription of Sam 72 and that of Sam 78 are dated in the same era, and that the two

Patikas are identical. In the Jānibighā inscription king Lakshmana Sena has no title prefixed to his name. If Sir John Marshall is right in reading the name of Aya (Azes) in the Taxila Inscription of 136, we have an additional instance of a king being mentioned without any title.

Kharaosta was a grandson (daughter's son) of Rañjubula and was consequently a nephew of Śoḍāea. The inscriptions A and E on the Mathurā Lion Capital mention him as the Yuvaraya Kharaosta. His coins are of one class only, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in Kharoshthī on the reverse. The Kharoshthī legend runs thus: "Chhatrapasapra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa."

The coins of the family of Rañjubula are imitated from those of the Stratos and also of a line of Hindu princes who ruled at Mathurā. This shows that in the Jumna valley Scythian rule superseded that of both Greek and Hindu princes.

A fragmentary inscription found by Vogel on the site of Ganeshra near Mathurā revealed the name of a Satrap of the Kshaharāta family called Ghataka (JRAS, 1912, p. 121).

The Nationality of the Northern Satraps.

Cunningham held that the inscription P on the Mathurā Lion Capital—Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae—gave decisive proof that Rañjubula or Rājuvula, Śoḍāsa and other connected Satraps were of Śaka nationality. Dr. Thomas shows, however, that the Satraps of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Śaka domination. This is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Patika of Taxila, who bears himself a Persian name, mentions as his overlord the great king Moga whose name is Śaka. The inscriptions of the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Śaka nomenclature. (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 138 ff.).

II. THE PAHLAVAS OR PARTHIANS.

Already in the time of the Śaka Emperors of the family of Maues-Moga, princes of mixed Śaka-Pahlava origin ruled as Satraps in Northern India. Towards the middle of the first century A. D., Śaka rule in parts of Gandhāra was probably supplanted by that of the Pahlavas or Parthians. In the year 44 A. D., when Apollonios of Tyana is reputed to have visited Taxila, the throne was occupied by a Parthian named Phraotes who was independent of Vardanes, the king of Babylon, and himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the Satrapy of Gandhāra. Christian writers refer to a king of India named Gundaphar and his brother Gad who were converted by the apostle St. Thomas and who therefore lived in the first century A. D. We have no independent confirmation of the story of Apollonios. But the Takht-i-Bahai record of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) shows that there was actually in the Peshwār district a king named Gondophernes. The names of Gondophernes and of his brother Gad are also found on coins (Whitehead, p. 155). Dr. Fleet referred the date of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription to the Mālava-Vikrama era, and so placed the record in A. D. 47 (JRAS, 1905, pp. 223-235; 1906, pp. 706-710; 1907, pp. 169-172; 1913-1914, pp. 999-1003). He remarked "there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B.C. 58; instead of having recourse, as in other cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about the same time. This places Gondophernes in A. D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle."

The power of Gondophernes did not at first extend to the Gandhāra region which, if Apollonios is to be believed,

was ruled in A. D. 44 by Phraotes. His rule seems to have been restricted at first to southern Afghanistan. He probably succeeded in annexing the Peshwār district after the death of Phraotes (if such a king really existed). There is no epigraphic evidence that he conquered Eastern Gandhāra (Taxila) though he certainly wrested some provinces from the Azes family. The story of the supersession of the rule of Azes II by him in one of the Scythian provinces is told by the coins of Aspavarma. The latter at first acknowledged the suzerainty of Azes (II) but later on obeyed Gondophernes as his overlord. Evidence of the ousting of Śaka rule by the Parthians in the Lower Indus valley is furnished by the author of the *Periplus* in whose time (about 60 or 80 A.D.), Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, *i.e.*, the Śaka kingdom in the Lower Indus valley, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out. If Sir John Marshall is right in reading the name of Aya or Azes in the Taxila Inscription of 136, then it is clear that Śaka rule survived in a part of Eastern Gandhāra, while Peshwār and the Lower Indus valley passed into the hands of the Parthians.

The Greek principality in the upper Kābul valley was extinguished about this time. We learn from Justin that the Parthians gave the *coup de grace* to the rule of the Bactrian Greeks. This is quite in accordance with the evidence of Archæology. Marshall says that Gondophernes annexed the Kābul valley, overthrew the Greek principality in that region, and drove out the last prince Hermaios.

After the death of Gondophernes his empire split up into smaller principalities. One of these was ruled by Abdagases, another by Orthagnes and Pakores and others by princes whose coins Marshall recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them were Sasan, Sapedanés and Satavastra. The internecine strife among

these Parthian princelings is probably alluded to by the author of the Periplus in the following passage :—

“ Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small Island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out.”

Epigraphic evidence proves that the Pahlava or Parthian rule in Afghanistan, the Pañjāb and Sind was supplanted by that of the Gusana or Kusana or Kushān dynasty. We know that Gondophernes was ruling in Peshwār in the year 103 (A. D. 47 according to Fleet). But we learn from the Panjtār inscription that in the year 122 (A. D. 66 ?) the sovereignty of the region had passed to a Gusana or Kushān king. In the year 103 (A. D. 79 ?) the Kushān suzerainty had extended to Taxila. An inscription of that year (belonging probably to the reign of Azes II who was now a petty chief) mentions the interment of some relics of Buddha in a chapel at Taxila “ for the bestowal of perfect health upon the Mahārāja, rājātirāja devaputra Khushana.” The Sue Vihār Inscription proves the Kushān conquest of the Lower Indus valley. The Chinese writer Panku who died in A. D. 92 refers to the Yueh-chi occupation of Kao-fou or Kābul. This shows that the race to which the Kushāns belonged took possession of Kābul before A. D. 92. It is however asserted that Kao-fou is a mistake for Tou-mi. But the mistake in Kennedy’s opinion would not have been possible, had the Yueh-chi not been in possession of Kao-fou in the time of Panku.¹ The important thing to remember is that a Chinese writer of 92 A. D., thought Kao-fou to have been a Yueh-chi possession long before his time. If Sten Konow is to be believed the Kushāns had established some sort of connection with the Indian borderland as early as the

¹ J. R. A. S., 1912.

time of Gondophernes. In line 5 of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription Sten Konow reads "erjhuna Kapsasa puyae" (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 294) "in honour of prince Kapsa" *i.e.*, Kujula Kadphises, the Kushān king who succeeded Hermaios in the Kābul valley. Kujula Kadphises has been identified with the Kouei-chouang (Kushān) prince Kieū-tsieū-kio who took possession of Kao-fou, Pota and Kipin. It appears from coins that this Kushān chief was an ally of Hermaios with whom he issued joint coins. The destruction of Hermaios' kingdom by the Parthians probably supplied him with a *casus belli*. He made war on the latter and destroyed their power in North-West India.

III. THE KUSHĀNS.

We are informed by the Chinese historians that the Kushāns were a clan of the Yueh-chi race. The modern Chinese pronunciation of the name according to Kingsmill is said to be Yue-ti. M. Lévi and other French scholars write Yue-tchi or Yué-tchi.

We learn from Ssū-ma-ch'ien who recorded the story of the travels of Chang-K'ien, that in or about B. C. 165 the Yueh-chi were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang country and the K'ilien mountains, or T'ien-chan Range in Chinese Turkestan. At that date the Yueh-chi were defeated and expelled from their country by the Hiung-nū who slew their king and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain king succeeded to her husband's power. Under her guidance the Yueh-chi in the course of their westward migration attacked the Wu-sun whose king was killed. After this exploit the Yueh-chi attacked the Śakas who fled into Kipin (Kāpīsa-Lampāka-Gandhāra). Meantime the son of the slain Wu-sun king grew up to manhood and drove the Yueh-chi further west into the Tabia (Dahae?) territory

washed by the Oxus. The Tabia who were devoted to commerce, unskilled in war and wanting in cohesion were easily reduced to a condition of vassalage by the Yueh-chi who established their capital or royal encampment to the north of the Oxus, in the territory now belonging to Bukhārā. The Yueh-chi capital was still in the same position when visited by Chang-kien in or about B. C. 125 (J. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 19-20).

The adventures of Chang-Kien as related by Ssū-ma-ch'ien in the Sse-ki (completed before B. C. 91) were retold in Pan-ku's history of the First Han Dynasty (completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death in A. D. 92), with three important additions, namely:—

1. That the kingdom of the Ta-yueh-chi has for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Lan-chau) and Kipin lies on its southern frontier.

2. That the Yueh-chi were no longer nomads.

3. That the Yueh-chi kingdom had become divided into five principalities, *viz.*, Hieou-mi, Chouang-mo, Kouei-chouang (Kushān), Hi-thum (Bamiyan region) and Kaofou (Kābul).¹

We next obtain a glimpse of the Yueh-chi in Fanye's history of the Later Han Dynasty which covers the period between A. D. 25 and 220. Fan-ye based his account on the report of Pan-young (cir. A. D. 125) and others. He himself died in 445 A. D. He gives the following account of the Yueh-chi conquest. "In old days the Yueh-chi were vanquished by the Hiung-nū. They then went to Tabia and divided the kingdom among five Yabgous, *viz.*, those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou of Kouei-chouang (Kushān) named K'ieou-tsieou-kio attacked and vanquished the four other Yabgous and

¹ A later historian regards Kaofou as a mistake for Tou-mi.

called himself king; he invaded Ngan-si (Parthia?) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fou (Kābul), overcame Po-ta¹ and Kipin and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-kio died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (India), and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yueh-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushān after their king, but the Han retained the old name, and called them Ta-Yueh-chi."

"K'ieou-tsieou-kio" has been identified with Kujula Kadphises, Kozola Kadaphes or Kujula kara Kadphises, the first Kushān king who struck coins to the south of the Hindukush. Numismatic evidence shows that he was the colleague, and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last Greek prince of the Kābul valley. The prevalent view that Kadphises conquered Hermaios is, in the opinion of Marshall, wrong. Sten Konow finds his name mentioned in the Takht-i-Bahai inscription of the year 103 belonging to the reign of Gondophernes. The inscription probably belongs to a period when the Kushān and Parthian sovereigns were on friendly terms. But the Parthian attack on the kingdom of Hermaios apparently led to a rupture which ended in war. The result was that the Parthians were ousted by Kadphises I.

Marshall identifies Kadphises I with the Kushān king of the Panjtar record (of the year 122) and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 (JRAS, 1914, pp. 977-78). The monogram on the scroll is characteristic of coins of Vima Kadphises (II), but it is also found on coins of his predecessor. We should, however, remember that in the

¹ Perhaps identical with the country of Po-tai which in the time of Sung-yan sent two young lions to the King of Gandhāra as present (Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. I, ci).

Taxila inscription of 136 the Kushān king is called Devaputra, a title which was characteristic of the Kanishka group and not of Kadphises I or II.

Kadphises I coined no gold. His coinage shows unmistakable influence of Rome. He copied the issues of Augustus or those of Tiberius. He used the titles Yavuga and Mahārāja Rājātirāja.

“K'ieou-tsieou-kio” or Kadphises was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-tchen, the Hima, Vima or Wema Kadphises of the coins, who is usually designated as Kadphises II. We have already seen that he conquered Tien-tchou or the Indian interior and set up a chief who governed in the name of the Yueh-chi. According to Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 141) and Smith (*The Oxford History of India*, p. 128) Kadphises II established the Śaka Era of A. D. 78. If this view be accepted then he was the overlord of Nahapāna, and was the Kushān monarch who was defeated by the Chinese and compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Hiti (A. D. 89-105). But there is no direct evidence that Kadphises II established any era. No inscriptions or coins of this monarch contain any dates which are referable to an era of his institution. On the contrary we have evidence that Kanishka did establish an era, that is to say, his method of dating was continued by his successors and we have dates ranging from the year 3 to 99.

The conquests of the Kadphises Kings opened up the path of commerce between the Roman Empire and India. Roman gold began to pour into this country in payment for silk, spices and gems. Kadphises II began to issue gold coins. He had an extensive bilingual gold and copper coinage. The obverse design gives us a new life-like representation of the monarch. The reverse is confined to the worship of Śiva. In the Kharoshthī inscription he

is called "the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, the Māhiśvara, the defender."

We learn from Yu-Houan, the author of the Wei-liao, composed between A.D. 239-265 that the Yueh-chi power was flourishing in Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra), Ta-hia (Oxus Valley), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-Tchou (India) as late as the third century A.D. But the Chinese authors are silent about the names of the successors of Yen-kao-tchen (Kadphises II). Inscriptions discovered in India have preserved the names with dates of the following great Kushān sovereigns besides the Kadphises group, *viz.*, Kanishka I (3-18), Vāsishka (24-28), Huvishka (33-60), Kanishka II son of Vājsheska (41), and Vāsudeva (74-98). Huvishka, Vā-jsheska and Kanishka II are probably referred to by Kalhaṇa as Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who apparently ruled conjointly. It will be seen that Kanishka II ruled in the year 41, a date which falls within the reign of Huvishka (33-60). Thus the account of Kalhaṇa is confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

In the chronological order generally accepted by numismatists, the Kanishka group succeeded the Kadphises group. But this view is not accepted by many scholars. Moreover there is little agreement among scholars who place the Kanishka group after the Kadphises kings. The various theories of Kanishka's date are given below :

1. According to Dr. Fleet, Kanishka reigned before the Kadphises group, and was the founder of that reckoning, commencing B. C. 58, which afterwards came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat. His view was accepted by Kennedy, but was ably controverted by Dr. Thomas, and can no longer be upheld after the discoveries of Marshall (Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1913; Marshall, J.R.A.S., 1914). Inscriptions, coins as well as the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang clearly prove that Kanishka's dominions included Gandhāra, but we have already seen that according

to Chinese evidence the Sai-wang, *i.e.*, Śaka kings, and not the Kushāns, ruled Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) in the second half of the first century B. C.

2. According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kanishka's rule began about 125 A.D., and ended in the second half of the second century A.D. Now, we learn from the Sue Vihār inscription that Kanishka's dominions included the Lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, that the Mahākshatrapa's conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvīra. Rudradāman certainly lived from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as Mahākshatrapa to anybody else (*svayam adhigata Mahākshatrapa nāma*). If Kanishka flourished in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the Lower Indus Valley with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradāman? Again Kanishka's dates 3-18, Vāshishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era which commenced in the second century A.D.

3. Dr. Majumdar thinks that the era founded by Kanishka was the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil points out that this is not possible (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 31). "In fact, the reign of Vāsudeva, the last of the Kushāns, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudeva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country over which extended the empire of Vāsudeva was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudra Gupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura

and Padmāvati." The theory of Dr. Majumdar cannot moreover be reconciled with the Tibetan tradition which makes Kanishka a contemporary of King Vijayakīrti of Khotan (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142) and the Indian tradition which makes Huvishka a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and hence of a king of the Sātavāhana line of Kosāla *i.e.*, the upper Deccan which became extinguished in the first half of the third century A. D. The arguments against the theory of Dr. Majumdar are equally applicable to the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who places Kanishka's accession in A. D. 278.

4. According to Oldenberg, Thomas, R. D. Banerji, Rapson and many other scholars Kanishka was the founder of that reckoning commencing A. D. 78 which came to be known as the Śaka era. This view is not accepted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the following grounds:

(a) If we admit that Kujula-Kadphises and Hermaios reigned about 50 A. D. and that Kanishka founded the Śaka era in 78 A. D. we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reigns of Kadphises I and the whole of the reign of Kadphises II.

(But the period of 28 years is not too short in view of the fact that Kadphises II succeeded an octogenarian. When Kadphises died "at the age of more than eighty" his son must have been an old man. It is therefore improbable that "his reign was protracted.")

(b) Mr. Marshall, says Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has discovered at Taxila in the Chir Stupa a document dated 136, which, in the Vikrama era, corresponds to 79 A. D. and the king mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka.

(Now, the epithet Devaputra applied to the Kushān king of the Taxila scroll of 136, is characteristic of the Kanishka group, and not of the Kadphises kings. So the

discovery, far from shaking the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A.D., rather strengthens it. The omission of the personal name of the Kushān monarch does not necessarily imply that the first Kushān is meant. In several inscriptions of the time of Kumāra Gupta and Budha Gupta, the king is referred to simply as Gupta nripa).

(c) Prof. J. Dubreuil says "Mr. Sten Konow has shown that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to prove that Kanishka reigned in the second century." (This Kanishka may have been Kanishka of the Āra Inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the Śaka era, would give a date in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao (Vāsudeva? Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141) may have been one of the successors of Vāsudeva I; "coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away" EHI, p. 272; Dr. Smith and Mr. R. D. Banerji clearly recognised the existence of more than one Vāsudeva (*ibid*, pp. 272-278).

(d) Mr. Sten Konow has shown that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Śaka era are not dated in the same fashion. [But the same scholar also shows that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era are also not dated in the same fashion. In the Kharoshthī inscriptions Kanishka and his successors recorded the dates in the same way as their Śaka-Pahlava predecessors, giving the name of the month and the day within the month. On the other hand in their Brāhmī records, Kanishka and his successors adopted the ancient Indian way of dating (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141). Are we to conclude from this that the Kharoshthī dates of Kanishka's inscriptions, are not to be referred to the same era to which the dates of the Brāhmī records are to be ascribed? If Kanishka adopted two different ways of dating, we fail to understand why he could not have adopted a third

method to suit the local conditions in western India. Sten Konow himself points out that in the Śāka dates we have the name of the month, as in the Kharoshthī records, with the addition of the Paksha. "The Śāka era which they (the western Kshatrapas) used was a direct imitation of the reckoning used by their cousins in the north-west, the additional mentioning of the paksha being perhaps a concession to the custom in the part of the country where they ruled." It is not improbable that just as Kanishka in the borderland used the old Śāka-Pahlava method, and in Hindusthān used the ancient Indian way of dating prevalent there, so in western India his officers added the paksha to suit the custom in that part of the country].

Kanishka completed the Kushān conquest of upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Gandhāra and Kaśmīr to Benares. Traditions of his conflict with the rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra are preserved by Tibetan and Chinese writers (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142 ; Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 382). Epigraphic records give contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Zeda in the Yuzufzai country and from Manikiala near Rawalpindi, but also from Sue Vihār (north of Sind), from Mathurā and Śrāvastī, and from Sārṇāth near Benares. His coins are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Gāzipur. The eastern portion of his empire was apparently governed by the Mahā Kshatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kshatrapa Vanaspara. He fixed his own residence at Peshāwar (Purushapura) and established Kanishkapura in Kaśmīr. It is however probable that Kanishkapura was established by his namesake of the Āra inscription. After making himself master of the South (*i.e.* India) Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the King of the Parthians (Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 382). In his old age he led an army against the north and died in an attempt to cross the

Tsungling mountains between Gandhāra and Khotan. The Northern expedition is apparently referred to by Hiuen Tsang who speaks of Chinese Princes detained as hostages at his court.

Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of Śākyamuni. Numismatic evidence shows that he actually became a convert to Buddhism. He showed his zeal for his new faith by building the celebrated relic tower at Purushapura or Peshāwar which excited the wonder of the Chinese pilgrims. He convoked the last great Buddhist council. But though a Buddhist the Kushān monarch continued to honour his old Zoroastrian, Greek, Mithraic and Hindu gods. The court of Kanishka was adorned by Āsvaghosha, Charaka, Nāgārjuna and other worthies.

After Kanishka came Vāsishka, Huvishka and Kanishka of the Āra inscription. We have got two inscriptions of Vāsishka dated 24 and 28. He may have been identical with Vājshesha the father of Kanishka of the Āra inscription, and Jushka of the Rājatarānginī.

Huvishka's dates range from 33 to 60. Kalhaṇa's narrative leaves the impression that he ruled simultaneously with Jushka and Kanishka, *i.e.*, Vājshesha and Kanishka of the Āra inscription of the year 41. The Wardak vase inscription proves the inclusion of Kābul within his dominions. But there is no evidence that he retained his hold on Sind which was probably wrested from the successors of Kanishka I by Rudradāman. In Kaśmīr Huvishka built a town named Hushkapura. Like Kanishka I he was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā. He also resembled Kanishka in an eclectic taste for a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities.

Smith does not admit that the Kanishka of the Āra inscription of the year 41 was different from the great

Kanishka. Lüders and Sten Konow however distinguish the two Kanishkas. According to Lüders Kanishka of the Āra inscription was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 143). Kanishka II had the titles Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra, and Kaisara. It is possible that he, and not Kanishka I, was the founder of the town of Kanishka-pura in Kaśmīra.

The last notable king of Kanishka's line was Vāsudeva. His dates range from the year 74 to 99, *i.e.*, A.D. 152 to 177 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist. His coins exhibit the figure of Śiva attended by Nandi. There can be no doubt that he reverted to Śaivism, the religion professed by his great predecessor Kadphises II.

The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found only in the Mathurā region. From this it is not unreasonable to surmise that he lost his hold over the North-Western portion of the Kushān dominions.

In the third century A. D., we hear of the existence of not less than four kingdoms all 'dependent on the Yueh-chi,' *i. e.*, ruled by princes of the Yueh-chi stock.¹ These were Ta-hia (Oxus region), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-tchou (India proper). The Yueh-chi kingdom of Tien-tchou probably disappeared in the fourth century A. D., being conquered by the Nāgas. The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of northern and central India in the third and fourth centuries A. D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence. A Lahore copper seal inscription of the fourth century A. D., refers to a king named Maheśvara Nāga, the son of Nāgabhaṭṭa

¹ Among the successors of Vāsudeva may be mentioned Kanishko (III), Vasu (Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, pp. 211-212), and Grumbates (Smith, EHI, p. 274). The last king of Kanishka's race was Lagaturman who was overthrown by his Brāhmaṇa minister Kallār (Alberuni, II, 10).

(CII, p. 283). The Allahabad Pillar Inscription refers to King Ganapati Nāga, while several Vākātaka records mention Bhava Nāga king of the Bhārasīvas whose grand-son's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, and who accordingly must have flourished long before the rise of the Gupta Empire. We learn from the Purāṇas that the Nāgas established themselves at Vidiśā, Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and even Mathurā which was the southern capital of Kanishka and his successors (JRAS, 1905, p. 233). The greatest of the Nāga Kings was perhaps Chandrāmśa 'the second Nakhavant,' who was probably identical with the great king Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription. The Kushāns however continued to rule in the Kābul valley. One of them was probably the Daivaputrasāhi sāhānusāhi who sent valuable presents to Samudra Gupta. In the sixth century the Kushāns had to fight hard against the Huns. Kābul, their capital, was finally taken by the Moslems in 870 A. D. After that date the royal residence was shifted to Ohind, on the Indus. The line of Kanishka was finally extinguished by the Brāhmaṇa Kallār.

SCYTHIAN RULE IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

I. THE KSHAHARĀTAS.

We have seen that in the first century B. C., the Scythians possessed Ki-pin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) and afterwards extended their sway over a large part of Northern India. The principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the north. But a Satrapal family, the Kshaharātas, extended their power to western India and the Deccan, and wrested Mahārāshtra from the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhana King apparently retired to the southern part of his dominions, probably to the Janapada of the Bellary District which came to be known as Sātavahani-hāra, and was at one time under the direct administration of a military governor (mahāsenāpati) named Skandanāga (Ep. Ind., XIV, 155). The name of the Scythian conquerors of Mahārāshtra, Kshaharāta, seems to be identical with "Karatai," the designation of a famous Śaka tribe mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400).

The known members of the Kshaharāta, Khaharāta, or Chaharata, family are Ghataka, Bhumaka and Nahapāna. Of these Ghataka belonged to the Mathurā region. Bhumaka was a Kshatrpa of Kāthiāwār. Rapson says that he preceded Nahapāna. His coin types are "arrow, discus and thunderbolt." These types may be compared with the reverse type "discus, bow and arrow" of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes I.

Nahapāna was the greatest of the Kshaharāta Satraps. Eight Cave Inscriptions discovered at Pāndulena, near Nāsik, Junnar and Karle (in the Poona District) prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Mahārāshtra

within his dominions. Seven of these inscriptions describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta, the Śaka, while the eighth inscription specifies the charitable works of Ayama the Amātya. Ushavadāta's inscriptions indicate that Nahapāna's political influence extended from Poona (in Mahārāshtra) and Śūrparaka (in North Konkon) to Mandasor (Daśapura in Mālwa) and the district of Ajmir including Pushkara, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushavadāta resorted for consecration after his victory over the Malayas or Mālavas.

The Nāsik and Karle records give the dates 41, 42, 45 of an unspecified era, and call Nahapāna a Kshatrpa, while the Junnar epigraph of Ayama specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapāna as Mahākshatrpa. The generally accepted view is that these dates are to be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A. D. The name Nahapāna is no doubt Persian, but the Kshaharāta tribe to which Nahapāna belonged was probably a Śaka tribe, and Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, distinctly calls himself a Śaka. It is therefore probable that the era of 78 A. D., derives its name of Śaka era from the Śaka princes of the House of Nahapāna. Rapson accepts the view that Nahapāna's dates are recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A. D., and therefore assigns Nahapāna to the period A. D. 119 to A. D. 124. Several scholars identify Nahapāna with Mambarus (Nambanus?) of the Periplus whose capital was Minnagara in Ariake. According to Prof. Bhandarkar Minnagara is modern Mandasor,¹ and Ariake is Aparāntika.² Mr. R. D. Banerji and Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil are, however, of opinion that Nahapāna's dates are not referable to the Śaka era. They say that if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in the Śaka era, there will be only an interval of five years

¹ See also Bomb. Gaz., I. I. 15 n.

² Ariake may be Arya' a of Varāhamibira's Bṛihat Saṁhitā.

between the inscription of this king, dated 46, and the inscriptions of Rudradāman, dated 52. Within these years must have taken place :

- (.) The end of Nahapāna's reign ;
- (2) The destruction of the Kshaharātas ;
- (3) The accession of Chashtana as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, his accession as a Mahākshatrapa, and his reign as Mahākshatrapa ;
- (4) The accession of Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, and perhaps also his reign as Mahākshatrapa ;
- (5) The accession of Rudradāman and the beginning of his reign.

There is no necessity, however, of crowding the events mentioned above within five years (between the year 46, the last known date of Nahapāna, and the year 52, the first known date of Rudradāman). There is nothing to show that Chashtana's family came to power after the destruction of the Kshaharātas. The line of Chashtana may have been ruling in Cutch (as the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 suggest) while the Kshaharātas were ruling in Mālwa and Mahārāshtra. Moreover there is no good ground for believing that a long interval elapsed from the accession of Chashtana to that of Rudradāman. Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar have pointed out that the Andhau inscriptions clearly prove that Chashtana and Rudradāman ruled conjointly in the year 52. Prof. J. Dubreuil rejects their view on the ground that there is no "cha" after Rudradāman in the text of the inscription (Rājña Chashtanasa Ysāmotikaputrasa rājña Rudradamasa Jayadāmaputrasa varshe dvipachāse 50, 2). Prof. Dubreuil translates the passage thus :

In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, *grandson* of Chashtana and *great-grandson* of Ysāmotika.

The Professor who objects to a *cha*, himself makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and "great-grandson" no trace of which can be found in the original record. Had his translation been what the writer of the Andhau inscriptions intended, we should have expected to find the name of Ysāmotika first, and then the name of Chasṭana followed by those of Jayadāman and Rudradāman—Ysāmotika prapautrasa Chasṭana pautrasa Jayadāmaputrasa Rudradāmasa (*cf.* the Guṇḍa and Jasdhan inscriptions). Moreover, it is significant that in the text of the inscription there is no royal title prefixed to the name of Jayadāman who ruled between Chasṭana and Rudradāman according to Dubreuil. On the other hand both Chasṭana and Rudradāman are called rājā. The two are mentioned in exactly the same way—with the honorific Rājā and the patronymic. The literal translation of the inscriptional passage is "in the year 52 of king Chasṭana son of Ysāmotika, of king Rudradāman son of Jayadāman," and this certainly indicates that the year 52 belonged to the reign both of Chasṭana and Rudradāman. The conjoint rule of two kings was known to ancient Hindu writers on polity (*cf.* Dvairājya in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 325).¹ The theory of the conjoint rule of Chasṭana and his grandson is supported by the fact that Jayadāman did not live to be Mahākshatrapa and must have predeceased his father Chasṭana as, unlike Chasṭana and Rudradāman, he is called simply a Kshatrapa (not Mahākshatrapa and Bhadramukha) even in the inscriptions of his descendants (*cf.* the Guṇḍa and Jasdhan inscriptions). We have already noticed the fact that the title rājā, which is given to Chasṭana and Rudradāman in the Andhau inscriptions, is not given to Jayadāman.

¹ *Cf.* also the classical account of Patalene, p. 134 *ante*; the case of Dhṛitarāshtra and Duryodhana in the Great Epic; of Eukratides and his son in Justin's work; of Strato I and Strato II; of Azes and Azilises, etc., etc.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says that the inscriptions of Nahapāna cannot be referred to the same era as used on the coins and inscriptions of Chashtana's dynasty because if we assume that Nahapāna was dethroned in 46 Ś. E. Gautamīputra must have held Nāsik up to 52 Ś. E. (from his 18th to his 24th year), then Pulumāyi held the city up to the 22nd year of his reign, *i. e.*, up to at least 74 Ś. E. But Rudradāman is known to have defeated Pulumāyi and taken Nāsik before that time. Banerji's error lies in the tacit assumption that Rudradāman twice occupied Nāsik before the year 73 of the Śaka era. Another untenable assumption of Mr. Banerji is that Rudradāman finished his conquests before the year 52 or A. D. 130, whereas the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch by the House of Chashtana.

The theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar that a Nāsik inscription of Nahapāna refers to the gold currency of the Kushāns who could not have ruled in India before the first century A. D.

The power of Nahapāna and his allies was threatened by the Malayas (Mālavas) from the north, and the Sātavāhanas from the south. The incursion of the Mālavas was repelled by Ushavadāta. But the Sātavāhana attack proved fatal to Śaka rule in Mahārāshtra. The Nāsik praśasti calls Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi the uprooter of the Kshaharāta race and the restorer of the Sātavāhana power. That Nahapāna himself was overthrown by Gautamīputra is proved by the testimony of the Jogaltembhi hoard which consisted of Nahapāna's own coins and coins restruck by Gautamīputra. In the restruck coins there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna as would certainly have been the case if any ruler had intervened between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra.

II. THE RESTORATION OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE.

Gautamīputra's victory over the Kshaharātas led to the restoration of the Sātavāhana power in Mahārāshṭra and the adjoining provinces. The recovery of Mahārāshṭra is proved by a Nāsik inscription dated in the year 18 and a Karle epigraph addressed to the Amātya in charge of Māmāla (the district round Karle, modern Māval). But this was not the only achievement of Gautamīputra. We learn from the Nāsik record of queen Gautamī that her son destroyed the Śakas, Yavānas and Pahlavas, and that his dominions extended not only over Asika, Asaka (Aśmaka on the Godāvarī, *i.e.*, Mahārāshṭra),¹ and Mulaka (the district round Paithan), but also over Suratha (Kāthiāwār), Kukura (in Central India, probably near the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhya (Brihat Samhitā, XIV. 4), Aparānta (North Konkan), Anupa (district round Māhīsmatī on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berar), and Ākara-Avanti (East and West Mālwa). He is further styled lord of all the mountains from the Vindhya to the Travancore hills. The names of the Andhra country (Andhrāpatha) and Kosala are however conspicuous by their absence. Inscriptions and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang prove that both these territories were at one time or other included within the Sātavāhana empire. The earliest Sātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Pulumāyi, son of Gautamīputra.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Bhandarkar, Gautamīputra reigned conjointly with his son Pulumāyi. They give the following reasons :

(1) In Gautamī's inscription (dated in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumāyi) she is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This

¹ Shamastry's translation of the Arthaśāstra, p. 143, n. 2.

statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.

(2) If it were a fact that Gautamīputra was dead when the queen-mother's inscription was written, and Pulumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription. But there is not a word in praise of him. A king dead for 19 years is extolled, and the reigning king passed in silence.

(3) The inscription dated in the year 24, engraved on the east wall of the Veranda of the Nāsik Cave No. 3, which records a grant made by Gautamīputra and his mother, "whose son is living," in favour of certain Buddhist monks "dwelling in the cave which was a pious gift of theirs," presupposes the gift of the Nāsik Cave No. 3 in the 19th year of Pulumāyi. Consequently Gautamīputra was alive after the 19th year of his son.

As regards point (1), it may be said that usually a queen sees only her husband and son on the throne. Queen Gautamī Balasri, on the other hand, was one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) few who saw grandchildren on the throne. Therefore she claimed to be the mother of a great king and the grandmother of a great king.

As to point (2), although it is not customary for an ordinary subject to extol a dead king and pass over a reigning monarch in silence, still it is perfectly natural for a queen-mother in her old age to recount the glories of a son who was associated with her in a previous gift.

As to point (3), it is not clear that the gift referred to in the postscript of the year 24 was identical with the grant of the year 19 of Pulumāyi. The donors in the postscript were king Gautamīputra and his mother, the donor in the year 19 of Pulumāyi was the queen-mother *alone*. In the inscription of the year 24, the queen-mother is called Mahādevī *jīvasulā* Rājamātā. In Pulumāyi's inscription the epithets Māhadevī and Rājamātā are retained but

the epithet "Jivasutā" is significantly omitted. The donees in the former grant were the Tekirasi ascetics, the donees in the latter grant were the Bhadavāniya monks. The object of grant in the former case may have been merely the Veranda of Cave No. 3, which contains the postscript of the year 24, and whose existence before the 19th year of Pulumāyi is attested by an edict of Gautamīputra of the year 18. On the other hand the cave given away to the Bhadavāniya monks was the whole of Cave No. 3.

If Gautamīputra and his son reigned simultaneously, and if the latter ruled as his father's colleague in Mahārāshtra, then it is difficult to explain why Gautamīputra addressed the officer at Govardhana directly, ignoring his son who is represented as ruling over Mahārāshtra, while in the record of the year 19, Pulumāyi is considered as so important that the date is recorded in the years of his reign, and not in that of his father who was the senior ruler.¹

The generally accepted view is that Pulumāyi succeeded Gautamīputra. We learn from Ptolemy that his capital was Baithan, *i. e.*, Paithan or Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī, identified by Bhandarkar with Navanara. Inscriptions and coins prove that Pulumāyi's dominions included the Kṛishṇā district as well as Mahārāshtra. We have already seen that the Andhra country is not mentioned in the list of countries over which Gautamīputra held his sway. It is not altogether improbable that Vāsisṭhīputra Pulumāyi was the first to establish the Sātavāhana power in that region. Sukhtākar identifies him with Siri Pulumāyi, king of the Sātavāhanas, mentioned in an inscription discovered in the Ādoni tāluk of the Bellary district. But the absence of the distinguishing matronymic probably indicates that the king referred

¹ Cf. R. D. Banerji; J. R. A. S., 1917, pp. 281 *et seq.*

to in the inscription is Pulumāyi I of the Purānas. Rapson identified Pulumāyi with Vāsishthīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi who is represented in a Kanheri inscription as the husband of a daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Ru(dra). He further identifies this Rudra with Rudradāman and says that Pulumāyi must be identified with Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradāman "twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection." Prof. Bhandarkar does not accept the identification of Pulumāyi with Vāsishthīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the Kanheri Cave Inscription. He identifies the latter with Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi, the Śiva Śrī of the Matsya Purāṇa, probably a brother and successor of Pulumāyi. Another brother of Pulumāyi was probably Śrī Chandra Sati.

The next important kings were Śrī Sāta (mis-called Sakasena) and Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi. Yajñaśrī's inscriptions, which prove that he reigned for at least 27 years, are found at the following places, *viz.*, Nāsik, Kanheri, and China (Kṛishṇā district). His coins are found in Gujārāt, Kāthiāwār, East Mālwa, Aparānta, the Central Provinces, and the Kṛishṇā district. There can be no doubt that he ruled over both Mahārāshṭra and the Andhra country. Smith says that his silver coins imitating the coinage of the Śaka rulers of Ujjain probably point to victories over the latter, and that the coins bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that the king's power extended over the sea.

Yajñaśrī was the last great king of his dynasty. After his death the Sātavāhanas probably lost Mahārāshṭra to the Ābhīra king Īsvarasena. The later Sātavāhana princes—Śrī Rudra Śātakarṇi, Śrī Kṛishṇa Śātakarṇi and others—ruled in Eastern Deccan and were supplanted by the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas. The Śātakarṇis of Kuntala, or the Kanarese districts, were supplanted by the Pallavas

and Kadambas. A new power—the Vākātaka—arose in the central Deccan probably towards the close of the third century A. D.

III. THE ŚAKAS OF UJJAIN.

The greatest rivals of the restored Sātavāhana Empire were at first the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain. The progenitor of the Śaka princes of Ujjain was Ysāmōtika who was the father of Chashtāna, the first Mahākshatrpa of the family. The name of Ysāmōtika is Scythic (JRAS, 1906, p. 211). His descendant, who was killed by Chandra Gupta II, is called a Śaka king by Bāṇa in his Harṣha-charita. It is therefore assumed by scholars that the Kshatrpa family of Ujjain was a Śaka family.

The proper name of the dynasty is not known. Rapson says that it may have been Kārddamaka. The daughter of Rudradāman boasts that she is descended from the family of Kārddamaka kings ; but she may have been indebted to her mother for this distinction. The Kārddamaka kings apparently derive their name from the Kārdama, a river in Persia (Pārasika, Shama Sastry's translation of Kauṭilya, p. 86).

According to Dubreuil, Chashtāna ascended the throne in A. D. 78, and was the founder of the Śaka era. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the capital of Chashtāna (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene of Ptolemy), whereas we learn from the Periplus that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A.D.¹ The Periplus speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time. The earliest known date of Chashtāna is Ś. E. 52 *i. e.* A. D. 130. We learn from the Andhau inscriptions that

¹ The Periplus mentions Malichos (Maliku) the king of the Nabataeans who died in A. D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakale) king of the Anxumites who reigned from A. D. 76 to 89 (JRAS, 1917, 827-830).

in the year A. D. 130 Chashtāna was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that his foreign title Kshatrapa, and the use of the Kharoshthī alphabet on his coins, clearly show that he was a Viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushāns. Jayadāman, son of Chashtāna, seems to have acted merely as a Kshatrapa and to have pre-deceased his father, and the latter was succeeded as Mahākshatrapa by Rudradāman.

Rudradāman became an independent Mahākshatrapa sometime between the years 52 and 72 (A. D. 130 and 150). We learn from the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the year 72 that men of all caste chose him as protector and that he won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa. This probably indicates that he declared his independence.

The place names in the inscription seem to show that the rule of Rudradāman extended over Pūrvāparākāravanti (East and West Mālwa), Anupanivrit or the Māhishmatī (Māndhata?) region, Anurta¹ (district round Dwārakā), Surāshtra (district round Junāgaḍh), Svabhra (the country on the banks of the Sābarmatī), Maru (Mārwār), Kachchha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvira (the Lower Indus valley²), Kukura (part of central India, probably near the Pāriyātra Mt, according to the Brihat Samhitā, XIV, 4), Aparānta (N. Konkon), Nishāda (in the region of the Western Vindhya, cf. Pāriyātracharaḥ, Mbh., xii. 135,3-5), etc. Of these places Surāshtra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa, and Ākarāvanti formed part of Gautamīputra's dominions, and must have been conquered either from that king or one of his sons. The

¹ Anarta may however designate the district round Vadanagara (Eom. Gaz. I, i, 6). In that case Kukura should be placed in the Dwārakā region. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to Dwārakā as "Kukurāndhakavṛishṭibhiḡguptiḡ (I. 11. 10).

² Sindhu is the inland portion (Watters, Yuan Chwang II. 252, 253, read with 256). Sauvira is the littoral (Milinda Panho, SBE. XXXVI, 269).

Junāgaḍh inscription supplies the information that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. According to Prof. Bhandarkar this Śātakarṇi was Gautamīputra himself whose son Vāsishthīputra Śātakarṇi was Rudradāman's son-in-law. According to Rapson the lord of the Deccan defeated by Rudradāman was Pulumāyi.

Rudradāman also conquered the Yaudheyas, who are known, from a stone inscription to have occupied the Bijayagaḍh region in the Bharatpur state. If the Kushān chronology accepted by us be correct then he must have wrested Sindhu-Sauvīra from one of the successors of Kanishka I.

Rudradāman apparently held his court at Ujjain, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of his grandfather Chashtaṇa, placing the provinces of Ānarta and Surāshtra under his Pallava Amātya, Suviśakha, who constructed a new dam on the Sudarśana Lake.

The great Kshatrpa is said to have gained fame by studying grammar (Śabda), polity (artba), music (gāndharva logic (nyāya), etc. As a test of the civilised character of his rule it may be noted that he took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. The Sudarśana embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes (Kara), forced labour (Viṣṭi); benevolences (Praṇaya), and the like" (Bomb. Gaz., I, 1, 3. 9). The king was helped in the work of government by an able staff of officials, who were 'fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers (amātya guṇa samudyuktaiḥ) and were divided into two classes, viz., Matisachiva (councillors) and Karmasachiva (Executive officers).

Rudradāman was succeeded by his eldest son Dāmaghsāda I. After Dāmaghsāda there were (according to Rapson) two claimants for the succession: his son Jīvadāman and his brother Rudra Śimha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter. To Rudra Śimha's reign belongs the Guṇḍa inscription of the year 103 (=A. D. 181) which records the digging of a tank by an Ābhīra general named Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bāpaka. The Ābhīras afterwards usurped the position of Mahākshatrapa. According to Prof. Bhandarkar an Ābhīra named Īśvaradatta was the Mahākshatrapa of the period 188-90 A. D. But Rapson places Īśvaradatta after A. D. 236.

Rudra Śimha I was followed by his sons Rudrasena I,¹ Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena. Three of Dāmasena's sons became Mahākshatrapas, *viz.*, Yasodāman, Vijayasena and Dāmajāda Śrī. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II who was followed by his sons Viśvasimha and Bhartrīdāman. Under Bhartrīdāman his son Viśvasena served as Kshatrapa.

The connection of Bhartrīdāman and Viśvasena with the next Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman II and his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of the line was Rudra Śimha III who ruled up to at least A. D. 388.

The rule of the Śakas of Western India was destroyed by the Guptas. Already in the time of Samudra Gupta the Śakas appear among the peoples represented as doing respectful homage to him. The Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II testify to that monarch's conquest of Eastern Mālwa. One of the inscriptions commemorates the construction of a cave by a minister of Chandra

¹ To Rudrasena's reign belongs the Mulwasar inscription of A. D. 200, and Jasdhan inscription of A. D. 205. In the latter inscription we have the title *Bhadramukha* applied to all the ancestors of Rudrasena, excepting Jayadāma.

Gupta who "came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The subjugation of western Mālwa is probably hinted at by the epithet "Simhavikrāntagāmini," or vassal of Simhavikrama, *i.e.*, Chandra Gupta II applied to Naravarman of Mandasor (Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 162). Evidence of the conquest of Surāshtra is to be seen in Chandra Gupta's silver coins which are imitated from those of the Śaka Satraps. Lastly, Bāṇa in his Harshacharita refers to the slaying of the Śaka king by Chandra Gupta (Aripure cha parakalatra kāmukam kāmīnivesāguptascha Chandra Guptaḥ Śakapatīmasātayaditi).✓

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

I. THE RISE OF THE GUPTA POWER.

We have seen that the tide of Scythian conquest, which was rolled back for a time by the Sātavāhanas, was finally stemmed by the Gupta Emperors. It is interesting to note that there were many Guptas among the officials of the Sātavāhana conquerors of the Śakas, *e.g.*, Siva Gupta of the Nāsik Inscription of the year 18,—Gupta of the Karle inscription, and Śivaskanda Gupta of the same inscription. It is difficult to say whether there was any connection between these Guptas and the Imperial Gupta family of Northern India.

Scions of the Gupta family are not unoften mentioned in old Brāhmī Inscriptions. The Ichchhāwar (Bāndā district) Buddhist Statuette inscription (Lüders, No. 11) mentions the benefaction of Mahādevī queen of Śrī Hariḍāsa, sprung from the Gupta race (Gupta varṇsodita). A Bharaut Buddhist Pillar Inscription (Lüders, No. 687) of the Śuṅga period refers to a "Gaupṭī" as the queen of Rājan Visadeva, and the grandmother of Dhanabhūti a feudatory of the Śuṅgas.

Traces of Gupta rule in Magadha are found as early as the second century A. D. I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A. D., mentions a Mahārāja Śrī Gupta who built a temple near Mṛigaśikhāvana. I-Tsing's date would place him about A. D. 175 (Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction, p. xv). Allan rejects the date and identifies Śrī Gupta with Gupta the great-grand-father of Samudra Gupta on the ground that it is unlikely that we should have two different rulers in

the same territory, of the same name, within a brief period. But, have we not two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods? There is no cogent reason for identifying Śrī Gupta of A. D. 175 with Samudra Gupta's great-grand-father who must have flourished about a century later.

The names of Śrī Gupta's immediate successors are not known. The earliest name of the Gupta family of Magadha which appears in inscriptions is that of Mahārāja Gupta who was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Ghatotkacha.

Chandra Gupta I.

The first independent sovereign (Mahārājādhirāja) was Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghatotkacha, who ascended the throne in 320 A. D. the initial date of the Gupta Era. Like his great fore-runner Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli, and laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Chandra Gupta I with the Lichchhavi family is commemorated by a series of coins having on the obverse standing figures of Chandra Gupta and his queen, the Lichchhavi Princess Kumāradevī, and on the reverse a figure of Lakshmī with the legend "Lichchhavayah" probably signifying that the prosperity of Chandra Gupta was due to his Lichchhavi alliance. Smith suggests that the Lichchhavis were ruling in Pāṭaliputra as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushāns, and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives. But Allan points out that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Śrī Gupta's time.

From our knowledge of Samudra Gupta's conquests it may be deduced that his father's rule was confined to Magadha and the adjoining territories. In the opinion of

Allan the Purāṇic verses defining the Gupta dominions refer to his reign :

AnuGaṅgā Prayāgamcha Śāketam Magadhāmstathā
Etān janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Guptavaṁśajāḥ.

It will be seen that Vaiśālī is not included in this list of Gupta possessions. Therefore we cannot concur in Allan's view that Vaiśālī was one of Chandra Gupta's earliest conquests. Nor does Vaiśālī occur in the list of Samudra Gupta's acquisitions. It first appears as a Gupta possession in the time of Chandra Gupta II, and constituted a Viceroyalty under an Imperial Prince.

Samudra Gupta Parākramāṅka.

Chandra Gupta I was succeeded by his son Samudra Gupta. It is clear from the Allahabad praśasti and from the epithet tatparigṛihīta applied to Samudra Gupta in other inscriptions that the prince was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. The new monarch seems also to have been known as Kācha.¹

It was the aim of Samudra Gupta to bring about the political unification of India and make himself an Ekarāṭ like Mahāpadma. But his only permanent annexation was that of portions of Āryāvarta. Following his "Sarva-kshatrāntaka" predecessor, he uprooted Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman and many other kings of Āryāvarta, captured the scion of the family of Kota and made all kings of the forest countries (āṭavika-rāja) his servants. Matila has been identified with a person named Mattila mentioned in a seal found in Bulandshahr. The

¹ The epithet Sarvarājochchhattā found on Kācha's coins shows that he was identical with Samudra Gupta.

absence of any honorific title on the seal leads Allan to suggest that it was a private one. But we have already come across many instances of princes being mentioned without any honorific. Chandravarman has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Susunia inscription, who was the ruler of Pushkarāmbudhi in Rājaputāna. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī believes that this king is identical also with the mighty sovereign Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription "who in battle in the Vaṅga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him, and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the Indus the Vāhlikas were conquered." It should, however, be noted that the Purāṇas represent the Nāgas as ruling in the Jumna valley and Central India in the fourth century A.D. We learn from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa that Nāga dynasties ruled at Padmāvati and Mathurā. A Nāga line probably ruled also at Vidiśā (Pargiter, Kali Age, p. 49). Two kings named Sadā-Chandra and Chandrāmśa "the second Nakhavant" are mentioned among the post-Andhran kings of Nāga lineage. One of these, preferably the latter, may have been the Chandra of the Meharauli inscription. Ganapati Nāga, Nāgasena and Nandi also seem to have been Nāga princes. The statement that Ganapati-Nāga was a Nāga prince requires no proof. This prince is also known from coins. Nāgasena, heir of the house of Padmāvati (Narwar in the Gwalior territory) is mentioned in the Harshacharita (Nāga kulajanmanah sārīkāśrāvita mantrasya āśidnāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām). Nandi was also probably a Nāga prince. In the Purāṇas Śiśu Nandi and Nandiyāśas are connected with the Nāga family of Central India. We know the name of a Nāga prince named Śivanamdi (Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31). Achyuta was probably a king of Aḥichchhatrā. To him has been attributed the small

copper coins bearing the syllables 'achyu' found at Abichchhatrā (Allan, Gupta Coins, xxii).

The conquered territories were constituted as *vishayas* or Imperial sub-provinces. Two of these *vishayas* are known from later inscriptions, namely Antarvedi and Arikaṇa.

The annexation of the northern kingdoms was not the only achievement of Samudra Gupta. He made the rulers of the Āṭavika rājyas his servants, led an expedition to the south and made his power felt by the potentates of Eastern Deccan. We perceive, however, a difference between his northern and southern campaigns. In the north he played the part of a digvijayi of the Early Magadhan type. But in the south he followed the Kautilyan ideal of a dharmavijayi, *i.e.*, he defeated the kings but did not annex their territory.

The Āṭavika rājyas were closely connected with Dabhāla (Fleet, CII, p. 114), *i.e.*, the Jabbalpur region (Ep. Ind., VIII, 284-287). The conquest of this region by Samudra Gupta is proved also by his Eraṇ inscription. One of the Āṭavika states was Koṭāṭavi which reminds us of the "Kota-Kula" which the Gupta monarch overthrew.

The Kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha who came into conflict with the great Gupta were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṅṭarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura and of Koṭṭūra on Mahendragiri, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi, Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka Kuvera of Devarāshṭra, and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura.

Kosala is South Kosala which comprised the modern Raipur and Sambalpur districts. Mahākāntāra is apparently a wild tract of Central India probably identical with the Jaso State. Kaurāla (probably a variant of Kerala, Fleet, CII, p. 13) is apparently the district of which the capital in later times was

Yayātinagarī on the Mahānadī (Ep. Ind., XI, p. 189).¹ The poet Dhoyi, in his Pavanadūtam, connects the Keralīs with Yayātinagarī :

Līlām netum nayanapadavim Keralinām rateschet
Gachchheḥ khyātām jagati nagarim akhyayātām Yayāteḥ.

Pisṭapura is Pithāpuram in the Godāvāri district. Kottūra has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles south-south-east of Mahendragiri in Gañjam,² and Erandapalla with Erandapali "a town probably near Chicacole" (Dubreuil, A.H. D., pp. 58-60). Kāñchī is Conjeeveram near Madras. Avamukta cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the name of its king Nīlarāja reminds us of Nīlapalli "an old seaport near Yanam" in the Godāvāri district (Gazetteer of the Godavāri District, Vol. I, p. 213). Vengi has been identified with Vegi or Pēdda-Vegi 7 miles north of Ellore (Krishṇā District). Palakka is probably identical with Palakkada, the seat of a Pallava viceroyalty. Devarāshṭra is the Yellamanchili tract in the Vizagapatam district (Dubreuil, A. H. D., p. 160). Kusthalapura cannot be satisfactorily identified.

The capture and liberation of the southern kings, notably of the ruler of Kottūra on Mahendragiri, reminds us of the following lines of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa:—

Grihītapratimuktasya sa dharmavijayī nṛipaḥ
Śriyam Mahendranāthasya jahāra natu medinīm.

It is not a little surprising that the Allahabad praśasti contains no reference to the Vākāṭakas who were now the predominant power in the region between Bundelkhand and Karṇāṭa. The earliest reference to the Vākāṭakas occurs in certain inscriptions of Amarāvati

¹ Kaurāla cannot be Kollern or colair which must have been included within the territory of Haṣṭivarman of Vengi.

² There is another Kottūra 'at the foot of the hills' in the Vizagapatam district (Viz. Dist. Gaz., I, 137).

(Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 261, 267). The dynasty rose to power under Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravarasena I. Pravarasena appears to have been succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I. Prithivisena I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, must have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta inasmuch as his son Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta's son Chandra Gupta II. Prithivisena I's political influence extended from Nachnē-kī-talai in Bundelkhand (Fleet, CII, p. 233) to the borders of Kuntala (or Karṇāṭa, Ind. Ant., 1876, p. 318), *i.e.*, the Kanarese country. One of the Ajantā inscriptions credits him with having conquered the lord of Kuntala. The Nach-nē-kī-talāī region was ruled by his vassal Vyāghradeva. Prof. Dubreuil, however, says that the Nāchnā inscription which mentions Vyāghra, belongs not to Prithivisena I but to his descendant Prithivisena II. But this is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Prithivisena II's great-grand-father, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A.D. 528, the princes of the region which intervenes between Nāchnā and the Vākāṭaka territory, owned the sway of the Gupta empire. Now as Vyāghra of the Nāchnā record acknowledges the supremacy of the Vākāṭaka Prithivisena, this Prithivisena can only be Prithivisena I who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II (*cf.* the Eran and Udayagiri Inscriptions), and not Prithivisena II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vākāṭakas, were the acknowledged suzerains of the Central Provinces as we know from the records of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas (*cf.* Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 475).

The absence of any reference to Prithivisena I in Harishena's praśasti is explained by the fact that Samudra Gupta's operations were confined to the eastern part of the

Deccan. There is no evidence that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan, *i.e.*, the territory ruled by Prīthivisena I himself. Prof. Dubreuil has shown that the identification of Devarāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra and of Eraṇḍapalla with Eraṇḍol in Khandesh, is wrong (*cf.* *Modern Review*, 1921, p. 457).

Though Samudra Gupta did not invade the Western Deccan it is clear from his Eraṇ Inscription that he did deprive the Vākātakas of their possessions in Central India. But these possessions were not directly governed by the Vākāṭaka monarch, but were under a vassal prince. In the time of Prīthivisena this prince was Vyāghra. We should naturally expect a conflict between the Vākāṭaka feudatory and the Gupta conqueror. Curiously enough the Allahabad praśasti refers to Samudra Gupta's victory over Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra. It is probable that this Vyāghrarāja is identical with the Vyāghra of the Nāchnā inscription who was the Central Indian feudatory of Prīthivisena. As a result of Samudra Gupta's victory the Guptas succeeded the Vākātakas as the paramount power of Central India. Henceforth the Vākātakas appear as a purely southern power.

The victorious career of Samudra Gupta must have produced a deep impression on the pratyanta nripatis or frontier kings of East India and the Himalayan region, and the tribal states of the Pañjāb, Western India and Mālwa who are said to have gratified his imperious commands (Prachanḍa Śāsana) "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The most important among the East Indian frontier kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samatata (part of East Bengal bordering on the sea), Davāka (not satisfactorily identified) and Kāmarūpa (in Assam); we learn from the Dāmodarapur

plates that Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta Empire and was governed by a line of Uparika Mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The identification of Davāka with certain districts of North Bengal is therefore wrong. The Northern Pratyantas were Nepāl and Kartripura, the latter principality comprised probably Katarpur in the Jalandhar district, and the territory of the Katur, Katuria or Katyur rājas of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand.

The tribal states which paid homage were situated on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper. Among these the most important were the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas.

The Mālavas were in the Pañjab in the time of Alexander. They were probably in Rājaputāna when they came into conflict with Ushavadāta. Their exact location in the time of Samudra Gupta cannot be determined. In the time of Samudra Gupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandasor region. We find princes of Mandasor using the reckoning (commencing B.C. 58) handed down traditionally by the Mālavagana (Mālavaganamāta).

The Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas are placed in the northern division of India by the author of the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā. They may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Pañjab (Ind. Ant., XIII, 331, 349). The connection of the Ārjunāyanas with the Pāṇḍava Arjuna is apparent. Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhisṭhira in the Mahābhārata (Adi, 95, 76). The Harivaṁśa, a later authority, connects the Yaudheyas with Uśīnara (Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 380). A clue to the locality of the Yaudheyas is given by the Bijayagadh inscription (Fleet, CII, p. 251). The hill fort

of Bijāyagaḍh lies about two miles to the south-west of Byānā in the Bharatpur state of Rājaputāna.

The Madrakas had their capital at Śākala or Siālkot in the Pañjāb. The Ābhīras occupied the tract near Vinaśana (Śūdrābhīrān prati dveshād yatro nashtā Sarasvatī, Mbh. IX. 37.1) in the territory called Abiria by the Periplus. We have already seen that an Ābhira became Mahākshatrapa of western India and supplanted the Sātavāhanas in a part of Mahārāshṭra in the second or third century A.D. The lands of the Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas lay probably in central India. The Prārjunakas are mentioned in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (p. 194). A clue to the locality of the Sanakānikas is given by one of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II. The name of the Kākas reminds us of the "Kankas" who are placed in Mid-India by the author of the Bṛihat Samhitā (XIV. 4). In the Bombay Gazetteer Kāka is identified with Kākūpur near Bithur.

The rise of a new indigenous Imperial power could not be a matter of indifference to the foreign potentates of the Uttarāpatha and Surāshṭra who hastened to buy peace "by acts of homage, such as self-sacrifice, the bringing of gifts of maidens, the soliciting of charters confirming in the enjoyment of their territories, bearing the Garuda seal." The foreign powers who thus established diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta were the Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi and the Śaka Muruṇḍas as well as the people of Simhala and all other dwellers in Islands.

The Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi was apparently the Kushān ruler of the north-west, a descendant of the Great Kanishka. The Śaka Muruṇḍas were apparently the Kshatrapas of Ujjain. Sten Konow tells us that Muruṇḍa is a Śaka word meaning lord, Sanskrit Svāmin. The epithet Svāmin was used by the Kshatrapas of Ujjain.

Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarna. A Chinese historian relates that Meghavarna sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh Gayā for the use of pilgrims from the Island.

Allan thinks that it was at the conclusion of his campaigns that the Gupta conqueror celebrated the horse-sacrifice which, we are told in the inscriptions of his successors, had long been in abeyance. But it should be noted that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pushyamitra to that of Samudra Gupta, *e.g.*, Śātakarṇi the husband of Nayanikā, Pravarasena I Vākātaka, great-grand-father of Prīthiviseṇa I, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, and the Pallava Sivaskandavarman of the Prākṛit Hirahadagalli record. It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these southern monarchs. After the horse sacrifice Samudra Gupta apparently took the title of Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.

If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad Praśasti, is to be believed the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lord of Gods and Tumburu and Nārada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established his title of Kavirāja by various poetical compositions." Unfortunately none of these compositions have survived. But the testimony of Harishena to his musical abilities finds corroboration in the lyric type of his coins.

The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kācha to Samudra Gupta may be accepted. But the emperor's identification with Dharmāditya of a Faridpur grant is clearly wrong. The titles used by the emperor were

Apratiratha, Kṛitāntaparaśu, Sarvarājochehhetā,¹ Vyāghraparākrama, Aśvamedhaparākrama, and Parākramāṅka but not Dharmāditya.

We possess no dated documents for Samudra Gupta's reign. The Gayā grant professes to be dated in the year 9, but no reliance can be placed on it and the reading of the numeral is uncertain. Smith's date (330-375) for Samudra Gupta is conjectural. As the earliest known date of Chandra Gupta II is A.D. 401, it is not improbable that Samudra Gupta died sometime after A.D. 375.

II. THE AGE OF THE VIKRAMĀDITYAS.

Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya.

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya (also called Simhachandra and Simha Vikrama), born of queen Dattadevi. Chandra Gupta was chosen out of many sons by Samudra Gupta as the best fitted to succeed him. Another name of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vākāṭaka inscriptions and the Sāñchi inscription of A.D. 412 was Deva Gupta or Devarāja (Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 160).

For his reign we possess a number of dated inscriptions so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession should be placed before A.D. 401-2, and his death in or about A.D. 413-14.

The most important external events of the reign were the Emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, son of Prithivisena I, and the war with the Śaka Satraps which added Mālwa and Surāshṭra to the Gupta dominions.

¹ Cf. the epithet "Sarvakshatrāntaka" applied to his great fore-runner Mahāpadma Nanda.

Chandra Gupta II had a daughter named Prabhavati, by his consort Kuveranāgā a princess of Nāga lineage, whom he gave in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vākātaka king of the Deccan. According to Dr. Smith (JRAS, 1914, p. 324) "the Vākātaka Mahārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Surāshtra, Chandra Gupta adopted a prudent precaution in giving his daughter to the Vākātaka prince and so securing his subordinate alliance."

The campaign against the western Satraps is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Virasena-Śāba in the following passage "he (Śāba) came here, accompanied by the king (Chandra Gupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." Śāba was an inhabitant of Pātaliputra who held the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a sachiva of Chandra Gupta II and was placed by his sovereign in charge of the Department of Peace and War. He naturally accompanied his master when the great western expedition was undertaken. The campaign against the Śakas was eminently successful. The fall of the Śaka Satrap is alluded to by Bāna. The annexation of his territory is proved by coins.

Capitals of the Empire—The original Gupta capital seems to have been at Pātaliputra. But after his western conquests Chandra Gupta made Ujjain a second capital. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts, who claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, referred to their ancestor as Ujjayinipuravarādhīśvara as well as Pātaliputrapuravarādhīśvara. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Chandra Gupta with the traditional Vikramāditya Śākāri of Ujjain.¹ The titles Śrīvikramaḥ,

¹ In literature Vikramāditya is represented as ruling at Pātaliputra (Kathā-saritsāgara VII, 4.3. Vikramāditya ityāśidhātjā Pātaliputrātrake) as well as Ujjayini.

Śimbavikramaḥ, *Ajitavikramaḥ*, *Vikramaṅka* and *Vikramāditya* actually occur on Chandra Gupta's coins.

We have no detailed contemporary account of Ujjayini (also called *Viśālā*, *Padmavati*, *Bhogavati*, *Hiranyavati*) in the days of Chandra Gupta. But Fa-hien who visited India from A.D. 405 to 411 has left an interesting account of Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim refers to the royal palace of Aśoka and halls in the midst of the city, "which exist now as of old," and were according to him all made by spirits which Aśoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work,—in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish. "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images.... The Heads of the Vaiśya families establish houses for dispensing charity and medicines."

Much light is thrown on the character of Chandra Gupta *Vikramāditya*'s administration by the narrative of Fa-hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered.

Speaking of the Middle Kingdom (the dominions of Chandra Gupta) the Chinese pilgrim says "the people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion, they only have their right hands cut off. The king's body-guards and attendants

all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Chandālas.... In buying and selling commodities they use cowries." The last statement evidently refers to such small transactions as Fa-hien had occasion to make (Allan). He does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency, we know from the references to donations of dināras and suvarṇas in the inscriptions.

That Chandra Gupta was a good monarch may be inferred also from the inscriptions. He himself was a Vaiṣṇava (Paramabhāgavata). But he appointed men of other sects to high offices. His general Āmrakārdava, the hero of a hundred fights (anēka-samar-āvāpta-vijayayaśas-patākaḥ) appears to have been a Buddhist, while his minister of Peace and War (Śāba-Vīrasena) and perhaps also his Mantrin, Śikharasvāmin, were Śaivas.

Regarding the machinery of Government we have no detailed information. But the following facts may be gleaned from the inscriptions.

As in Maurya times the head of the state was the Rājā who was apparently nominated by his predecessor. He was assisted by a body of high Ministers whose office was very often hereditary (*cf.* the phrase "anvayaprāpta Sāchivya"). The most important among the High Ministers were the Mantrin, the Sāmdhivigrahika and the Akshapaṭalādhikṛita. Like the Maurya Mantrin, the Gupta Sāmdhivigrahika accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field. There was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be Sāmdhivigrahika and Mahādandanāyaka, and a Mantrin could become a Mahābalādhikṛita.

It is not clear whether the Guptas had a central Mantriparishad. But the existence of local parishads (*e.g.* the Parishad of Udānakūpa) is proved by a Basārḥ seal discovered by Bloch.

The empire was divided into a number of Provinces (Deśas, Bhuktis, etc.) sub-divided into districts called Pradeśas or Vishayas. Among Deśas the Gupta inscriptions mention Sukulideśa, Surāshṭra, Dabhālā and "Kālindi Narmadayor Madhya" are also perhaps to be placed under this category.

Among Bhuktis we have reference to Tīrabhukti, Puṇḍravardhana bhukti, Śrāvastī bhukti and Nāgara bhukti. Among Pradeśas or Vishayas mention is made of Lāṭavishaya, Tripurīvishaya, Arikiṇa (called Pradeśa in Samudra Gupta's Eran inscription, and Vishaya in that of Toramāṇa), Antarvedi, Vālavi, Gayā, Koṭivarsha, Mahākhushāpāra and Kuṇḍadhāni.

The Deśas were governed by officers called Goptrīs or Wardens of the Marches (*cf.* Sarveshu Deśeshu vidhāya Goptrīn). The Bhuktis were governed by Uparika Mahārājas who were sometimes princes of the Imperial family (*e.g.*, Rajāputradevabhāṭṭāraka, Governor of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti mentioned in a Damodarapur plate, and Govinda Gupta Governor of Tīrabhukti mentioned in the Basārḥ seals). The office of Vishyapati or District Officer was held by Imperial officials like the Kumārāmātya and Āyuktaka, as well as by feudatory Mahārājas (*cf.* Mātrivishṇu). Some of the Vishyapatis (*e.g.*, Sārvanāga of Antarvedi) were directly under the Emperor, while others (*e.g.*, those of Koṭivarsha, Arikiṇa and Tripurī) were under provincial governors. The Governors and District Officers were no doubt helped by officials like the Chauroddharanika, Dāṇḍika, Daṇḍapāsika and others. Every Vishaya consisted of a number of grāmas or villages which were administered by the Grāmikas, Mahattaras or Bhojakas.

Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal kingdoms and republics mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* and other documents.

The Basārḥ seals throw some interesting sidelight on the provincial and municipal government as well as the economic organisation of the province of Tirabhukti. The province was apparently governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the Mahādevī Śrī Dhruvasvāminī, who had his capital at Vaiśālī. The seals mention several officials like the Uparika (Governor), the Kumārāmātya, the Mahāpratihāra (the great chamberlain), the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (the great general), the Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka (the censor), and the Bhaṭāśvapati (lord of the army and cavalry), and the following offices, *e.g.*, Yuvarājapādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa (office of the minister of His Highness the Crown Prince, according to Vogel), Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa (office of the chief treasurer of the war department), Balādhikaraṇa (office of the chief of the military forces), Daṇḍapāsādhikaraṇa (office of the chief of Police), Tirabhuktyuparikādhikaraṇa (office of the governor of Tirhut), Tirabhuktau Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpakādhikaraṇa (office of the Censor? of Tirhut), Vaiśālyādhishṭhānādhikaraṇa (office of the governor of Vaiśālī), Śrīparamabhaṭṭārakapādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa (office of the minister of the Prince waiting on His Majesty).

The reference to the Parishad of Udānakūpa shows that the Parishad still formed an important element of the Hindu machinery of government. The reference to the corporation of bankers, traders and merchants (Śreṣṭhi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama) is of interest to students of economics.

Chandra Gupta II had at least two queens, Dhruvadevī and Kuveranāgā. The first queen was the mother of Kumāra Gupta I and Govinda Gupta. The second queen

was the mother of Prabhāvati who became queen of the Vākātakas. Certain mediæval chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta.

Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya.

Chandra Gupta II's successor was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya¹ whose certain dates range from A.D. 415 to A. D. 455. His extensive coinage, and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's Empire including the western provinces. One of his viceroys, Chirātadatta, governed Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti or north Bengal (*cf.* the Dāmodarpur plates of the years 124 and 129); another viceroy, prince Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, governed the province of Eraṇ which included Tumbavana (M.B. Garde, *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, p. 114, Tumain Inscription of the year 116, *i.e.*, A.D. 435); a third viceroy or feudatory, Bandhuvarman, governed Daśapura (Mandasor Inscription of A.D. 437-8). The Karamadaṇḍe inscription of A.D. 436 mentions Prīthivishena who was a Mantrin and Kumārāmātya, and afterwards Mahābalādhikṛita or general under Kumāra Gupta, probably stationed in Oudh.

Like his father Kumāra was a tolerant king. During his rule the worship of Svāmī Mahāsenā (Kārtikeya), Buddha, Śiva in the liṅga form, and the sun, as well as that of Viṣṇu, flourished peacefully side by side (*cf.* the Bilsad, Mankuwar, Karamadaṇḍe, and Mandasor inscriptions).

The two notable events of Kumāra's reign are: the celebration of the horse sacrifice (evidenced by the rare Aśvamedha type of his gold coinage), and the temporary eclipse of the Gupta power by the Pushyamitras. The

¹ Also called Śrī Mahendra, Aśvamedha Mahendra, Ajita Mahendra, Siṃha Mahendra, Śrī Mahendra Siṃha, Mahendrakumāra, Siṃha Vikrama (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. 80), Vyāghrabalaparākrama, and Śrī Pratāpa.

reading Pushyamitra in the Bhitari inscription is, however, not accepted by some scholars because the second syllable of this name is damaged (*cf.* CIL, p. 55 n). Mr. H. R. Divekar in his article "Puṣyamitras in Gupta Period" (Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute) makes the plausible emendation Yudhy = amitrāms = ca for Dr. Fleet's reading Puṣyamitrāms = ca in C.I.I., iii, p. 55. It is admitted on all hands that during the concluding years of Kumāra's reign the Gupta Empire "had been made to totter." Whether the reference in the inscription is simply to Amitras or enemies, or to Pushyamitras, cannot be satisfactorily determined. We should, however, remember in this connection that a people called Pushyamitra is actually referred to in the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The fallen fortunes of the Gupta family were restored by prince Skanda Gupta (*cf.* the Bhitari Inscription).

Kumāra's chief queen was Anantadevī. He had at least two sons, *viz.*, Pura Gupta, son of Anantadevī, and Skanda Gupta the name of whose mother is not given in the inscriptions. Hiuen Tsang calls Buddha Gupta (Fo-to-kio-to) or Budha Gupta¹ a son of Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had this title was Kumāra Gupta I who is called Mahendrāditya on coins. Mahendra is the same as Śakra. The use of synonymous terms as names was not unknown in the Gupta period. Vikramāditya was also called Vikramāṅka. Skanda is called both Vikramāditya and Kramāditya, both the words meaning "sun of power." If Śakrāditya of Hiuen Tsang be identical with Mahendrāditya or Kumāra I, Budha Gupta was a son of Kumāra. Another son of the latter was apparently Ghaṭotkacha Gupta (*cf.* the

¹ The name Fo-to-kio-to has been restored as Buddha Gupta. But we have no independent evidence regarding the existence of a king named Buddha Gupta. The synchronism of his successor's successor Bālāditya with Mihirakula indicates that the king meant was Budha Gupta.

Tumain Inscription referred to by Mr. Garde ; also the Basarh seal mentioning Śrī Ghaṭotkacha Gupta).

Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya.

In an interesting paper read before the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Majumdar suggested that after Kumāra's death there was a fratricidal struggle in which Skanda Gupta came off victorious after defeating his brothers including Pura Gupta the rightful claimant, and rescued his mother just as Kṛiṣṇa rescued Devakī (*cf.* the Bhitari Inscription). Dr. Majumdar says that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta in the Bihār Stone Pillar and Bhitari Inscriptions indicates that she was not a Mahādevī, and Skanda was not the rightful heir. The rightful heir of Kumāra was Pura Gupta, the son of the Mahādevī Anantadevī.

We should however remember that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of non-Mahādevīs in inscriptions. The mother of Prabhāvatī, Kuberaṅgā, was not Chandra Gupta II's Mahādevī. Nevertheless she is mentioned in the inscriptions of her daughter. On the other hand the names of queens, the mothers of kings, were sometimes omitted.¹ In the *genealogical portion* of the Banskhera and Madhuban plates the name of Yaśomatī as *Harsha's mother* is not mentioned, but in the Sonpat seal she is mentioned both as the mother of Rājyavardhana and as the mother of Harsha. The Pāla Inscriptions mention Lājā the queen of Vighraha Pāla I and mother of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, but do not mention the queen of Nārāyaṇa Pāla who was the mother of Rājya Pāla. They again mention Bhāgyadevī the queen of Rājya Pāla and mother of Gopāla II. In the Bāṅagarh Inscription

¹ The name of the father of a reigning king was also sometimes omitted (*cf.* Kielhorn's *N. Ins.*, Nos. 464, 468).

of Mahī Pāla I we have a reference to his great-grand-mother Bhāgyadevī, but no mention of his own mother. The omission of the name of Skanda's mother from inscriptions is, at best, an *argumentum ex silentio* which can only be accepted if it can be proved that the mention of the name of a Mahādevī was compulsory and that the mention of the name of an ordinary queen was prohibited. The case of Kuberaṅgā shows that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of an ordinary wife of a Gupta king.

As to the question of rightful claim to the succession, we should remember that the cases of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II suggest that the ablest among the princes was chosen irrespective of any claim arising out of birth.

There is nothing to show that the struggle at the end of Kumāra's reign, referred to in the Bhitari inscription, was a fratricidal struggle. The relevant text of the inscription runs thus:—

Pitari divam upētē viplutām vaṁśa-lakshmiṁ
 bhujā-bala-vijit-ārīr-yyaḥ pratishthāpya bhūyaḥ
 jitam-iti paritoshān-mātaraṁ sāśra-nettrām
 hata-ripur-iva Kṛishṇo Devaktm-abhyupetaḥ.

The enemies (ari) who made the Vaṁśa-lakshmi of Skanda Gupta "vipluta" after the death of his father were apparently enemies of the Gupta family, *i.e.*, outsiders not belonging to the Gupta lineage. As a matter of fact the enemies expressly mentioned in the Bhitari inscription were outsiders, *e.g.*, the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas. There is not the slightest reference to a fratricidal war. There is no doubt a passage in the Junāgaḍh-inscription of Skanda which says that "the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected (Skanda)

as her husband.....having discarded all the other sons of kings." But it does not necessarily imply that there was a struggle between the sons of Kumāra in which Skanda came off victorious. It only means that among the princes he was considered to be best fitted to rule. In the Allahabad prasasti we have a similar passage "who (Samudra Gupta) being looked at with envy by the faces, melancholy through the rejection of themselves, of others of equal birth.....was bidden by his father,— who, exclaiming 'verily he is worthy' embraced him—to govern of a surety the whole world." It may be argued that there is no proof that Skanda was selected by Kumāra. On the contrary he is said to have been selected by Lakshmi of her own accord. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the empire was made to totter at the close of Kumāra's reign, and Skanda owed its restoration to his own prowess. The important thing to remember is that the avowed enemies of Skanda Gupta mentioned in his inscriptions were outsiders like the Pushyamitras, Hūṇas (Bhitari Ins.) and Mlechchhas (Junāgaḍh Ins.). The Manujendra-putras of the Junāgaḍh inscription are mentioned only as disappointed princes, not as defeated enemies, like the brothers of Samudra Gupta who were discarded by Chandra Gupta I. We are therefore inclined to think that as the tottering Gupta empire was saved from its enemies (*e.g.*, the Pushyamitras) by Skanda Gupta it was he who was considered to be best fitted to rule. There is no evidence that his brothers disputed his claim and actually fought for the crown. There is nothing to show that Skanda shed his brothers' blood and that the epithet "amalātmā" applied to him in the Bhitari inscription was unjustified.

Skanda Gupta assumed the titles of Kramāditya and Vikramāditya. From the evidence of coins and inscriptions we know that he ruled from A.D. 455 to 467.

The first achievement of Skanda was the restoration of the Gupta Empire. From an inscriptional passage we learn that while preparing to restore the fallen fortunes of his family he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend a night sleeping on the bare earth. Line twelve of the Bhitari inscription tells us that when Kumāra Gupta I had attained the skies, Skanda conquered his enemies by the strength of his arms. From the context it seems that these enemies were the Pushyamitras "who had developed great power and wealth."

The struggle with the Pushyamitras was followed by a terrible conflict with the Hūṇas in which the emperor was presumably victorious. The invasion of the Hūṇas took place not later than A.D. 458 if we identify them with the Mlechchhas of the Junāgaḍh inscription. The memory of the victory over the Mlechchhas is preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction). Surāshtra seems to have been the vulnerable part of the Gupta empire. The Junāgaḍh inscription tells us "he (Skanda) deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surāshtras." Allan deduces from this and from the words "Sarveshu deśeshuvidhāya goptṛin" that the emperor was at particular pains to appoint a series of Wardens of the Marches to protect his dominions from future invasion. One of these Wardens was Parnadatta, governor of Surāshtra. In spite of all his efforts Skanda Gupta could not save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he, no doubt, retained his hold over Surāshtra. But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription has yet been discovered which shows that Surāshtra formed a part of the Gupta empire after the death of Skanda Gupta.

The later years of Skanda seem to have been tranquil (*cf.* the Kahaum Ins.). The emperor was helped in the work of administration by a number of able governors like Parnadatta viceroy of the west, Sarvanāga Vishayapati of Antaravedi or the Doāb, and Bhīmanvarman the ruler of the Kosam region. Chakrapālita, son of Parnadatta, restored in A.D. 457-8 the embankment forming the lake Sudarśana which had burst two years previously. The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers. Himself a Vaishṇava, he and his officers did not discourage other faiths, *e.g.*, Jainism and solar worship. The people were also tolerant. The Kahaum inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person "full of affection for Brāhmaṇas." The Indore plate records a deed by a Brāhmaṇa endowing a lamp in a temple of the Sun.

III. THE LATER GUPTAS.

It is now admitted by all scholars that the reign of Skanda Gupta ended about A.D. 467.¹ When he passed away the empire did not wholly perish. We have epigraphic as well as literary evidence of the continuance of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Dāmodarapur plates, Sārnāth inscriptions and the Eraṇ epigraph of Budha Gupta prove that from A.D. 477 to 496 the Gupta empire extended from Bengal to Mālwa. The Betul plates of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṁkshōbha dated in the year 199 G. E. (Śrīmati pravarddhamānavijayarājye samvatsarasāte navanavatyuttare Gupta nṛipa rājyabhuktau), *i.e.*, 518 A. D., testify to the fact that the Gupta sway at this period was acknowledged in Dabhālā, which included the Tripurī Vishaya

¹ Smith, the Oxford History of India, additions and corrections, p. 171, end.

(Jabalpur region).¹ Another inscription of Samkshōbha found in the valley near the village of Khōh in Baghāl-khaṇḍ dated in A.D. 528 proves that the Gupta empire included the Central Provinces even in A. D. 528.² Five years later the grant of a village in the Koṭivarsha Vishaya of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti "during the reign of Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja ŚrīGupta,"³ shows that the Gupta empire at this period included the eastern as well as the central provinces. Towards the close of the sixth century a Gupta king, a contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana of the Pushpabhūti family of Śrīkaṇṭha (Thānēsar), was ruling in Mālava.⁴ Two sons of this king, Kumāra Gupta and Mādhaiva Gupta were appointed to wait upon the princes Rājyavardhana and Harsha of Thānēsar. From the Aphśhaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna we learn that the fame of the father of Mādhaiva Gupta, the associate of Harsha, marked with honour of victory in war over Susthitavarman, king of Kāmarūpa, was constantly sung on the banks of the river Lōhitya or Brahmaputra. This indicates that even in A.D. 600 (the time of Prabhākaravardhana) the sway of the Gupta dynasty extended from Mālava to the Brahmaputra.

In the first half of the seventh century the Gupta power was no doubt overshadowed by that of Harsha. But after the death of the great Kanauj monarch, the Gupta empire was revived by Ādityasēna, son of Mādhaiva Gupta, who "ruled the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans," performed the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices and assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

¹ Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 284-87.

² Fleet, C.I.I, III, pp. 113-16.

³ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 113 ff.

⁴ Mālava seems to have been under the direct rule of the Guptas in the sixth and seventh centuries. • Magadha was administered by the viceregal family of Varmans (cf. Nāgārjuni Hill cave Ins., CII, 226; also Pūrṇavarman mentioned by Hsien Tsang).

We shall now proceed to give an account of Skanda Gupta's successors. The immediate successor of Skanda Gupta seems to have been his brother Pura Gupta. The existence of this king was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle (JASB, 1889, pp. 84-105). This seal describes Pura Gupta as the son of Kumāra I by the queen Anantadevi, and does not mention Skanda Gupta. The mention of Pura Gupta immediately after Kumāra with the prefix *Tatpādānudhyāta* does not necessarily prove that Pura Gupta was the immediate successor of his father, and a contemporary and rival of his brother or half-brother Skanda Gupta.¹ In the Manahali grant Madanapāla is described as Śrī Rāmapāla Deva Pādānudhyāta, although he was preceded by his elder brother Kumārapāla. In Kielhorn's Northern Inscriptions, No. 39, Vijayapāla is described as the successor of Kshiti-pāla, although he was preceded by his brother Devapāla (Ins. No. 31). Dr. Smith has shown that Skanda ruled over the whole empire including the eastern and the central as well as the western provinces. There was no room for a rival Mahārājādhirāja in Northern India during his reign. He was a man of mature years at the time of his death cir. A.D. 467. His brother and successor Pura Gupta, too, must have been an old man at that time. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he had a very short reign

¹ The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitari seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily show that the relations between him and Pura's family were unfriendly. The name of Pulakesin II is omitted in an inscription of his brother and Regent Vishnvardhana. The name of Bhoja II of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh inscription of his nephew Mahendrapāla II, but it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother Vināyakapāla, the father of Mahendrapāla. Besides, there was no custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival uncle or brother. Mangalasa and Govinda II are mentioned in the inscriptions of their rivals and their descendants. On the other hand even an ancestor of a reigning king was sometimes omitted, e.g., Rudrasena II is omitted in one Ajantā inscription. Dhara-pāla is omitted in his son's inscription (Kielhorn, N. Ins. No. 464).

and died sometime before A.D. 473 when his grandson Kumāra Gupta II was ruling. Pura Gupta's queen was Śrī Vatsadevī, the mother of Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya.

The coins of Pura Gupta have the reverse legend Śrī Vikramaḥ. Allan identifies him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu. The importance of this identification lies in the fact that it proves that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis. If the spurious Gayā plate is to be believed Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta Jayaskandhāvāra as early as the time of Samudra Gupta.

The principal capital of Bālāditya and his successors appears to have been Kāśī (CII, 295). The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to suggest that a king styled Prakāśāditya came shortly after Skanda Gupta. Prakāśāditya may have been a birudā of Pura Gupta Śrī Vikrama, or of his grandson Kumāra Kramāditya, preferably the latter as the letters *Kz* seem to occur on Prakāśāditya's coins. That the same king might have two "Āditya" names is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta (Vikramāditya and Kramāditya) and Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhi.

Pura Gupta was succeeded by his son Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya. This king has been identified with king Bālāditya who is represented by Hiuen Tsang as having overthrown the tyrant Mihirakula. It has been overlooked that Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was the immediate successor of Tathāgata Gupta¹ who was himself the immediate successor of Budha Gupta² whereas Narasimha Gupta

¹ Si-yu-ki, II, p. 168 : Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 111.

² Fo-to-ki-to. Beal, Fleet and Watters render the term by Buddha Gupta, a name unknown to Indian epigraphy. The synchronism of his grandson Bālāditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant.

Bālāditya was the son and successor of Pura Gupta who in his turn was the son of Kumāra Gupta I and the successor of Skanda Gupta. The son and successor of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was Vajra (Yuan Chwang, II, p. 165) while the son and successor of Narasimha was Kumāra Gupta II. It is obvious that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Pura Gupta but an altogether different individual. The existence of several kings of the Madhyadēsa having the *Biruda* Bālāditya is proved by the Sārnāth Inscription of Prakatāditya (C.I.I., p. 285). Narasimha Gupta must have died in or about the year A.D. 473. He was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya by queen Mahālakshmidēvī.

Kumāra Gupta II has been identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Sārnāth Buddhist Image inscription of the year 154 G.E., i.e., A.D. 473-74. Messrs. Bhaṭṭasālī and R. G. Basāk think that the two Kumāra Guptas were not identical. The former places Kumāra son of Narasimha long after A.D. 500; (Dacca Review, May and June, 1920, pp. 54-57). But his theory is based upon the wrong identification of Narasimha with the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Mr. Basāk Kumāra of the Sārnāth inscription was the immediate successor of Skanda. In his opinion there were two rival Gupta lines ruling simultaneously, one consisting of Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth and Budha, the other consisting of Pura, Narasimha and his son Kumāra of the Bhitari seal. But there is not the slightest evidence of the disruption of the Gupta empire in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. On the contrary inscriptions prove that both Skanda and Budha ruled over the whole empire from Bengal to Western India. There is thus no cogent reason for doubting the identity of Kumāra of the Bhitari seal with his namesake of the Sārnāth inscription.

Kumāra II's reign must have terminated in or about the year A.D. 476-77, the first known date of Budha Gupta. The reigns of Pura, Narasimha and Kumāra II appear to be abnormally short, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-77). This is by no means a unique case. In Vengi three Eastern Chalukya Monarchs, *viz.*, Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I, and Ammarāja's son, another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months (Hultzsch, S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 46). In Kaśmīra five kings Śuravarman I, Pārtha, Samkaravardhana, Unmattāvanti and Suravarman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-939); and three generations of kings, *viz.*, Yasaskara, his uncle Varuṇa, and his son Samgrāmadeva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-949).

For Budha Gupta, the successor of Kumāra II, we have a number of dated inscriptions and coins which prove that he ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 477-93). We learn from Hiuen Tsang that he was a son of Śakrāditya. The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had that title was Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (Mahendra=Śakra). It seems probable that Budha was the youngest son of Kumāra I, and consequently a brother or half-brother of Skanda and Pura. Fleet correctly points out that the name of Śakrāditya's son as given by Hiuen Tsang is Fo-to-kio-to, *i.e.*, Buddha Gupta and not Budha Gupta. Similarly Watters points out that Punna-ṭa-tan-na of the pilgrim is equivalent to Puṇyavardhana and not Puṇḍravardhana. But just as there is no proof of the existence of a place called Puṇyavardhana apart from the well-known Puṇḍravardhana, so there is no proof of the existence of a Gupta king name Buddha apart from the well-known Budha Gupta. The synchronism of Fo-to-kio-to's grandson Bālāditya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant. If Fo-to-kio-to is identified with Budha Gupta, and his father Śakrāditya

with Mahendrāditya Kumāra Gupta I), we understand why Fa Hien, who visited India in the time of Chandra Gupta II, father of Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya, is silent about the buildings at Nālanda constructed by Śakrāditya and Budha Gupta about which Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) speaks so much.

Two copper-plate inscriptions discovered in the village of Dāmodarpur in the district of Dinājpur testify to the fact that Budha Gupta's empire included Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti (North Bengal) which was governed by his viceroys (Uparika Mahārāja) Brahmadata and Jayadata. The Sārṇāth inscription of A.D. 476-77 proves his possession of the Kāsi country. In A.D. 484-85 the erection of a Dhvajastambha by the Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu, ruler of Eraṇ, and his brother Dhanyavishṇu while Budha Gupta was reigning, and Suras̄michandra was governing the land between the Kālindī and the Narmadā, indicates that Budha Gupta's dominions included Central India as well as Kāsi and Bengal. The coins of this emperor are dated in the year A.D. 495-6. They continue the types of the Gupta silver coinage; their legend is the claim to be lord of the earth and to have won heaven,—found on the coins of Kumāra I, and Skanda.

According to Hiuen Tsang Budha Gupta was succeeded by Tathāgata Gupta, after whom Bālāditya succeeded to the empire (Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, p. 168; the Life, p. 111). At this period the supremacy of the Guptas in Central India was challenged by the Hun king Tōramāṇa. We have seen that in A.D. 484-85 a Mahārāja named Mātrivishṇu ruled in the Arikiṇa Vishaya (Eraṇ) as a vassal of the emperor Budha Gupta, but after his death his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu acknowledged the supremacy of Toramāṇa. The success of the Huns in Central India was however short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general name Goparāja fighting by the side of

a Gupta king at Eraṇ and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Dabhālā acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In 518 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripurivishaya. In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the Parivrājaka Mahārāja of Dabhālā. The Parivrājakas Hastin and Samkshōbha seem to have been the bulwarks of the Gupta empire in the Central Provinces. The Harsha Charita of Bāṇa recognises the possession of Mālava by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhākara-vardhana (A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from Central India was final. The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably effected by Bālāditya who is represented by Hiuen Tsang as having overthrown Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, and left him the ruler of a "small kingdom in the north" (Si-yu-ki, I, p. 171). It is not improbable that Bālāditya was a *Biruda* of the "glorious Bhānu Gupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha" along with whom Goparāja went to Eraṇ and having fought a "very famous battle" died shortly before A.D. 510-11.

Mhirakula was finally subjugated by the *Janendra* Yaśōdharman of Mandasōr shortly before A.D. 533. Line 6 of the Mandasōr Stone Pillar inscription (C.I.I., pp. 146-147; Jayaswal, The Historical Position of Kalki, p. 9) leaves the impression that in the time of Yaśōdharman Mihirakula was the king of a Himālayan country ("small kingdom in the north"), *i.e.*, Kāsmīr and that neighbourhood, who was compelled "to pay respect to the two feet" of the victorious Janendra probably when the latter carried his arms to "the mountain of snow the table lands of which are embraced by the Gaṅgā."

Yaśōdharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra in the east. It is not improbable that he defeated and killed Vajra the son and

successor of Bālāditya, and extinguished the viceregal family of the Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana. Hiuen Tsang mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. The Dattas who governed Puṇḍravardhana from the time of Kumāra Gupta I disappear about this time. But Yaśōdharman's success must have been short-lived, because in A.D. 533-34, the very year of the Mandasōr inscription which mentions the Janendra Yaśodharman as victorious, the son and viceroy of a Gupta Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Pṛithivipati, and not any official of the Central Indian Janendra, was governing the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya.

The name of the Gupta emperor in the Dāmodarpur plate of A.D. 533-34 is unfortunately lost. The Apsad inscription however discloses the names of a number of Gupta kings the fourth of whom Kumāra Gupta (III) was a contemporary of Īśānavarman Maukhari who is known from the Harāhā inscription to have been ruling in A.D. 554 (H. Sastri, Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110 ff). The three predecessors of Kumāra Gupta III, *viz.*, Kṛishṇa, Harsha and Jīvita should probably be placed in the period between A.D. 510, the date of Bhānu Gupta, and 554 the date of Kumāra. It is probable that one of these kings is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate of 533-34. The absence of high-sounding titles like Mahārājādhirāja or Paramabhaṭṭāraka in the ślokas of the Apsad inscription does not necessarily prove that the Kings mentioned there were petty chiefs. No such titles are attached to the name of Kumāra I in the Mandasōr inscription, or to the name of Budha in the Eraṇ inscription. On the other hand the queen of Mādhava Gupta, one of the kings mentioned in the Apsad inscription, is called Paramabhaṭṭārikā and Mahādevī in the Dēo Baraṇārka epigraph.

Regarding Krishna Gupta we know very little. The Aphaṣaḍ inscription describes him as a hero whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemy (driptārāti) (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes. The driptārāti against whom he had to fight may have been Yaśodharman. The next king Harsha had to engage in terrible contests with those who were "averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him, her) own lord." There were wounds from many weapons on his chest. The names of the enemies who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions are not given. Harsha's son, Jīvita Gupta I probably succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family. "The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow." The "haughty foes" on seaside shores were probably the Gauḍas who had already launched into a career of conquest about this time and who are described as living on the sea shore (samudrāśraya) in the Harābā inscription of A.D. 554 (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 *et seq.*).

The next king, Kumāra Gupta III, had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Gauḍas were issuing from their "proper realm" which was western Bengal as it bordered on the sea and included Karṇasuvarṇa (M. Chakravarti, J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 274) and Rādhāpurī (Prabodhachandrodaya, Act II). The lord of the Andhras who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, and the Śūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, were

powers to be reckoned with. The Andhra king was probably Mādhavarman II of the Vishṅukunḍin family who "crossed the river Godāvarī with the desire to conquer the eastern region (Dubreuil, A.H.D., p. 92). The Śūlikas were probably the Chalukyas.¹ In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription the name appears as Chalikyā. In the Gujarāt records we find the forms Solakī and Solāṅki. Śūlika may be another dialectic variant. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D. Kirtivarman I of the Chalikyā dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, etc.

A new power was rising in the upper Ganges valley which was destined to engage in a death grapple with the Guptas for the mastery of northern India. This was the Mukhara or Maukhari² power. The Maukharis claimed descent from the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata, *i.e.*, Yama. The family consisted of two distinct groups. The stone inscriptions of one group have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bārā Bankī districts of the United Provinces, while the stone inscriptions of the other group have been discovered in the Gayā district of Bihār. The Maukharis of Gayā namely Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman were a feudatory family. Śārdūla is expressly called *sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi* in the Barābar Hill Cave Inscription of his son (C.I.I., p. 223). The Maukharis of the United Provinces were also probably feudatories at first. The earliest princes of this family, *viz.*, Harivarman, Ādityavarman, and Īsvaravarman were simply Mahārājas. Ādityavarman's wife was Harsha Guptā, probably a sister of king Harsha Gupta. The wife of his son and successor

¹ In the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* XIV. 8 the Śūlikas are associated with Vidarbha.

² The family was called both Mukhara and Maukhari. "Soma. Sūryavahśāvira Pushpabhūti Mukhara Varṁsau," "Sakalabhuvana namaskrito Maukhari Varṁśah" (Harshacharita Parab's ed., pp. 141, 146. Cf. also C.I.I., p. 229).

Īśvaravarman was also probably a Gupta princess named Upa-Guptā. In the Harāhā inscription Īśānavarman, son of Īśvaravarman and Upa Gupta, claims victories over the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gaudas and is the first to assume the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. It was this which probably brought him into conflict with king Kumāra Gupta III. Thus began a duel between the Maukharis and the Guptas which ended only when the latter with the help of the Gaudas wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana.

We have seen that Īśānavarman's mother and grandmother were Gupta princesses. The mother of Prabhākara-varohana, the other empire-builder of the second half of the sixth century, was also a Gupta princess. It seems that the Gupta marriages in this period were as efficacious in stimulating imperial ambition as the Lichchhavi marriages of more ancient times.

Kumāra Gupta III claims to have "churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among kings (Aphsad Ins.)." This was not an empty boast, for the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over the Guptas. Kumāra Gupta III's funeral rites took place at Prayāga which probably formed a part of his dominions.

The son and successor of this king was Dāmodara Gupta. He continued the struggle with the Maukharis¹ and fell fighting against them. "Breaking up the

¹ The Maukhari opponent of Dāmodara Gupta was either Suryavarman or Śarvarman (both being sons of Īśānavarman). A Śūryavarman is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśīva Gupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varuana great on account of their Ādhipatya (supremacy) over Magadha." If this Śūryavarman be identical with Śūryavarman the son of Īśānavarman then it is certain that for a time the supremacy of Magadha passed from the hands of the Guptas to that of the Maukharis.

proudly-stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of [the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight).”

Dāmodara Gupta was succeeded by his son Mahāsenā Gupta. He is probably the king of Mālava mentioned in the Harshacharita whose sons Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana by their father king Prabhākara-wardhana of the Pushpabhūti family of Śrīkaṇṭha (Thānēsar). The intimate relations between the family of Mahāsenā Gupta and that of Prabhākara-wardhana is proved by the Madhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahāsenā Gupta Devī as the mother of Prabhākara, and the Aphaṣṭ inscription of Ādityasēna which alludes to the association of Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāsenā Gupta with Harsha.

The Pushpabhūti alliance of Mahāsenā Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukharis. The policy was eminently successful, and during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in Kāmārūpa by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthitavarman (see the Nidhanapur plates) of this family came into conflict with Mahāsenā Gupta and was defeated. “The mighty fame of Mahāsenā Gupta,” says the Aphaṣṭ inscription, “marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman,.....is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya.”

Between Mahāsenā Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhākara-wardhana, and his youngest son Mādhava Gupta, the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king

named Deva Gupta II¹ who is mentioned by name in the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings "who resembled wicked horses" who were all subdued by Rājyavardhana. As the Gupta princes are uniformly connected with Mālava in the Harshacharita there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked Lord of Mālava who cut off Grahavarman Maukhari, and who was himself defeated "with ridiculous ease" by Rājyavardhana. It is difficult to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahāsena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta. His name is omitted in the Aphaṣṭ list, just as the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted in the Bhitari list.

Shortly before his death king Prabhākaravardhana had given his daughter Rājyaśrī in marriage to Grahavarman the eldest son of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. The alliance of the Pushpabhūti with the sworn enemies of his family must have alienated Deva Gupta who formed a counter-alliance with the Gaudas whose hostility towards the Maukharis dated from the reign of Īśānavarman. The Gupta king and the Gauda king Śaśāṅka made a joint attack on the Maukhari kingdom. "Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, was confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet and cast into prison at Kanyakubja." "The villain, deeming the army leaderless purposes to invade and seize this country as well" (Harshacharita). Rājyavardhana, though he routed the Mālava army "with ridiculous ease," was "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda, and then

¹ The Emperor Chandra Gupta II was Deva Gupta I.

weaponless, confiding and alone despatched in his own quarters."

To meet the formidable league between the Guptas and the Gaudas, Harsha, the successor of Rājyavardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, whose father Susthitavarman had fought against the predecessor of Deva Gupta. This alliance was disastrous for the Gaudas as we know from the Nidhanapur plate of Bhāskara. At the time of the issuing of the plate Bhāskaravarman was in possession of Karnasuvarṇa, the capital of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. The Gauda people, however, did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa, and their hostility towards those two powers was inherited by the Pāla and Sēna successors of Śaśāṅka.

During the long reign of Harsha, Mādhava Gupta, the successor of Deva Gupta, remained a subordinate ally of Kanauj. After Harsha's death the Gupta empire was revived by Ādityasena, a prince of remarkable vigour and ability who found his opportunity in the commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna. For this king we have a number of inscriptions which prove that he ruled over a wide territory extending to the shores of the oceans. The Apsad, Shāhpur, and Mandār inscriptions recognise his undisputed possession of south and east Bihār. Another inscription, noticed by Fleet (C.I.I., p. 213 n.) describes him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans, and the performer of the Aśvamedha and the other great sacrifices. The Dēo-Baraṇārka inscription refers to the Jayaskandhāvāra of his great-grandson Jīvita Gupta II at Gomatikotṭaka. This clearly suggests that the Later Guptas dominated the Gomati valley in the Madhyadeśa. The Maṇḍāra inscription applies to Ādityasena the titles of Paramabhāṭṭāraka

and Mahārājādhirāja. We learn from the Shāhpur stone image inscription that he was ruling in the year A.D. 672-73. It is not improbable that he or his son Deva Gupta III is the Sakalottarāpathanātha who was defeated by the Chalukya kings Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696) and Vijayāditya (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 189, 368, 371; Kendur plates).

We learn from the Dēo-Baranārk inscription that Adityasena was succeeded by his son Deva Gupta (III) who in his turn was succeeded by his son Vishṇu Gupta who is probably identical with Vishṇu Gupta Chandrāditya of the coins (Allan, Gupta Coins, p. 145). The last king was Jivita Gupta II, son of Vishṇu. All these kings continued to assume imperial titles. That these were not empty forms appears from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vātāpi which testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The only North Indian sovereigns (Uttarāpathanātha,) who laid claim to the imperial dignity during this period, and actually dominated Magadha and the Madhyadeśa as is proved by Aphaṣṭ and Dēo-Baranārk inscriptions, were Ādityasena and his successors.

The Gupta empire was probably finally destroyed by the Gaudas who could never forgive Mādhava Gupta's desertion of their cause. In the time of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, *i.e.*, in the first half of the eighth century A.D., a Gauda king occupied the throne of Magadha (*cf.* the Gaudavaho by Vākpatirāja).

Petty Gupta dynasties, apparently connected with the imperial line, ruled in the Kanarese districts during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D., and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Evidence of an earlier connection of the Guptas with the Kanarese country is furnished by the Tālagund inscription which says that Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his

daughters in marriage to the Guptas and other kings. In the sixth century A.D. the Vākāṭaka king Harishena, a descendant of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya through his daughter Prabhāvati Gupta, is said to have effected conquests in Kuntala, *i.e.*, the Kanarese country.¹ Curiously enough the Gutta or Gupta chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya,² lord of Ujjayini.³

¹ Jouveau-Dubreuil, A.H.D., p. 76.

² Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 578-80. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar "A Peep into the Early History of India," p. 60. I owe this reference to prof. Bhandarkar.

³ The account of the Later Guptas was first published in the J.A.S.B., 1920, No. 7.

APPENDIX.

- Page ii, l. 7.—For some spurious plates of Janamejaya, see Ep. Ind., VII, App., pp. 162-163.
- Page iii, l. 18.—The present Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 69,32) apparently refers to the Purāṇic episode of the uplifting of Mount Govardhaṇa (parigrihya giriṃ dorbhyaṃ vapur Vishṇor viśambayan). For other Purāṇic allusions see Calcutta Review, March, 1922, pp. 500-502.
- Page iv, l. 4.—The present Mahābhārata (I. 67, 13-14) refers to King Aśoka who is represented as an incarnation of a Mahāsura, and is described as "mahāvīryo-parājitaḥ." We have also a reference (Mbh. I, 139, 21-23) to a Greek overlord (Yavanādhipaḥ) of Sauvīra and his compatriot Dattāmitra (Demetrios?). The Śānti Parva mentions Yāska, the author of the Nirukta (342,73), Vārshaganya (318, 59) the Sāṃkhya philosopher who flourished in the fifth century after Christ, (J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 47-51), and Kāmandaka (123, 11), the authority on Dharma and Artha, who is probably to be identified with the famous disciple of Kauṭilya.
- Page 2, l. 33.—There is no Janamejaya after Parikshit I., also in the Kuru-Pāṇḍu genealogy given in the Chellūr or Cocanada grant of Vira Chō'a (Hultzsh, S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 57).
- Page 3.—The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX, 22,25-26) distinctly mentions Tura Kāvasheya as the priest of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit II.
- Page 12, l. 5.—The battle of Kurukshetra is very often described as a fight between the Kurus and the Śrīñjayas (Mbh. vi. 45,2; 60, 29; 72, 15; 73, 41; vii. 20, 41; 149, 40; viii. 47, 23; 57, 12; 59, 1; 93, 1). The unfriendly feeling between these two peoples is distinctly alluded to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Vedic Index, II, p. 63).

Page 12, l. 22.—The polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇḍavas does not necessarily indicate that they are of non-Kuru origin. The system of *Niyoga* prevalent among the Kurus of the Madhyadeśa was not far removed from fraternal polyandry (Mbh. I. 103, 9-10; 105, 37-38), while the Law (Dharma) of marriage honoured by the Northern Kurus was admittedly lax (Mbh. I. 122, 1). See also my "Political History" pp. 95-96, Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. IX.

Page 73n.—Several scholars reject the identification of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa of the Mahābhārata with the historical Kṛishṇa of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (iii. 17). But we should remember that—

- (a) Both the Kṛishṇas have the metronymic Devakī-putra.
- (b) the teacher of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa belonged to a family (Āṅgīrasa) closely connected with the Bhojas (Rig-Veda III, 53, 7), the kindreds of the Epic Kṛishṇa (Mbh. ii, 14, 32-34).
- (c) the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa and his Guru Ghora Āṅgīrasa were worshippers of Sūrya. We are told in the Sāntiparva (335, 19) that the Sātvata vidhi taught by the Epic Kṛishṇa was *Frāk Sūrya-mukha-niḥsrīta*.
- (d) an Āṅgīrasa was the Guru of the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa. Āṅgīrasī Śruti is quoted as "Śruti-nām uttanā Śrutiḥ" by the Epic Kṛishṇa (Mbh. viii. 69, 85).
- (e) the Upanishadic Kṛishṇa is taught the worship of the sun, the noblest of all lights (Jyotiruttamamiti), high above all darkness (tamasas pari), and also the virtues of Tapodānam ārijjavam-ahiṁsā satya-vachanam. The Epic Kṛishṇa teaches the same thing in the Gītā (xiii, 18—jyotiḥmāpī tajjyotiḥ tamasaḥ param uchyaṭe; xvi, 1-2—Dānam damaśccha yajnaśccha svādhyāyam tapa ārijjavam ahiṁsā satyam).

- Page 86, l. 15.—The number of four queens was exceeded even in the Brāhmanic period. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 13), for instance, refers to the hundred wives of King Hariśchandra.
- Page 89, l. 31ff.—The Abhisheka was preceded by an oath taken by the King to the priest. Keith takes "utkrośana" to mean proclamation. Trivedī takes it in the sense of *guṇakīrtana*.
- Page 99, l. 18.—The realm of Ālavakā is probably identical with the Chan-chu country visited by Hiuen Tsang. Dr. Smith seems to identify the country with the Ghāzīpur region (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 61, 340).
- Page 101, l. 18.—For the employment of princes as senāpati see Kauṭilya (Mysore edition, 1919), p. 34.
- Page 112, l. 7.—Susunāga, according to the Mahāvaiṣṭikā (Turnour's Mahāvaiṣṭikā, xxxvii), was the son of a Liechhavi rājā of Vaiśālī. He was conceived by a *naḡara-sobhinī* and brought up by an officer of state.
- l. 20.—Avantivardhana was a son of Pālaka according to the Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney's translation, II, p. 485).
- Page 115, l. 24.—Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda) is the name given to the reanimated corpse of King Nanda (Kathāsaritsāgara, Durgāprasād and Parab's edition p. 10).
- Page 120, l. 22; 121. l. 5.—"The youngest brother was called Dhana Nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure . . . He collected riches to the amount of eighty koṭis—in a rock in the bed of the river (Ganges) having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there . . . Levying taxes among other articles, even on skins, gums, trees and stones he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly." (Turnour, Mahāvaiṣṭikā p. xxxix.).
- Page 139, l. 25.—Regarding the conduct of Saṅgrāma Siṃha see Tod's Rājasthān, Vol. I, p. 240n(2).

Page 147, l. 33.—Another minister (or Pradeshtri?) was apparently Maniyatappo, a Jaṭilian, who “conferred the blessings of peace on the country by extirpating marauders” (Turnour’s *Mahāvamsa*, p. xlii).

Page 170, l. 3, 4.—Cf. Ajātaśatru’s treatment of Bimbisāra, and Udayana’s treatment of Piṇḍola.

Page 213_n.—See JASB, 1922, pp. 269-271.

Page 251, l. 6-7.—Rājatarāṅginī I, 173; Harshacharita (Cowell) p. 252; Watters, Yuan-Chwang, ii, p. 200.

Page 251, last line.—The Kadphises Kings meant here are Kujula (Kadphises I), and Vima (Wema) and not Kuyulakara Kaphṣa whose identification with Kadphises I is a mere surmise. Even if Kuyulakara be identical with Kujula and the Kushān King of the Taxila inscription of 136, it may be pointed out that it is by no means certain that the date 136 refers to the Vikrama era.

Page 256, l. 4.—Some idea of the great power of Bhava Nāga’s dynasty and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that they performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and “were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by their valour,” (C. I. I. p. 241; A. H. D. p. 72). The performance of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices indicates that they were *not* a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Kushāns.

Page 284 l. 5.—Meghadūta (I, 31) and Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney’s translation, Vol II. p. 275).

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