

- [Si]ddham saṃ 54 himantmāse caturthe 4 divase 10 a  
2. sya pūrvvāyāṃ kottiyāto [ga]ṇāto sthāni[y]āto kulāto  
3. Vairāto śākhāto Śreeṅh[ā]to saṃbhogāto vācakasyāryya



4. [Ha]stahastisya śiṣyo gaṇisya Āryya Māghahastisya Śrādhdhā-  
cāro vācakasya a  
4. rya Devasya nirvarttane Govasya Sihaputrasya lohikakārukasya  
dānam  
6. sarvva satvānām hitasukhā eka Sarasvatī pratisthāpitā avatale  
raṅgānarttano  
7. me.....

( for the translation, please refer to the description of picture given  
after the preface. )



## LECTURE I

# GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

### Section I

#### *The evidence of Geology*

#### ARCHAEAN ROCKS

In the study of the pre-history of any country the importance of geological factors in their influence upon history cannot in any way be minimised. This is true of the pre-history of South India. Writers on history generally begin with the influence of geography and little or no attention is paid to geology. It therefore becomes necessary for us to take note of this at the outset in these lectures mainly devoted to pre-historic South India. We shall deal with Geology in this section and with geography in the next.

We can recognise in the rocks of South India those belonging to the Archaean era, consisting of a series of granites and gneisses massed in a jumble. The Archaean rocks, all the world over, have attained a complexity of character which is a puzzle even to this day. These rocks in whatever way they might have been formed originally were subject to mechanical deformations. They form the foundation rocks of all the sedimentary systems. About two-thirds of the surface of South India constitute the Archaean rocks. They are mostly found in Orissa, Mysore and Madras where they are largely exposed at the surface. They bear close resemblance to the system of rocks known as Dharwarian in Indian geology. The Mysore geologists believe that the





Era	Period	Age	South Indian Equivalents
Tertiary or Cainozoic	Pleistocene		
	Pliocene		Laterite
	Miocene		Cuddalore Sandstones
	Oligocene		
	Eocene	70 million yrs.	Deccan Traps
Secondary or Mesozoic	Cretaceous		Deccan Traps
	Jurassic		Upper Gondwana
	Triassic		Marine beds of the East Coast
Primary or Palaeozoic	Permian	350 million yrs.	
	Carboniferous	380 million yrs.	Lower Gondwana
	Devonian		
	Silurian		
	Ordovician		
	Cambrian	700 million yrs.	
	Archaean	1500 million yrs.	Vindhyan, Cuddapah, Dharwar, Aravallis, Kurnool Series

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## FOREWORD

Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah did me the honour of a request that I might contribute a foreword to his work on the History of India down to about A. D. 100. The period chosen covers the whole of the really formative period of the history of Ancient India, on which, as yet, a generally acceptable work of any compass can not be said to have been produced, notwithstanding the fact that the Cambridge History of India, volume I, covers more or less the same period actually. Notwithstanding this, it would be readily admitted that a comprehensive work on the period would certainly be quite welcome from many points of view. It is a laudable ambition to make an effort to supply this want.

Dr. Shah's work, as he explains in his preface, is based upon information much of which had hitherto remained unexploited to the extent, that it should have been, for producing a really satisfactory work on the period. While such works as are available, give evidence of the use of Buddhist and Brahmanic sources of history more or less fully, the corresponding Jaina sources for the period have not been utilized to the extent that they might well have been, for the very simple reason that these works have not as yet become so easily accessible even to the earnest reader who might be quite willing to devote the time and labour to master his sources. Dr. Shah's work, primarily therefore, seems intended to remove this defect. As he mentions in his explanatory introduction, he has been engaged during the length of a whole generation collecting material from Jaina literature for the purpose of producing an Encyclopedia Jainica. The publication of a work of that magnitude has proved impossible for obvious reasons. He has attempted this general account of the History of India as an alternative, thus meeting a real need. He has





put into requisition much information that has so far remained unutilized for the reason explained above.

Without meaning any disrespect, or exhibiting any want of sympathy for this work, it might well be said that the work is more or less a Jaina version of Indian History relating to the prevalence of Jainism in India. The part that is now about to be published actually is the History of India really from the beginning of the life of Pārśvanāth, and bringing it down to the end of the 1st. century A. D. Having regard to the point of view of Dr. Shah, we must admit that he has done the difficult work which he has imposed upon himself with conscientious care and ability. Naturally a work like this, would show a leaning towards Jainism. So the work does. A History based on such Jaina sources of information naturally would bring in fuller information upon the period when Mahāvīra flourished, and the period immediately following during which the teachings of Mahāvīra were still actively propagated. While it exploits the Jaina sources more or less fully, it exhibits differences in certain parts naturally enough, not sufficiently critical of the sources used in the light of collateral sources of information. This would be but natural, though it should have been well that this had been avoided as it easily could have been.

Judging from the part that we have had the pleasure of looking through, we welcome the publication as providing a version of Ancient Indian History, which exhibits the course of that history, from one important point of view, which hitherto may be regarded as having been perhaps neglected. The work before us, removes to a great extent that defect, and, if it is not the work that sound historical criticism would want, it still serves the purpose of providing the material for making such a work possible. We wish the work all success, which is probably all, that the author expects from out of it.

28th. April 1938.

Mylapore, Madras S.

(Sd.) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.



## ABBREVIATIONS

A. D.	Anno Domini; In the year of our Lord; Christian Era
B. C.	Before Christ : Before the Christian Era
B. M.	Before Mahavira
B. V.	Before Vikrama
C, W. T.	( Cent weight ) Hundred weight; 112 lbs.
E. I. Ry.	East Indian Railway
F. N.	Foot note
Lbs.	Aviordupois pounds
L. S. D.	Sterling pound; Shilling and Pence (English Currency)
M. E.	Mahavira Era
P. pp.	Page; pages
Pt.	Part
R. E.	Rock-edict
V. S. } V. E. }	Vikram Savant or Vikram Era
Vol.	Volume





# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

## 1. Origin

Nearly a score and a half years before the present volume saw the light of the day, the author had decided upon the compilation of the Encyclopoedia Jainica. Twenty years of incessant research work with the help of an able staff, elapsed before necessary material was gathered for this voluminous task. To cope with the expenses of publishing these volumes, the Jain publishers Limited was incorporated and registered at this time; but this venture failed on account of certain untoward circumstances.

By this time the author struck upon the idea of testing the vein of public opinion and inclination to the work of this type before hazarding upon the publication of these volumes. Favourable reception of his articles in certain monthly papers, encouraged him to a certain extent. Deep study made him inclined to think that the hitherto generally received theory of Ashok and Priyadarshin being the names of one and the same individual was wrongly based. Prof. Herman Jacobi's "Sacred Books of the East, XXII" in which was stated "Samprati the Fabulous Prince," incited him to further research; at the end of which he was convinced that Ashok and Priyadarshin were names of different individuals, both being emperors of Magadh. Another point on which the author had reason to differ from the general consensus of opinion was the belief that Sandrecotes, the Maurya emperor of Magadh in 327 B. C. when Alexander the Great invaded India, was none other than Chandragupta Maurya; the whole ancient chronology is based upon this by most antiquarians. My study and chronological calculations led me to the contention, that Sandrecotes was another name of Ashok, the grandson of Chandragupta. As contribution of articles containing theories, which were bound to startle most students of ancient history, out of their complacently accepted beliefs, would inevitably give rise to



countless criticisms and bickerings from these worthies, the author decided to put the fruits of his researches connectedly in a volume of history which would be indisputably supported by a properly arranged skeleton of chronology. Such was the origin of this book.

## 2. Advantages of reading history books

There are people, who will always question the utility of bothering their heads with the dry-as-dust chronological structures of various ancient dynasties. In answer to their doubts, the author has to state, that his purpose in writing this book is to give a lucid account of the social, political, religious and economic conditions, that prevailed in those times, and thus create general interest in them, from which solutions to many baffling problems of the present generation can be easily deduced. Not only every nation's ancient history is one of the best guides to its attitude towards its latest problems, but it goes a long way towards relieving other nations of its difficulties as well. Mr. A. K. Majumdar in his "The Hindu History." (B. C. 3000 to 1000) states, "The Aryans have always been supreme in the world." Mr. Vincent Smith states, "Indian suffers to-day in the estimation of the world, more through the world ignorance of the achievements of the heroes of the Indian history than through the absence or insignificance of such achievements." Another famous writer says, "The value and interest of history, depends largely on the degree in which the present is illuminated by the past." (Oxford History of India, Pref. XXIII). In short, the value of ancient Indian culture and civilization has been fully recognized by native as well as foreign writers, and the author is not unreasonably optimistic about the benefits that would accrue from a close perusal of his volumes. What can he do, except pitying those, who fail to recognize the value of such treasure-house of rich heritage?

## 3. Importance of chronology

The last-quoted writer has also said, "A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible." The author has treated this



statement as an aphorism strictly observed through out his book, because he has realised, that chronology is the only test of the truth of a particular event having occurred at a particular time. It helps us to decide the succession of events during a particular period, to fix up dates of persons who had been contemporaries of persons, whose dates are known and of events which might have happened in conjunction or connection with persons and events with fixed dates. The author requests the reader, who might be at times tired by these chronological details in the book, to understand their importance. These chronological calculations have shown the author, how the whole ancient history has been given a twisted form, by the single but monstrous blunder of considering Sandrecotes to be none else but Chandragupta.

This is only one of the many instances where the author has been able to detect discrepancies in the chronology of events with the help of his calculations.

#### 4. Time-limit

The author was at first uncertain about the time-limit of his book; first he had thought it proper to stop at the beginning of the Christian Era; but the differences of opinion that exist among experts about the founder and the beginning of Saka Era attracted his attention, as also the time of Kshatrapa Chastana the ruler of Avanti. The result was that the time limit was extended upto 78 A. D., and at some place upto 150 A. D.. On the whole, the time-limit can be said to be 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.

#### 5. General remarks on the book

It is probable that readers may be inclined to find the following faults ( may be many others ) with the writer :—

- ( 1 ) What the author had to say, could have been said more precisely and forcefully, had he avoided giving too many unnecessary details, quotations and stories.
- ( 2 ) Ornate style should have been adopted in place of simple.
- ( 3 ) Too much importance is given to Indian scriptures and Nature.
- ( 4 ) Religious anecdotes have been unnecessarily and profusely introduced.



- ( 5 ) Only bright side of his own religion is presented.
- ( 6 ) Instances and episodes from scriptures of his own religion have been given in support of the genuineness of various historical events.
- ( 7 ) He has solely devoted himself to criticising destructively opinions of other experts and other religions.
- ( 8 ) Buddhism has been given specially unfair treatment.

Only a writer can realize all the difficulties of his colleague. The following explanation is meant for those readers, who have little or no experience of writing books, because the author considers it expedient, to free the minds of his readers from prejudices, which would otherwise hamper the progress of true knowledge. He requests the readers to have patience enough, to go through his explanation.

## 6. The purpose of writing this book

Many books have been written both in English as well in Indian languages upon Ancient India. The aim of adding one more to this big list, is to fill up the following deficiencies generally found in them:—( 1 ) No book contains a connected history of ancient India. ( 2 ) Many of them are nothing more than short notes on particular persons and problems, or summaries and generalisations deduced from some ancient books. ( 3 ) Many of them are treatises on a particular section of the ancient periods.

## 7. Explanation of charge No. 1

The author is not aware of any single book of similar size comprising this very period. Hence the reader is likely to think that the book owes its size, not to solid matter but to unnecessary details and repetitions. In order to remove this erroneous notion, the author has to state, that novelty and startlingly new theories are writ large on every page of the book. These new theories require due statement, full evidence, statement of old and wrong theories and expositions of their hollowness, substantiated by a crowd of quotations from various ancient books, scriptures and inscriptions and acknowledged publications. These



things, evidently require details nothing more, than which is contained by the book. Several quite new theories, and several old theories explained and restated in a new light, comprise this book.

The following are some of the instances which will convince reader, that the size is quite in proportion to the material. (1) Hitherto, it is generally accepted by experts that Ashok and Priyadarshin are names of the same individual and that all the inscriptions in the name of Priyadarshin owe their existence to Ashok and are Buddhist incriptions, because Ashok was a Buddhist. The refutation of this theory has occupied no less than sixty pages. (2) The proper time and the genuineness of the Vikrama Era occupied fifty pages to be found out and established. (3) Hathigumpha inscriptions have reserved thirty-five pages for the proper explanation and translation of several of its lines, which have been hitherto wrongly construed, and for the comparison of several historical events with events mentioned in them. (4) About one hundred pages have been devoted to the dates, chronologies and other details about the Sakas, the Yonas, the Yavanas, the Pahlavas, the Scythians, the Bactrians, the Parthians and others. (5) Wholly new items like the following have occupied several pages :—(a) Stupās, about 20 pages, (b) Monstrous idols, about 10 pages, (c) Kalki king, about 10 pages, (d) Chronology and necessary accounts of kings and dynasties that ruled over Andhra about 150 pages, (e) Numerous pages have been devoted to fixing up the chronologies and other details of the Nands, the Shishunags, and the kings of Koshal and of Vatsa. It is obvious, that when these new theories will boil down to hard facts in course of time, the future historian will require about only a small portion of the pages, occupied by them in this book, which is their birth-place and nursery, requiring all the meticulous care for bringing them up healthily and for saving and safeguarding them from outside onslaughts.

The author admits that some advanced readers will find some of the explanations rather too long, but he draws their attention to the fact, that the book is meant for ordinary readers and laymen as well.



As to unnecessary details, one man's meat is another's poison. Some readers will find particular things quite unnecessary and the same are sure to be dubbed essential by others. Several historians have devoted from about sixty to seventy-five pages to the description of the arrangement by Alexander the Great, at the time of his invasion of the Punjab, of sections of his army at strategic points on the battle field, while others have condemned the same, as not worthy of more than a couple of paragraphs. Similarly, some of the readers of this book may think, that the descriptions of Vaishali, an account of seven daughters of Chetak Chedi-desh and details about dynasties that ruled it, narration of various episodes in the lives of Shrenik and his son Abhayakumar and many other items have unnecessarily filled up many pages of this book. The readers are requested to understand and have sympathy with the aims, with which these accounts are given. For instance, accounts of the daughters of Chetak, have helped to fix up dates of various kings and thus fill in many gaps, in the chronological structure of ancient India. The dynasties that ruled over Chedi, find clear and connected statement for the first time in this book. Details about Shrenik and Abhayakumar show, how kings and ministers in ancient India worked sincerely and devotedly, for the welfare of their subjects, and what fact and farsightedness they showed, in dealing with many social, economic, political and religious problems of those days. The author has bitterly realized the common custom, of hailing respectfully only trash from an established and well-known writer, and of condemning and fault-finding with the work of a new author, though he may have served his readers with matter worth its weight in gold. The author requests his readers to go through the book with an unbiased mind.

Stories, legends and quotations—large and small—have been introduced at times, in order to explain more clearly, a particular event and to supply evidence for theories. The readers will notice, that such stories, legends and quotations, have been accommodated in the foot-notes and not in the matter of the book; and so those readers, who are not interested in them, may omit to go





through them while reading the book. Many people mistakenly think, that a history book should contain nothing more than matter-of-fact account of kings, dates of their births and deaths, and the battles they have won and lost. Hence another motive of introducing these stories—please rest sure—is to make the book interesting; at the same time every one of these stories and quotations serves the purpose of supplying some evidence to the new theories.

#### 8. Explanation of charge No. 2

The author has preferred simple style to the ornate, in order to make the book readable and clear for all types of readers. He does not believe in, ornate and profuse style being more appealing than simple and direct statement of things.

#### 9. Charge No. 3

Nature and its unalterable laws and certain aphorisms from Hindu scriptures may not appeal to modern readers, educated on the western style. The author requests such readers, to approach these things with a candid mind, and not to summarily condemn everything, that is old and antiquated, simply because it happens to be old and antiquated, without submitting it to the test of their reason.

#### 10. Charges Nos. 4-5-6-7

Some readers may be annoyed at, what would seem to them to be, a preponderating amount of religious matter in the book especially of the author's own religion—with a view to propaganda. Now, no history book can even dream of having a chance of long life, unless it is built upon solid facts. The author is sure of his book having a long life to live, because he has sacrificed everything at the altar of truth.

To his mind, religion is not a collection and arrangement of certain rites and rituals to be rigorously observed by its followers. He is in the least concerned with its outward manifestations, pomp and show. To him religion, as it is interpreted in its broader and purer sense, is the one great transformer of human soul, leading it to the path of truth, justice and kindness to others.



and acting as a guiding star to our duties towards ourselves and towards others. He feels it like a judge, who does not stick to the letter of law but who always tries to interpret the spirit behind it. Religion is ubiquitously present, in all the spheres of life and is, as has been already said, the most helpful and true guide, to all our riddles of life. Which of the readers will object to religion having predominance in my book, if by religion, I mean our director in all the branches of life ?

At present, four religions command the following of most people in the world. They are :—Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. During the time with which this book is concerned, two of them—Christianity and Islam—did not exist; while Buddhism came into being, during the 6<sup>th</sup> century B. C. i. e. nearly three centuries and a half, after the beginning of the time chosen for this book. At this stage, it is necessary to state that Jainism, which has very few followers at present, was the most prevalent religion in those times. Its origin is as old as, perhaps older than, Hinduism. Hence, during the period with which this book is concerned, two religions, namely, Jainism and Hinduism were prevalent, throughout all the thousand years; while, Buddhism came into being nearly 350 years after 900 B. C. Of these three, Jainism had the greatest number of followers, as it prohibited killing animals for sacrifices, a rite preached by Hinduism; Buddhism has most of its tenets quite similar to Jainism, which perhaps is its fountain head.

This book contains the accounts of sixteen independent kingdoms, during these thousand years. i. e. the time-limit of this book, can be said in a way, to be sixteen thousand years. The kings, who ruled these sixteen kingdoms throughout these thousand years, were all followers of Jainism, except the Shungs who ruled for nearly a century and a quarter and followed Hinduism, and Ashok the great Buddhist emperor who ruled for about forty years. No wonder, Jainism enjoys greatest prominence from cover to cover of this book, not because the author is a missionary of Jainism, but because Jainism was simply followed, throughout the length and breadth of India.



Some acute readers may still further argue that they have no objection to the predominance of Jainism in the book; but why should the author show its good points only and omit its bad ones? Why,—had Jainism nothing but goodness and wholesomeness in it, should it dwindle into insignificance as it is at present? For one thing, Jainism has declined, not through any short coming or undesirable element in it, but through the degradation of its preachers and followers. At the same time, the author invites all adverse criticisms on Jainism, from those who ardently desire to plunge themselves heart and soul in doing so, but requests them to substantiate their charges by solid pieces of evidence.

Wherever possible, the author has quoted undisputed authorities like inscriptions, coins and scriptural books in support of his theories, and has avoided labelling anything as true, which is not backed by them.

In reference to coins, the author takes this opportunity to point out the blunder, of ascribing many of them to the Shaiva sect. At the time when these coins came into existence, this sect was conspicuous by its absence.

Though doctrines and principles remain unchanged, through all times and climes, yet the manner and extent of their observance is different, at all times and in all climes. For instance, the one unalterable law to be observed by all historians is strict adherence to truth and no quarters to falsehood. The author firmly asserts, that he has not budged an inch from this principle but what to him are solid facts, may be mere chimera to others. In fact, as every page of the book bristles up with novel theories, many readers may not improbably feel the book, to be something like a series of castles in the air. All the author has to say in connection with this is, that the truth or otherwise of his theories will be proved in course of time, as more researches are made, and as more material is dug out of the mines of antiquity. He is convinced that his theories will stand the severest test and scrutiny.

Many a time, the author had to perform the painful duty



of, not only differing from the conclusions and contentions of well-known writers, but of disproving them, in order to prove his own theories. He has not done this, in order to degrade or lower any of them, in the eyes of the public, but to destroy falsehood and establish truth in its place.

The author never cherished the intention of treating Jaina literature partially at the cost of others. Most of the books quoted in this book are Government records, or are from the pen of well-known European as well as Indian writers, who have nothing to do with partiality, towards any religion whatsoever. In reference to quotations from old books, written during the period with which this book is concerned, the author has to state that these books were either Buddhist, or Vedic or Jaina. Of these, most Buddhist books are almost all translated into modern languages and published. Several Vedic books have also found their way into print. Unfortunately for Jainism, Jaina monks and those in charge of Jaina libraries and collection of books, deliberately held back all these books from publicity. The result was obvious. Buddhist and Vedic books being well-known and read by most of the scholars, many events, inscriptions, and coins were ascribed to them, as all were totally ignorant of Jaina books, costly stuffed and left rotting in the pegion holes of dark halls. The whole ancient history of India was given a twisted form, simply because none knew anything, about the evidence contained by Jaina books. It has been the most constant endeavour of the author for nearly a couple of decades, to bring to light the evidence contained in this hidden treasure, and the result is that he has, to his honest belief, succeeded to a certain extent, in truly interpreting the relics of ancient India. Being almost a pioneer in the field, he has determined not to be deterred by adverse criticisms, and not to be thwarted in his aim of seeking truth—the whole truth, and nothing but truth—by the opposition, that is likely to be hurled at him, by those, whose conclusions may have been challenged. At the same time, he has taken care not to dub as authority, any trash of Jaina literature, but to quote from only such books which have earned the esteem of learned people. Why should any one object to truth being found out from Jaina books? Truth from whatever



source must be hailed by a true student of history. All historians have to give some credence to ancient legends, folklore and mythological books, and then try to further support them with authority of coins and inscriptions.

Most young men of to-day have somehow or other settled down to the belief that mythological books contain not an iota of truth, being full of imaginary stories, meant for the diversion of the young as well as the old. One reason of this belief is, that the style of these mythological writers fails to appeal to modern young men. The author requests them to look into these ancient books with a searching eye, and he promises them rich fruits from their investigations.

#### 11. Charge No. 8

The gravest charge likely to be directed towards the author is, that he has given specially unfair treatment to Buddhism. If the author simply asserts that he had no such intention, none will believe him. The fact is, that most experts in the field of ancient history have ascribed most of the inscriptions, coins, and other relics of antiquity to Buddhism, while in reality they belong to Jainism. They have done so, due to two reasons:— (a) Buddhist books have acquired the greatest publicity; while, on the contrary, Jaina books have never seen the light of the day, due to the perverse mentality of those, who were in possession of them. (b) Jainism and Buddhism are very similar to each other, there being minute differences only, between their tenets; and hence the relic of one can be easily mistaken for that of the other, unless the writer is armed with full knowledge of both of them. Now, this was not possible as Jaina books were not published. Hence everything that could not be ascribed to Hinduism, was ascribed to Buddhism, it being the only other known formidable rival in the field. The author has already stated, that he has made a deep study of ancient Jaina books, which have shed a flood of new light on many intricate problems of antiquity, and which have convinced him, of its wide-spread prevalence in ancient India and also, of most of the inscriptions and coins belonging to it.



In support of his contentions, the author takes this opportunity to quote the following well-known writers. It is stated on page 702-3 of "The Hindu History," "No Buddhist period in ancient history. Some scholars have made much of Buddhism in India. They think that at one time (say from B. C. 242 to 500 A. D.) Buddhism had eclipsed Hinduism; that a great majority of the people had embraced Buddhism, and that almost everything was Buddhistic in style etc. It does not appear that there is much truth in it. Buddhism was no doubt prevalent in East India. In other parts of India it was rather sporadic. The large province of Assam was entirely free of Buddhism. The provinces about Hardwar, Kanouj, Allahabad, Benares had little Buddhism. Carnal, Jaipur, Panchal etc. furnish no proof as to the prevalence of Buddhism there. Even in Magadha and Bengal, Hinduism flourished side by side with Buddhism. The monks were regular Buddhists, but the lay-men were mostly Buddhist-Hindus, i. e. men who followed some Buddhist doctrines on the Hindu bases, having castes, and Hindu manners; this is why they could be won to Hinduism easily. There are some native Christians in South India who still follow the caste system and some other ancestral Hindu manners etc. The Buddhist pilgrims of Ceylon and China of the fourth century A. D. did not notice Buddhism flourish in India. The Editor of the Historians' History of the World is right in observing, that owing to its abstractness and rivalry of the Hindus, Buddhism was a failure in India; in modified form, it has, however, prevailed in other parts of India." On page 55 of "The Oxford History of India," it is stated:—"It may well be doubted, if Buddhism can be correctly described, as having been the prevailing religion in India, as a whole at any time. The phrase "Buddhist Period" to be found in many books, is false and misleading. Neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina period existed. Neither heresy ever superseded Brahmanical Hinduism. Mahavira, as has been mentioned, had about 14000 disciples when he died; a mere drop in the ocean of India's millions."

Most Indian kings during the time-limit of this book were Jains. They governed their subjects according to its tenets, and



thus the people were very prosperous and happy, during those times. At present, most people are prejudiced against Jainism and thoughtlessly condemn it as a religion conducive to cowardice, on account of its doctrine of non-violence, the sense and spirit of which is understood by few. Even at present, Jainism does not recognise any difference between castes, communities or colours. Its aim is universal brotherhood and it recognises and preaches equality, not only among men and men, but among all the animate beings of the world. Its true follower possesses a soul magnanimous enough to forgive any outrage, not on account of weakness and powerlessness to oppose, but with a view, to bringing about the regeneration of the opposite party, by appealing to it through his own sufferings. The author is a staunch adherent of Jainism in the sense explained above.

### Special remarks about the book

The author has divided these remarks into two parts:—(A) those pertaining to that portion of the book, which does not consist of the matter proper, and (B) those pertaining to the matter. He has taken particular care to facilitate the reader's way in the perusal of the book.

(A) In the first place, the book is not divided into sections and chapters with a view to chronology, but with a view to preserve the continuity of description and narration. A particular dynasty is treated in a particular chapter and so on. At the beginning of every chapter, a synopsis of the contents is given, and every paragraph has a heading, suggestive of the matter contained in it. A detailed index is given at the end of the book, so that the reader can make, without much trouble and inconvenience, an exhaustive study of any particular problem, event or person in the book.

Every chapter is headed by a picture containing all the main items described in the chapter. The book is divided into volumes and volumes are divided into parts. On the reverse side of every page denoting a new part, a summary of the contents of the part is given.



The author here draws reader's attention to two pictures; one on the outer cover of the book, and the other on the first page on art paper inside the cover. The former is a reprint of the oldest found-picture of Kalpa-Vriksha, and the latter is the oldest picture of Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning. Instead of making the picture of Sarasvati bi-coloured or tri-coloured—the general and popular style—the author has got it printed in gold-coloured ink.

The book contains a number of maps. All of them are original. The author however thanks those, from whose books and publications he has borrowed models, or taken some hints, with which he has prepared his own maps. Maps are given three or four at the same place, in order to save the trouble of the readers. Facsimiles of kings, ruling over particular territories at particular times, have been, wherever possible, introduced. In the case of foreign kings, only those have been admitted, who became domiciled Indians after their invasions. He has given no place to imaginary likenesses of any kings.

The author considers bibliography, in the light of rather an over-estimation of a writer's extent of knowledge. He has satisfied himself with enumerating those books, from which he has actually quoted passages or to which references are made in the book.

(B) Four hundred pictures, outlines and reprints of maps, facsimiles of kings and coins, and other things are introduced in the book. A word about maps is necessary here. Their short description is as under:—(1) The map showing India divided into twenty-five and a half countries. (2) The map showing India divided into eighty kingdoms in the seventh century. (3-4-5) The region about Vidisha, the capital of Avanti, about which are situated many stupas, and (6 to 15) Maps showing the territorial extents of various kings.

The following items deserve special notice from readers:—

- (1) Relation between Nature's laws and activities of men. (1st chap.)
- (2) A general description of the conditions prevailing during the 6th century B. C. (2nd chap.)
- (3) Maps and accounts of the eighty kingdoms existing in India during the 6th century B. C.





(3rd chap.) (4) Full details about the kings and dynasties, with chronologies, which ruled sixteen major kingdoms that existed in India during the time-limit of the book. (chapters 4 to 7 of the First Part, and all the six chapters of the Second Part). (5) Chronologies of all dynasties are given at the end of the book for easy reference.

Sometimes, two separate dates are assigned to the same event in different parts of the books. For instance, the dates of the destruction of Champanagari has been stated to be 524 and 525 B. C. on different pages. The date of the marriage of the daughter of Udayan of Vasta with Nand I, has been stated to have been 480 and 484 B. C. respectively. These differences are due to the difficulties that one has to undergo while calculating Christian year for a year of any Indian era. Secondly, months of the Hindu calender ended on the full-moon day in those times. The author however appeals to the sympathy of the readers, for these short-comings.

The author sincerely thanks those persons who have been helpful to him in one way or the other. He specially thanks Prof K. H. Kamdar M A; Professor of history at the Baroda College for going through the vernacular manuscript of the book, and also the following:—

- (1) Diwan Bahadur K. S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger M. A. Ph. D. (Hon.), retired University Professor, Madras; and Joint Editor of the well-known periodical the Indian Antiquity, who has very kindly written out the forward to this volume.
- (2) The authors, institutions and governments, whose publications have been consulted, cited and quoted.
- (3) The translator Mr. R. J. Desai M. A., into English from the original work in vernacular.
- (4) Mr. R. K. Kavi M. A., who has kindly prepared the Index
- (5) And last but not the least, those persons whose names have not been mentioned in the above owing to lack of memory, but anyhow have lent their quota and who have helped him in bringing out this volume to light.

**Tribhuvandas L. Shah**



## Pictures in the Book

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

**Cover**—The picture represents Kalpa-druma, Kalpataru or Kalpa-Vrkṣa. Most of us have heard about, and dreamt of this alluring and all-giving tree, and yet few have any idea about its size or shape or any other details. This picture has been printed from a plate which is two-thousand years old. (Place from where obtained :—A. S. R. I. 1873-74 Bundelkhand, Mālvā).

**Title page**—The Goddess of Learning (Sarasvatī), popularly seen in pictures every where with a peacock or a swan as her vehicle. The picture given here is two-thousand years old. Only the trunk was found; the upper part has been added to it after thorough study of the pictures of Gods and Goddesses of those times. Had there been no caption at its foot, it would have remained unintelligible. The caption is translated as follows:—"Success in the year 54 (?) in the fourth month of winter, on the tenth day, on the lunar day (specified) as above, one (statue of) Sarasvatī, the gift of Smith Govā, son of Siha (made) at the instance of the preacher (Vāchak) Āryya-Deva, the Śrāddhāchāro of the Gaṇi Āryya Meghhasti, the pupil of the preacher Āryya Hasta-Hastin, from the Kottiyagaṇa, the Sthāniya Kula, the Vaira Śākhā, and the Śri-grha Saṁbhoga...

[Notes—Looking to the place from which it is found, it is concluded to have been erected during the Kushan rule. The mode of expressing the time of the donation also supports our conclusion (for this, vide Vol. iv). If so, the figure 54 denotes the Kushan Era, and it will be about the 14th year of Kanishka II's reign i. e. A. D. 157].



(A) Some details about pictures

Picture No.	Page No.	
1	1	Ancient India ( Details further on, in the list of Decorative Pictures ) on pp. 33.
2	11	At the beginning of Chap. II desc. on pp. 33.
3	43	At the beginning of Chap. III desc. on pp. 33.
4	44	Map No. I. ( See the details about maps on pp. 30 )
5	53	Map No. II. ( See the details about maps on pp. 30 )
6	67	At the beginning of Chap. IV. ( List of Decorative Pictures ) on pp. 33.
7	73	Prasenjit of Kośal is seen expressing his devotion and delight at the place where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage. He has gone there on a pilgrimage and is shown to be driving the chariot himself in a chariot-procession. ( Bh. Plate XIII ).
8	75	In celebration of the event stated in. No. 7 above, Prasenjit has got a pillar erected. A part of it is shown here, ( Bh. Plate XIII ).
9	75	A part of the Pillar erected by king Ajātsatru when he visited the place on a pilgrimage. (Bh. Plate XVI)
10	79	Portrait-head of king Prasenjit of Kośal. ( Bh. Plate No. XIII ).
11	98	King Āmbhi-(Sambhuti) clad in the military uniform of foreigners; once an independent king of a part of Gāndhār, he proved a traitor to his country by being a accomplice of Alexander the Great who, when the battle was over, disgraced him cruelly but deservedly. ( C. I. B. Plate III ).
12	98	Alexander the Great ( O. H. I. ).
13	99	Selukas Nekator, the chief general of Alexander, and the founder of Selusid dynasty in Syria. He had given his daughter in marriage to Aśoka in



**Picture Page**  
**No. No.**

304 B. C. and had sent Magasthenes as his representative at the Court of Pāṭliputra. (C. H. I.)

- |    |     |   |
|----|-----|---|
| 14 | 100 | Aśoka ( Bh. Plate XXX )   |
| 15 | 100 | Demetrius, the Bactrian emperor, the first foreign invader to settle in India. (C. H. I).   |
| 16 | 101 | Part I, Chap. I (Decorative Pictures ) on pp. 33.   |
| 17 | 103 | ( Country of Kośāmbī ) Lion Capital Pillar of Sārnāth ( see description in no. 26 picture ); unique example of symmetrical sculpture in the world. Centre of a Buddhist University at present ( Near Allhabad ), as the pillar is believed to be connected with Buddhism. But the signs of Horse, Elephant, Lion, Bull, Dharma Chakra and others prove that it was connected with Jainism. If so proved, it will open a new highroad in ancient history. The height of the sculptured part is 6 ft 10½ in. Total height of the pillar being 62 ft. ( Details in the account of Priyadarśin ). |
| 18 | 119 | Nandangaḍh Stūpa; believed to be connected with Buddhism, and has been erected by Aśoka. It is a creation of Priyadarśin, who is quite a different individual from Aśoka. Priyadarśin was a Jain, and to show his devotion to it, he has got a lion placed at the top of the pillar. The pillar is 39 ft. 7½ in. in height. ( Details in the account of Priyadarśin ).  |
| 19 | 146 | Part I Chap. VI ( Decorative Pictures ).  |
| 20 | 149 | An image of Pārśvanāth, found from the excavations of Bennātaṭ, the capital of Dhankaṭak, or Bennākaṭak. (Details in the account of Khārvel of Kaling).   |
| 21 | 149 | Another image found out from the same excavations showing the meditative posture of Jaina monks. (Details in the account of Khārvel).   |



**Picture**   **Page**  
**No.**   **No.**

- |       |     |   |
|-------|-----|---|
| 22    | 159 | The dome of a pillar found from the same excavations; (Details in the account of Khārvel)   |
| 23    | 171 | Images in the temple of Jagannāthpurī in Orissā. (Bhi. Plate XXII). These images are proved by me to be belonging to other religion than the one to which they are commonly believed to be belonging (Details in the account of Khārvel).   |
| 24    | 178 | External appearance of the dome of the Sāñchī Stūpa, situated in Avanti. Its height is 54 ft. (Details in the account of Priyadarśin)   |
| 25    | 181 | Map of Central India. (See details about Maps).   |
| 26    | 182 | Sāñchī Stūpa. The height of the sculptured part of Sārnath Pillar (No. 17) is 6 ft. 10½ in; (the Stūpa itself being upwards of two hundred feet in height) while that of Sāñcī is 21 ft. 3 in. They are given here for the sake of comparison. This will make it clear that these pillars of antiquity are connected with Avanti, but are erected at different places due to certain reasons. (Details in the account of Priyadarśin and of Chandragupta Maurya) (A. R. S. I. 1873-74 Bundelkhand—Mālvā). |
| 27    | 182 | Map of Vidiśa (See details about maps).   |
| 28    | 185 | Map of Bhilsā (See details about maps).   |
| 29-30 | 185 | On pillar No. I, there is the Krauncha bird, and on the second is an Alligator. Both of them are found from the neighbourhood of Sāñchī (For their situations see map. No. 5). It is possible that they are connected with Jainism just as the Sāñchī pillar and the region of Avanti are. The pillar with the Krauncha bird is found intact, and its height is 17 ft. 11 in. The pillar with the Alligator is found in a broken condition and so its height  |



**Picture Page**  
**No. No.**

has not been found out. (Place from where obtained  
A. R. S. I. 1873-74 Bundelkhand, Mālvā )

31 The same Kalpa-tree which is given on the cover.

32 } 189 No. 32 : The top-part of Sāñchī Stūpa, No. 33  
33 } a portion of the top-part of Bhārhut Stūpa; No. 34  
34 } a portion of the top-part of Mathurā Stūpa ( much  
of it is in a broken condition ); ( See No. 35 also );

These three pictures are placed side by side here,  
in order that the reader may compare them and  
see the similarity in design and model.

All the scholars have agreed that the stupa No. 34  
is connected with Jainism. They however, tell us  
that Nos. 32-33 belong to Buddhism, though all  
the three are quite similar in design and sculpture.  
Why this difference ? Again, these two pillars can  
be definitely shown to have been connected with  
Jainism in many ways. ( Details in the account of  
Priyadarsīn )

35 This picture represents a stone-tablet used for the  
purposes of performing religious ceremonies. It is  
called Āyāgapata, and has been found from the  
excavations of a hill named Kañkālitilā, near  
Mathurā. Its size is 2 ft. 3 in., and all the finery  
and minute sculpture on it, could not be shown in  
the picture. Its design, however, is quite similar to  
that of Nos. 32, 33 and 34. The inscription given  
on it can be interpreted as follows:—" Adoration  
to the Arhats, by Śivayaśā or wife of the dancer  
Faguyusa, a tablet of homage ( Āyāga-pata ) was  
caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats"  
( M. A. Pl XII. )

36 225 Part II Beginning of Chap. I. (Decorative pictures)



<i>Picture No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	
37	232	Picture showing the test of his sons conducted by Prasenjit of Śiśunāga dynasty.
38	232	Picture showing another test by the same king.
39	249	Part II Chap. II (beginning); (Decorative pictures.)
40	253	Ārdrakumār at home; his child has wound up spun cotton-thread twelve times round his feet. Ārdrakumār has made a certain decision upon this.
41	275	Part II. Beginning of Chap. III (Decorative pictures.)
42	276	Portrait-head of Ajātsātru.
43	279	Ajātsātru got a large pillar erected on the place where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage. He is seen here devotedly saluting His foot-prints. (Bh. Stupa. Plate XVI).
44	302	Part II Chap. IV ( Vide that Part for details )
45	323	Part II Chap. V ( Vide that Part for details )
46	342	Part II Chap. VI ( Vide that part for details )
47 to 51	343 to 350	Maps ( Vide that Part for details )
52 to 55	350 to 356	Maps ( Vide that Part for details )

### (B) Details about maps

<i>Picture No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	<i>Map No.</i>	
4	44	1	Map of India with boundaries of every province. The names of the 25 <sup>1</sup> provinces into which ancient India was divided; marks given on the spots around which they were situated in those times.



<i>Picture No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	<i>Map No.</i>	
5	53	2	Political map of India during 7th century A. D. (640 A. D.), when Hu-en-Tsāng visited India, which was then divided into eighty provinces. Political divisions of India at present are given in the map, and the numbers representing the eighty provinces are placed to show the location of these provinces.
55	181	3	Map of central India, designed for the purpose of showing the relations among Chedi, Kauśāmbī ( Vasta ) and Avanti. Important places of antiquarian interest like Bhārhut, Rupnāth, Bhilsā, Besnagar etc. are given there, in order to show their distances from Ujjainī.
28	185	5	Map of the region about Bhilsā. Places where stupas are situated are specially indicated. The region of about 5 miles is crowned with stūpas like that of Śatadhār, Soneri, Sāñchī, Bhilsā, and Āndher etc. It is a hilly region.
27	112	4	Map of Vidiśa. Besnagar is indicated by a circle, and shows the place of the old city. The remaining part of the city was situated between the rivers Bes and Betvā. On the third side, three rivers flow to-gether, and hence the place is named Trivenī-Saṅgam ( Triple confluence ). The fourth side only is open for communication, and that too, is well-protected with hills. In short, the city was placed in a spot of unique natural beauty. Places of historic interest are marked and the following is the explanation about them.



(A) and (G) From each of these places a gigantic statue of a woman has been unearthed. (B) The Kalpa-tree was found out, the picture of which is given on the cover as well as in No. 31, (C) No. 29, the Krauncha pillar. (D) No. 30, the Alligator pillar and other places are also marked; but we are not concerned with them here.

<i>Picture No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	<i>Map No.</i>
45	6	Map of the 16 kingdoms into which India was divided in the 7th century B. C. The names of the kings ruling over every one of them are also given in the respective provinces.
46	7	Map of India divided into its modern provinces given for comparison with those in the map above.
47	8	Extent of the kingdom of Magadh at the end of the rule of Śreṇik or Bimbisār. The extents of other kingdoms are also given for comparison. It becomes obvious from the map that Southern India was quite uncivilized.
48	9	Extent of the kingdom of Magadh at the end of the reign of Kuṇik or Ajātsātru. Southren India was uncivilized even then.
49	10	Extent of the Magadha Empire at the end of the reign of Udyāśva, The map shows that Āryan civilization, had not only penetrated Southern India by this time, but also into Ceylon. All this region had come under the banner of Magadh. The Lichchhavi and Samvriji Kṣatriya clans and their off-shoots emigrated to South India at this time. First they acted as governors of Magadh. As time went on, they flouted the authority of Magadh, and became independent.



<i>Picture No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	<i>Map No.</i>	
50		11	Extent of the Magadha Empire at the end of the reign of Anuruddha and Mund.
51		12	Extent of the kingdom of Nand I. Except the Northern Punjab and Kāśmir, the whole of India was under his sway.
52		13	Extent of the Magadha Empire during the reign of Nand II.
53		14	Extent of the Magadha Empire during the rule of the six succeeding Nands.
54		15	Extent of the kingdom of Nand IX. Even the Northern Punjab and Kāśmir have come under his sway; but a large portion of Southern India has become the independent kingdom of Khārvel of Kaling; while in the western portion of Southern India a new kingdom is rising forward (Āndhra) established by the rulers of Sātvāhana dynasty—an offshoot of the Nanda dynasty.

### (C) Details about the decorative pictures given at the beginning of every chapter

Every picture given at the beginning of every chapter, is designed to present in brief the synopsis of the whole chapter. The art of painting is as old as humanity itself. Man learned to express himself in pictures, even before he learnt either to speak distinctly or to write. As music preceded poetry, so did painting preceded the art of writing. At present it has become universal.





## Part I

**Chapter I—Ancient India.** In one corner the Dravidians and other uncivilized people are seen worshipping the idols. The Aryans are seen rushing from the west. The rule of the doctrine of non-violence prevails throughout India, as preached by Mahāvīr, the soul of India. Ships are seen indicating that sea-voyages were undertaken in Ancient India for trade purposes.

**Chapter II—**The thriving condition of Ancient India is depicted here. Damsels are seen standing on beautifully carved terraces and balconies, casting their glances at the warriors below, who are riding over elephants or horses or in chariots. Rows of trees are seen on both the sides of the roads.

**Chapter III—**A Chinese traveller is seen looking at India divided into two parts:—(1) Northern India, commanded by the snowy peaks of the Hymālayas and strewn with large and wide rivers on the banks of which the Aryans made their home; (2) the Southern India; hilly and inhabited by uncivilized people.

**Chapter IV—**The scene of ruin, misery and anarchy prevailing in India at the time of the death of Buddha. Persian hordes are seen taking away the wealth of India through deep mountainous valleys; an Indian king (Vidurath) is seen solly occupied with killing his relatives, as if not caring for anything else.

**Chapter V—**Udayan of Vatsa is seen eloping with Vāsavdattā. Queen Padmāvatī is seen riding an elephant. Queen Mrgāvatī rules a kingdom. The fair sex plays an important part in this chapter.

**Chapter VI—**This picture indicates that anarchy and misrule are at an end. Commerce, religion and other peaceful ways of life are making progress. Ships of Bennātaḥ are seen afar. On this side are seen people offering their homage to the palanquin of the god.

**Chapter VII—**The world is changing. Peace follows war and war follows peace. The cycle goes on for ever. The god of mischief invades the city of peace and plays havoc there. Udāyin of Sindh and his queen are absorbed in meditation, while Dhārīnī is undergoing the pangs of the delivery of a son.

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## Part II

**Chapter I**—Śreṇik-kumār is in exile. Passing through rivers, and forests and undergoing many troubles, he proceeds forwards making his mark wherever he goes. He assumes the title of the king on his return. His son Abhaykumār, taunted by his play-mates, arrives at Rājgrhī in search of his father, and shows his mettle by getting the ring out of the well.

**Chapter II**—Śreṇik never failed to learn a new thing from even the humblest person. Putting aside the pride natural to a king, he sits at the feet of his preceptor to gain knowledge. Kuṇik imprisons his father for getting his kingdom. His mother reminds him of the love and kindness of his father. Kuṇik repents and runs with a hatchet to break the irons that bound the feet of his father. One of the guilds, the creation of Śreṇik, is illustrated here.

**Chapter III**—King Ajātsatru is engaged in a battle. The elephant Sachenak falls into the pit of fire to save his master. The pillar, indicating the victory of Kuṇik is seen.

**Chapter IV**—New custom is illustrated here. Kṣatriya kings have begun to marry Śūdra girls. The kings in question belong to the Śiśunāga dynasty.

**Chapter V**—Nand IX was a powerful king, and had politicians like Chāṇakya at his court. Chāṇakya conducted a large school at that time. Pāṇini wrote his books at this time. All these are engaged in a political game. The king is whispered wrong things against certain persons. Śakṣāl incurs his own death in order to save his family. Factories for manufacturing arms for a rebellion are rumoured to be in full swing.

**Chapter VI**—The Āryans, who had hitherto not made the region beyond the Vindhya ranges, the place of their residence, are seen going upto Ceylon. Prince Anūruddha conquers Ceylon. Udayāśva has started on a religious pilgrimage in order to expiate his sins. Nand IX, victim of political games, goes away leaving a prosperous kingdom.

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

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- |             |   |
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CSL

# Part I

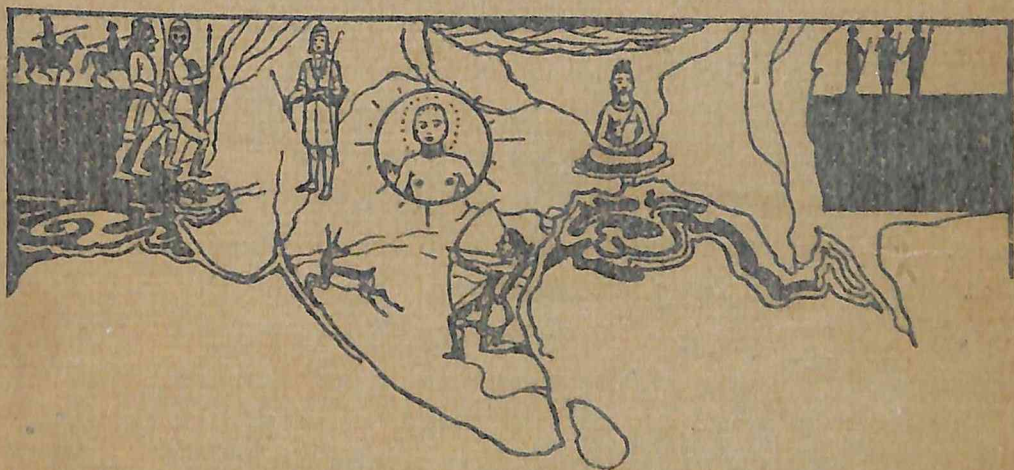


# PART 1

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- I Chapter    Introductory
- II Chapter    Detailed description of the conditions of  
                  the times.
- III Chapter    Geography of Ancient India
- IV Chapter    Short account of sixteen ruling kingdoms
- (1) Kāmboj-Gāndhār
  - (2) Pāñchāl
  - (3) Kośal
  - (4) Kāśī
- V Chapter    Short-account ( contd.)
- (5) Vatsa Deśa
  - (6) Śrāvastī
  - (7) Vaisālī
  - (8) Magadh
  - (9) Baṅg
  - (10) Aṅga, Mahā-kośal or Kuśa-sthal
- VI Chapter    Short account ( contd.)
- (11) Dhankatak
  - (12) Āndhra
  - (13) Kaliṅg
  - (14) Avanti
- VII Chapter    Short account ( contd.)
- (14) Avanti ( contd.)
  - (15) Sindh-Sauvir
  - (16) Saurāṣṭra





## Chapter I

### Introductory

*Synopsis—Time analysis—The Āryans and the Non-Āryans, and the difference between their civilizations—Natural affinities—Their influence on the country and the life of men—Definite reasons for the longevity of life—Activities during leisure—Study of S'ruti and Smṛti—Scientific researches—Periodical divisions with due consideration of different opinions. The relation between Nature and the appearance and disappearance of great men.*





Majority of books, that have been hitherto published on Indian History, deal with the modern times. Rare are the books dealing with ancient times; rarer still are those

**Purpose**

that throw light on the dark cavities of the times before Christ. Many might be the

reasons for such a state of things. The present writer can forward two reasons:—comparative absence of material, and the almost insurmountable difficulties in obtaining it. In spite of such handicaps, it is the humble intention of the author to explore the vast field of antiquity, to collect as much evidence as possible, and to make, with unsparing efforts, researches, upon which, he can build final conclusions. In order that the reader may have no difficulty in understanding the truth, and may not be led astray by misapprehensions, the writer has made an endeavour to present the facts, not in a discontinued manner, but in a proper chronological order, including the geneology of the kings that ruled in ancient India. Thus the reader, when presented with historical facts, will be amply enlightened about the purely historical, social, political, religious, economic, and all other conditions of India that was two thousand years ago. Many are the media through which, detailed knowledge about the above-mentioned conditions prevailing in modern India, can be obtained. The writer hopes that the reader, after making comparative study of both the ages, will, according to his own ability, find out the reasons for the changes—good or bad—that have evolved during so many centuries. He will have two pictures before his mind's eye; he will compare and contrast them; he will perceive many things worthy of being borrowed from the old picture that will make the modern-picture less ugly than it is at present; and thus he will chalk out the path for the upward march of modern India. Finally, the writer earnestly desires that this volume may help the reader in contributing his quota towards the regeneration of his mother-land and may make him conscious of the position that he occupies in it.

Most of the historians begin with fourth century B. C., because from that time onward, historical materials begin to assume a clearer and a more evidential form. The author considers it more to the point to trace the connection between the civilization



## Time limit

that prevailed among the Āryans of the olden times, and the civilization that is in full swing to-day. Hence, he thinks it proper to begin at the beginning—with the

**Time limit** time when the most authoritative religious books like Śruti and Smṛti were composed, and when the Vedic religion, one of the chief religions of the Āryan people, came into existence,<sup>1</sup> in or about 8th or 9th century B. C. It took him long to decide where to end; whether at the beginning of the Vikrama Era—which is mostly used by the people of India (i. e. 57 B. C.); or at the beginning of the Christian Era, which is widely adopted by the modern educated Indians (i. e. 1 A. D.); or at the beginning of the Śaka Era, which is widely used in one part of India (78 A. D.). If the first option is selected, only unconnected remarks can be scattered over the 135 years that intervene between the first option and the third option (i. e. 57 B. C. to 78 A. D.). While the third option not only covers these years, but the writer gets the opportunity of stating his thoughts to other workers in the field of history, specially because these thoughts differ from many stereotyped beliefs that have hitherto been taken for granted, and also because these historians might be stimulated to throw new light on them; hence the decision to end at 78 A. D. In short, these volumes cover the period of one thousand years lying between 9th B. C. and 78 A. D. or even upto 100 A. D.

As India contains one-fifth of the total population of the existing world, it would not be inappropriate to classify it as an independent continent. Geographers have taken

**Preliminaries** it as a part of Asia because of the proportionate smallness of its area. In ancient times it constituted a part of a continent named Jambudwīpa. In spite of this, however, it is many a time, in descriptions, referred to as a continent, with its own specific name—Bharatakhanda. On several occasions it is spoken of as Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa, as that was the name of a great portion of it at one time.

(1) The authoritative historical material is obtained from this time onwards. Due to this reason, the line between historic and pre-historic periods should be drawn here.



This India—Bharatavarṣa—is divided into two parts by the great Vindhya-chala mountain that stretches from east to west, and that is situated almost in the middle of it. The northern division is known as North India; the southern division as South India.<sup>2</sup> The southern division is also known as South Indian Peninsula, as it is surrounded by sea on three sides. Similarly, even the whole of India can be described as a peninsula. Though these two divisions constitute one indivisible whole, they widely differ from each other from the view-point of their civilizations. The people inhabiting the northern division were known as Āryans as they were highly civilized; the people in the southern division, being comparatively uncivilized, were known as Non-Āryans.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, the whole of India is commonly called Āryāvarta, and its people Āryans.<sup>4</sup>

The foreigners may then be given the name of Non-Āryans, their countries being called Non-Āryan countries.

The countries which are at present known as Baluchistān, Afghānistān, Asian Turkey, and Persiā, were in those times included in Āryāvarta; and the people inhabiting those countries were called Āryans. The region lying to the west of these countries belonged to what was formerly known as Śakadwīpa; and its people were called Non-Āryans.<sup>5</sup> But at the time when this history begins, Āryāvarta, as already explained above, included a vaster area than the modern India does within its boundaries; hence the people of that region even, were known as Āryans.<sup>6</sup>

(2) Some call it Dakṣiṇāpatha. Looking to the etymological sense of the word, "Āpatha" means "way to" and "Dakṣiṇa" means "South". Hence the word means "way to south (India)" and not "South India."

(3) This name can be given from the view-point of the different divisions of India; for further information, read f. n. 4.

(4) This appellation is used to distinguish the ancient Indian civilization from other civilizations. (Compare this with the use of words like Yavana and Yona).

(5) For further information about this continent refer to the later volumes.

(6) The reader will at once understand that the birth-places of the authors of Śrutis and Smṛitis were in Āryāvarta; more details are given later on, in the other volume.





The civilization of a people is inseparably united with the religious customs, rites and rituals, the social ties and fashions, the manner and habit of life, and many other things, prevailing at a particular time. All the religious factions that we see in India to-day, have begun only in modern times. In ancient times only four religions existed: the Vedic religion, Jainism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Even among these four, Buddhism came into being in the 6th century B. C., and Christianity in the 1st century B. C. At the time when this history begins (9th century B. C.) only Jainism and the Vedic religion existed.

According to Āryan scriptures, some eternal elements, which are generated by Nature, control the Universe. One of these elements is Time. Time is eternal and endless. In Vedās, which are the greatest book of the Āryan scriptures, Time is divided into four main parts; (1) Satyayuga—the Golden age, (2) Tretāyuga—the Silver age, (3) Dwāparayuga—the Copper age and (4) Kaliyuga—the Iron age. These ages come and go at regular intervals. The first age is the longest, the second less long than the first, the third still less than the second, and the fourth is the shortest of all. In Jainism the Time is characterised as eternal and endless, but is differently divided. First it is divided into two equal parts; the first part is known as Utsarpiṇi,<sup>7</sup> and the second as Avasarpiṇi.<sup>8</sup> Each part is again divided into six divisions, and each division is known as an Ārā.<sup>9</sup> In the Utsarpiṇi part of Time, as the name itself indicates the meaning, everything, as time passes on, progresses, steadily first towards the higher and then towards the highest level. In Utsarpiṇi again, the first Ārā of division is

(7) Ud-up and Sarpa—to move, to appear; that period of time in which all the things rise gradually and steadily to a higher level of their own species.

(8) Ava-down and Sarpa—to move, to appear; growing downwards steadily and progressively.

(9) Ārā really means a "spoke in a wheel." As the wheel rolls round, they move up and down. The wheel of time rolls regularly round, and these divisions begin and end very regularly.



the shortest, and the last is the longest. In Avasarpinī, the first Ārā is the longest, and the last the shortest. The increase and decrease in happiness, wealth, health, duration of life, sorrow, temptation, illusion, unhappiness, misery and in all the things of the world, synchronize with the increase and decrease in the duration of these Ārās.

As fixed in Āryan scriptures, these yugas-Aeons,—and Ārās were the chief divisions of the endless Time. But these still have their sub-divisions. Each sub-division is known as Udaya in Jainism. These are all so well-arranged that time goes on its way unhindered. But when one yuga or Ārā is to end and the other is to begin, things begin to move more quickly than ever, and even the ordinary people become conscious of a vast change that is to take place. We call this interval the crisis. According to the Vedic religion, at the time of such a crisis, a great man is born; according to Jainism a great Soul, a Tīrthaṅkara is born<sup>10</sup>.

All things in the universe are thus controlled by an established and unhindered Law of Nature. The age with which this volume deals was one of the innumerable Udayas; and according to the Vedic belief, authors of Śrutis, who were then considered great men, were born at this time; according to Jainism the twenty-third of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras was born. The second crisis that occurred in the 6th century B. C. was of no less magnitude than the one that occurred in the 8th century B. C. At this time was born Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains; at this time was born Buddha, the founder of Buddhism; at this time was born the great emperor Bimbisāra of Magadha, of the Śiśunāga dynasty. A third great crisis took place at the end of the first century B. C., when Jesus Christ was born. At that time the crisis was on a lower pitch in Aryāvarta. Consequently

(10) Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Gīta has said to Arjuna that He takes birth in every yuga for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the re-establishment of religion.

Paritrāṇāya sādhuṇāṃ vināśāya cha duṣkṛtām ।  
Dharmasamsthāpanāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge ।





no great man was born; but there ruled then a valorous king, not a whit inferior to Bimbisāra of Magadha. The Āryan people have perpetuated his name by adopting the Era started by him. By this time the reader might have realized that the appearance of great men depends upon certain Laws of eternal Time; that the scriptural belief with regard to this, is, if not wholly, at least substantially, true.

During the 8th century B. C. and onwards, there was Kaliyuga according to the Vedic religion, and the fourth Ārā of Avasarpīṇi according to Jainism, which says that the fifth Ārā began after three years and eight-and-half months after the absolution-Nirvāṇa of the last and the twenty-fourth Tīrthāṅkara-Mahāvīra. (527 B. C. October). The time between the eighth century B. C. and the last quarter of the sixth century B. C. is included in the fourth Ārā.

As stated above, during Utsarpīṇi, the fertility of the soil and the wealth of the people go on increasing to the highest point. In Avasarpīṇi, just the reverse happens. As the eighth century B. C. is included in Avasarpīṇi, the fertility of the soil, and the resources of the earth, were gradually deteriorating. But things had not moved to such a crisis when men may have to hanker after and devote all their time and energy in earning a livelihood. (Detailed description of the conditions of these times is given in the next chapter). Of the three things<sup>11</sup> that have become part and parcel of the nature of men and their means of maintenance, one was non-existent at that time, and the second and the third were only in embryo. Rain-fall was plentiful; there was no lack

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(11) Wealth, Land & Woman, are the (principal) origins of (all) strifes (in the world).

These three are at the root of all the quarrels of the world. The ancients have wisely arranged them in order of their priority and importance.

(A) Wealth : It is necessary to satisfy one's personal, but superfluous, needs. As one becomes more and more engrossed in worldly things, an insatiable desire for wealth burns in his heart for ever. He leaves no stone unturned to obtain money. As a result, falsehood, wicked actions, loss of





of corn and fruits; forests were in abundance; rivers were swollen with water for all the months of the year. Famine was unknown. People enjoyed life; and they were sturdy, tall, and perfectly healthy. As they were extraordinarily healthy and happy, they lived

health and reckless rivalry have surrounded the world on all sides. One never knows when such a state of things will cease to be.

(B) Land : Kings fight for two reasons; (1) they want to secure absolute sovereignty for themselves; they would have no objection to allowing the sub-ordinate kings to manage the internal administration of their provinces in their own way. (The system which prevailed when a number of kingdoms were federally bound together). (2) the victorious kings may exterminate the whole family of the conquered king, and thus may himself become the king of the land.

(C) Woman : From times immemorial men have fought for beautiful women

All quarrels of men have their origin in any of these three or a combination of them. Woman is the oldest evil; land followed later on and last came wealth.

During the fourth *Arā*, people had not to worry in the least about their maintenance. Wealth was totally powerless to create quarrels. Land did play a part, but the kings fought with each other just in order to establish their absolute sovereignty as stated above. They had no idea whatsoever of exterminating the whole family of the defeated kings and becoming themselves the rulers of conquered territories. History says that, that idea took its birth after the end of the fourth *Arā*. The quarrels for women are as old as Time; they began with the creation of women. When the incentives of snatching pieces of land from one another for the sake of being absolute sovereigns, and of amassing incalculable riches, are absent there remains the third and powerful incentive to quarrels e. g. woman.

The reader will now understand that the quarrels about women are as old as Creation; the quarrels for land and wealth came into being only after the fourth *Arā* was over. (after 523 B.C.). The quarrels about land assume a definite form after the invasions of the foreigners like Alexander the Great in 327 B. C. The quarrels about earning wealth began with the hoardings of Mahānanda; but the oppression of human beings in order to possess wealth for wealth's sake began right with Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty. For these reasons, prominence is given to the names of these two kings at the beginning of the Kaliyuga.

Some details about wealth might not be out of place here. We shall take wealth in the sense of metallic money. When people began to be





a longer life; their bodies were symmetrical and proportionately large. Their brains were clear, their thinking power high, their memory almost infallible; so that they could remember everything easily. Thus when Nature's bounty is plentiful, men have not to worry about their bellies. As time went on, the memory of the people began to falter; unlike their forefathers they could not retain for a long time, what they had heard. Hence some exceptionally gifted persons composed Śrutis and Smṛtis for these people of inferior talent. We can not help conjecturing that there must not have existed any script before the composition of these holy books. This period may reasonably be called the time of the appearance of the authors of Śrutis and Smṛtis.<sup>12</sup>

attracted and allured by wealth, different metals were given different values. People had gold in abundance, and they had no need to use it for their maintenance. Gold was used for ornaments and decorations only. When it was needed for business purposes, gold-dust was used in bigger transactions, while in smaller ones coins were used. Other metals lay calmly in the womb of earth. This will help to explain why people of ancient times were not much acquainted with metals as the people of the present times are.

If this is to explain the beginning of use of wealth, it becomes obvious that the ancients did not much use metals; their weapons were made of some other materials. The greater the use of metals, the faster are we approaching modernity.

When the significance of the facts and conclusions stated here, is fully understood, those students of history who are grappling with the puzzling problem, whether civilization flowed from the East to the West or from the West to the East, will see a path through the maze of difficulties.

At times, when it becomes difficult to logically connect the sequence of events, it would be better to assume, that the then prevailing Udayas exerted their influence more powerfully on those times, than to take for granted that the God of Time had lost his power. At present the Udayas are short due to Avasarpiṇī, and consequently have less influence; in ancient times they were long due to Utsarpiṇī, and their influence lasted for a longer time. These conclusions are logical. One cannot however fix into water-tight compartments the duration and the influence of the Udayas as shorter and less powerful than their predecessors, or longer and more powerful than their followers, in Avasarpiṇī and Utsarpiṇī respectively.

(12) See the paragraph on 'Script and the art of writing' in the next chapter.





When Nature thus showered her bounty plentifully over the people, no one would care to write histories or collect historical materials. They needed not our artificial eras, and yet they lived more happily. Every one was free to use his time and energy in his own way.

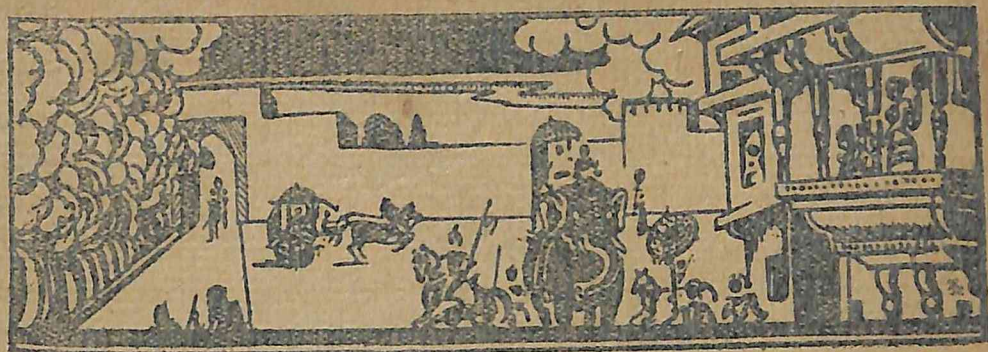
Were people  
in those times  
illiterate ?

Thus the two foundation-stones of the edifice of history, the art of writing and the fixing of dates, were conspicuous by their absence in those times. Things and events were not arranged into their chronological and historical sequence. Here it would be necessary to utter a word of caution: one should be far from believing that there was nothing like knowledge and learning among those people. Free from the pangs of unemployment, they wholly devoted themselves to making their social life better and richer, to thinking about Nature and her wonders. The modern scientific inventions, which profess to bring about a millenium upon the world, and which make people stand lost in amazement by their novelties, were then the order of the day, only with different terminology and different uses. Of course it is impossible to put forth conclusive and authoritative evidence to put the above statement beyond cavils of doubt, yet stray<sup>13</sup> instances and events from those times, the veracity of which is proved, very strongly lead to the above conclusion.

Having thus stated briefly the conditions of the times with which this book deals, we shall proceed further with our narration.

(13). Most of these events are described in these volumes.





## Chapter II

A detailed description of the conditions of the times.

**Synopsis**—The mutual positions of men and women—The place of the people in the administration of the country—The king, his councillors and ministers, or the body representing them—A short description of the various public departments—Nature of crimes, means of their suppression, jails and their regulations—Village reformation and reconstruction, village councils and their activities—Rivers, streams, and forests—The construction of the city, the wall around it, the cleanliness and the sculpture of the roads, mansions and house-lanes, streets, market-places, places for rest and recreation—Vehicles and animals used in business transactions on land—What natural advantages were there for oversea trade, and which of them were utilized by the people?—The type of education and educational facilities—Police and military departments, different divisions of the army and their positions—Rules and customs about slaves and servants—Caste distinctions, matrimonial, religious and social problems arising from them—The hierarchical order of the subdivisions of these castes which are the origin of the modern social economic, and religious evils—Marriage and the proper age for it—Physical fitness of the people and the consequent longevity of life—Religious tolerance—Relations between and duties of husband and wife—Excise department and the expenditure of administration—Types of wealth and the methods of exchange—Language, script, and the art of writing—Adoption of the Era to fix the dates—Messengers and the foreign ambassadors—Costume of the people—Ceremonies at the time of death and the cremation of the dead body—General description.





## Comparison

When one wants to compare two things, one ought to have full knowledge about these two things. If we want to compare the modern times with the ancient times, we will have to study the ancient times. The subject is slightly touched in the first chapter; but that is not enough for a sound comparison. Moreover, it is not possible to obtain positive evidence about the time with which we have to deal; if we get a piece of evidence here and there, it cannot be arranged into a neat logical order. There is no way but to be content with what broken facts we have about the sixth century B. C.; consequently we will have to conjecture that the 8th. century B. C. was superior to the sixth century B. C. in all the branches of life.

The woman was considered not only not inferior to man, but, in certain matters, quite superior. Hers was the last word in the management of household matters and social affairs – things in which she could naturally exercise superior judgment. The male sex dominated in economic considerations, business transactions, and wide and complicated subjects like politics. There was no unalterable law about the domination of sexes in all questions. Though the maxim that “Gods are favourable where women are worshipped”<sup>1</sup> was duly understood and faithfully observed, yet women never interfered unnecessarily in men’s sphere of activities, because they understood and remembered what type of work was assigned to them by Nature and by birth. The woman unreservedly accepted man as her superior, and did not entertain the modern idea of the equality of sexes. They considered it a privilege to be useful to men whenever they could. They did not move in the society like full-blown balloons, just because they were learned, rich, born of a high family, or accomplished in any other way. They dutifully and unhesitatingly performed the noble part of being agreeable mates to their husbands.<sup>2</sup> They acknowledged the superiority of men in their capacity to work

(1) See and think about the conversation between Trīṣālā and Siddhārtha, the parents of Mahāvīra, on life, in Kalpasūtra, a religious book of the Jains.

(2) Compare with this the ideas of modern women.



## Kings, councillors and the formation of cabinets

for the benefit of the country, and never intruded upon them their own judgements and opinions, however right and laudable they might be considering them to be. On the other hand, they encouraged men to do such noble works, and rendered them whatever help was demanded of them. Both men and women were independent in their own spheres, and paid due attention to the self-respect of one another.

There is no evidence to prove that women had any legal rights of heirship to the family property. On festival occasions, presents, proper to the occasions, were given to them; and they became absolute owners of such property, and could utilize it whenever they liked, in their own spiritual well-being chiefly.

Kings were not mad after amassing great fortunes and increasing their territory.<sup>3</sup> They thought it honourable to protect and preserve the land which they inherited from their forefathers. Consequently, federal system of government was in full swing everywhere.<sup>4</sup> There were no emperors; there were independent kings ruling contentedly their own territories, large or small. The king, whose family was the most ancient, valorous, noblest and engrossed in the beneficial task of public good, was selected as a leader by the other kings.<sup>5</sup> Such a king had no<sup>6</sup> power to interfere in the internal administration of the territories of the kings under his leadership; but when events occurred which concerned all of them at a time, all these kings readily rallied together under the banner of their leader, because they fully understood the significance of the maxim that "An army without a leader is like a flock of sheep without a shepherd."<sup>7</sup>

(3) See f. n. No. 11, Chapter one.

(4) Refer to the monthly "Purātattva" pp. 2, for further information on Federal System of Government.

(5) Mahāvira's father Siddhārtha was one such king; see Kalpasūtra.

(6) Chetaka, king of Vaiśālī, was a leader-king of this kind; he was considered the crowning jewel among Licchhavi kshatriyas. Similarly Buddha's father Siddhārtha was the head of the Śākya family.

(7) This was the peculiarity of this system. Buddha religious books also contain references to this system. Compare with this the meetings of king's cabinet.



These small kings were really speaking landlords; but they were called kings.<sup>8</sup> Such a king was neither the absolute nor the despotic sovereign of his province. The province was divided into several units either on the basis of income or on the basis of area. Over each such unit, a Nāgarikajana – a representative citizen – was appointed.<sup>9</sup> On necessary occasions a meeting of these Nāgarikajanas was summoned, and administrative policy was moulded according to the decisions of these meetings. These Nāgarikajanas, on account of the nature of their work, were also given the name of – Mantries – ministers.<sup>10</sup> Their opinions were respected in revenue, civil, and criminal courts<sup>11</sup>. Of course, there certainly were regular officers and offices with necessary staffs<sup>12</sup>. But the author's intention is to drive home the idea that the ruler and the ruled were not separate entities, the one ordering and the other obeying, but that they were like links of the same chain, none inferior to the other. They wholeheartedly cooperated with each other keeping in mind the wellbeing of all.

There were jails always open for persons who were sentenced by civil and criminal courts. At the time of royal festival occasions, these prisoners were remembered and released.<sup>13</sup>

**Jails** Crimes were few and far between. Even at the beginning of the fourth century B. C., not to talk of the sixth, the percentage of crimes was as low as 1.8 per cent.

(8) See f. n. No. 5 above.

(9) See the paragraph on village-councils and their discussions for the names given to the Nāgarikajanas of such units.

(10) Śreṇika had five hundred ministers; these ministers are to be taken to mean these Nāgarikajanas. In modern official terminology, they may be given the name of Municipal Corporators.

(11) Dandanāyakas and Koṭavalas were officers of this kind.

(12) See f. n. No. 11. It cannot be asserted definitely whether there was an element of election system at this time among the people, though it is proved that there was an election system in religious matters. (Like Buddha Councils).

(13) Prisoners were released chiefly on three occasions:—coronation ceremony, the birth of the heir-apparent, or a great victory over the enemy. (See Kalpasūtra: about the occasion of Mahāvīra's birth; and the rock inscriptions of Emperor Priyadarśin.



according to Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador. We can easily imagine the rarity of such heinous crimes as abduction and murder, though they were not wholly non-existent; Jain books at times refer to capital punishment;<sup>14</sup> Buddha and Chinese books and narratives yield evidence of punishments like cutting some parts or limbs of the bodies<sup>15</sup>. We shall have to admit that the nature of crimes and the ways to punish them were different from those in modern times.

The modern municipalities, district councils, and county councils, did exist at those times under different nomenclature.

✓ Their existence is proved by the titles and Rural administration official designations which were at that time and village-councils given to the officers appointed for such purposes<sup>16</sup>.

It also seems probable that petty quarrels between individuals, merchants and others, and even at times big quarrels might have generally been hushed up or settled by these councils.<sup>17</sup> The author has yet not found any reference which might lead him to believe that big quarrels, robberies and other differences of opinions were settled by a hand-to-hand fight.

Famine was not known even by its name till the end of the fourth Ārā, ( 523 B. C. ).<sup>18</sup>, as rainfall was satisfactory year after year. People had never to undergo the hardships of famine, though they might possibly have heard something about it,

(14) References to people being punished to death by "Śūlī"—( The victim is made to rest his navel on a conic iron pillar with a sharp point, and then the pillar is made to turn round and round very fast; in no time it pierces the whole body through the navel and emerges at the back; and the victim is off )—are abundant. References to people being punished to death by the rope method are rare.

(15) It is found in some books that the labourers employed in building the famous Chinese Wall were thus punished. This was built when Emperor Priyadarśin ruled over India. ( Vide the account of his life. )

(16) See f. n. 9 above and the matter connected with it; for details vide the account of Chandragupta where extracts from Arthaśāstra are quoted.

(17) Vide further pages of this volume and f. n. "Buddhistic India" p. 16. connected with it.

(18) Vide Chapter I, "How Nature favoured men in those times",



generation after generation, from their forefathers, just to give them a very vague and hazy notion about it. Rainfall being abundant, rivers and streams flowed throughout the year. Green foliage cooled the eye for miles and miles. Cattle were almost overfed. The forests were so dense that not a single ray of the sun could penetrate them at any time of the day. When caravans had to cross such forests, they were guided by land-pilots,<sup>19</sup> who were intimately acquainted with all the paths. Rivers were so deep that people had to cross them in boats,<sup>20</sup> specially when they had to cross large rivers.<sup>21</sup> Through the demarkation-margins between one field and another, water flowed constantly thus making each field appear like an island. The farmers erected small huts in their own fields and lived there. These huts, situated near one another, gave the onlooker the idea of a small village.

Large cities had strongly built walls around them. Generally wood was chiefly used in such fortifications for two reasons :—

(1) there was an abundance of wood due to the existence of dense forests, (2) these forests had again to be cut through, on account of the increase in population, due to the influence of the all-powerful god Time. ( p. 7 ). At regular distances in the city wall there were gates, between which there were numerous turrets and spires. The number of these turrets and gates depended on the area of the city<sup>22</sup>.

The houses and buildings in the city were chiefly built of wood. This does not mean that neither bricks nor lime nor stones were used at that time. They were there,<sup>23</sup> but they were not as much used as they are to-day. Bricks, lime, and stones

(19) C. H. I. p. 207.

(20) The merchants and caravans crossed rivers by means of boats.

(21) It is stated in Jaina books that Mahāvīra had to cross the river Ganges in a boat. ( Kalpasūtra Com. There must not have existed large bridges in those times ).

(22) The description of Pāṭaliputra by Megasthenes supports the contention.

(23) See Sir John Marshall's description of the ruins of the city of Mohanjādaro.



were used in greater proportion in palaces, public buildings, mansions of millionaires, temples, and such other places. Cleanliness was the order of the day in all the houses.<sup>24</sup> There were no sky-crapers. People were satisfied with one floor buildings,<sup>25</sup> be they the buildings of an ordinary citizen, be they the palaces or temples. Two reasons might be advanced for this:—(i) Life at that time was simple; there was God's plenty in the world; people had no need of building big houses to store up things for emergencies; for, emergencies there were almost none; (ii) Men were at least twice as tall as they are now,<sup>26</sup> and consequently required taller houses; as a result, two floors of those times were as high as four floors of our time<sup>27</sup>.

Four main roads, emerging from the four main gates of the fort-wall, met in the centre of the city. At many a place in the city, two, three, four or more roads met,<sup>28</sup> thus facilitating the communication among the people. Generally for each vocation, a particular part of the city was reserved, the centres being the places where the representatives of different vocations could meet and exchange commodities. This statement should not lead any reader to believe that there were water-tight compartments for all vocations. Roads were generally straight, broad, and there were regular rows of trees on both the sides.

(24) See the ruins of Mohanjādero.

(25) See the structure of the ruins of Mohanjādero, the construction of the pillar named Bhārhūta-stupa (by Ajātaśatṛ and Prasenjita); the descriptions of the processions of the bridegrooms in the cities as given in the Kalpasūtra; yield ample information about the houses and mansions; at least they prove that houses and temples had floors above the ground floor.

(26) Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthankara, of the Jainas, was 10 ft. and 6 in. in height.

(27) Can we not get from this, some idea about the antiquity of Mohanjādero? Archeological experts are of the opinion that the remnants of the city indicate its civilization and culture to be that of 7000 or 8000 B. C. The author, after much research work, has come to the conclusion that the city toppled to its ultimate ruin about 535 B. C. consequently, its civilization cannot be older than that of 2000 B. C.

(28) See Kalpasūtra commentaries, pp. 59., for the description.



Side-streets and narrow streets were few and far between. Some streets had only one outlet; some others stretched upto the city wall, and consequently, had no other opening. Such streets, if they were large, were called "Pādās", their sub-divisions being given the name of "Up-pādās"<sup>29</sup>. These "Pādās" and "Up-pādās" derived their names from either the richest, or the bravest, or in any other way, the most distinguished personage residing in them.<sup>30</sup>

There was no rule to the effect that the son should step into the shoes of his father as far as vocations or means of livelihood were concerned. The guild system came into existence in the time of king Bimbisāra. Every one adopted his calling for life, according to his own inclinations. As a result, one Pādā presented a scene of wide and varied activities, representing various professions, though they can stand no comparison with the business world of to-day, with its break-neck competition, where one has no time to "stand and stare."<sup>31</sup> This was due to a profusion of natural resources, and the simple life of the people.

There were numerous parks, gardens, bowers, travellers' rest-houses, recreation grounds, everywhere throughout the city.

Main roads were generally well-built. Very long roads connected great business centres.<sup>32</sup> Trees were planted on both the sides of such roads to provide shade for the travellers, caravans, and

(29) Due to this reason, the names of "Pādās" and "Up-pādās" in one city were sometimes the same as those in other ones. (For example, in both Rājagṛhī and Vaiśālī, we have "Nanda's Pādā", and "Up-Nanda's Pādā." In modern Ahmedābād and Pātan, we have lanes, "Pādās", and Streets bearing the same name.

(30) See Kalpasūtra commentaries, pp. 86; "Nanda's Pādā" and "Up-Nanda's Pādā" are mentioned there.

(31) C. H. I. P. 207:—

Other more favourable crafts were ivory-working, weaving, confectionary, jewellery and work in precious metals, bow and arrow making, pottery and garland-making, and head-dressing. Despised callings were connected with slaying of animals, and work on their bodies, eg. hunters, trappers, fishermen, butchers, tanners and others; e. g. snake-charming, acting, dancing etc."

(32) Roads stretched from Paṭaliputra to Takṣaśilā, from Kāśī to Kauśāmbī, and from Avantī to Bhīṅgukachha. (The modern Broach),



## Animals used in bearing heavy loads

beasts carrying loads who had to pass on them again and again. Stone pillars were erected on the way to indicate distance. Resting-places, wells and such other facilities were not wanting.

Bullocks were the staple means for bearing heavy loads. Not many references are found indicating a similar use of camels and mules. It is possible that the mule may be the result of one of the modern scientific experiments to breed hybrids;<sup>33</sup> and the camels might have been used only in deserts<sup>34</sup>. It may be due to this reason that the general descriptions of travels of those times do not contain any reference to these animals. Adventurous merchants spared no pains in travelling upto the far ends of the country, and on account of their capacity for business organization, became owners of incredible wealth.

Horses are not found to be the carriers of heavy mercantile loads; but it seems that horses and bullocks were made to run for races. These races were not speculation-ridden as they are now. They were a means of recreation and pastime, giving the owners of these animals a sort of self-satisfaction that their animals were the best.

Adventurous merchants travelled through all the wide world, for trade purposes.<sup>35</sup> Ships, big and small, were used for such

(33) The author is of opinion that the mule is a modern product. Experiments to create new species of fruits and flowers are very frequently made in Botany. Similarly in Zoology, experiments might have been made to bring about a new species of animals.

(34) Deserts must have been few in those times; camels are always found in abundance in sandy regions.

The Jesalmir Desert in Mārwar, has, according to my belief, come into existence about 535 B. C. This may be true because camels are not much mentioned in books containing descriptions of trade in ancient India.

(35) Merchants of those times have been found to have travelled from Java and Sumatra in the East to Arabia and onwards in the West—we do not know how far due to changes in the names of places and countries, but we can be certain about the people of the countries in the far West trading with the people of Śākadvīpa and with the Āryan and the Non-Āryan people. In the time of Śreṇika, the prince of Ārdradesha, Ārdrakumāra by name, had come to India, allured by the description of the wealth and



voyages. Evidently, the craft of ship-building and maritime activities must have flourished very much in those times. They

must have specially flourished on two coast lines:

**Marine activities and sea-voyage for business and commerce** (1) That portion of the coast line which begins with the opening of the river Narmadā and ends with port of Goa; this portion was called the northern division of the Aparānta country in those times. (2) The southern end of the

west coast, which is now called Malabār coast, and in those times was called Cārel coast. The natives of these coasts must have acquired a sound knowledge of Geography and Astronomy from their constant touch with the sea; but wealth and encouragement were chiefly given to them by inland merchant-millionaires. These merchants, who carried business on a very vast scale, came chiefly from North India, because South India was studded with dense forests and the people were comparatively uncivilized. Both the eastern and western coasts of South India were full of civilized people who had come to stay there from North India. The people dwelling in the interior of the South Indian Peninsula had

grandeur of India given to him by an Indian merchant. Ārdradesha means modern Arabiā and the area stretching upon Aden. The Greeks and the Egyptians, having heard of the flourishing trade of India from Indian merchants who had gone there for commercial purposes, were very anxious to come to India for business connections. All the information proves at least one thing:—The prevalence of long sea-voyages in those times. "Bhārat Kā Samkshipta Itihāsa," p. 211—"The great historian Pliny says that an incredible amount of wealth constantly flowed from Rome towards India." This means that the balance of trade was highly in favour of India. Again, "India earned at least 4 million pounds every year from Rome. The trade of Rome suffered such a shock that a law was passed boycotting the import of Indian goods in Rome." From this it becomes evident that boycott is a time-old weapon in political and economic struggles.

There is ample evidence to prove that Bhīṣṭukachha or what Ptolemy calls Bregenza, (the modern Broach), Sopāraka, (the modern Sopārā, or Nālāsopārā), Gokarṇapuri, (the modern Goā), and, and Lakṣmipuri, (we do not know whether any modern port represents this great ancient port, but it must have been situated between Goā and Sopārā), were very famous ports of ancient India.



no opportunities of coming into contact with these civilized people because of the two natural gigantic barriers in both the directions e. g. the two ranges of the Sahyāndri Mountains, Eastern Ghāt and Western Ghāt. To the people of North India, the South Indian Peninsula was of no particular economic importance. The furthest southern end of these mountain ranges was inhabited by civilized people, but was not worth much attention from the business point of view.

Large and deep rivers were crossed with the help of boats<sup>36</sup>.

Primary education was imparted in the village schools,<sup>37</sup> as it is done to-day. There were separate colleges and institutes for different branches of study<sup>38</sup>. When primary education and higher education were so carefully attended to, it is reasonable to conjecture that secondary education was not neglected.

We have to admit that not many references are found of institutes, imparting secondary education. Sons of rich men were specially trained,—by what to us would seem a very peculiar system of education,—for acquiring sound common sense and a perfect social behaviour, by courtesans<sup>39</sup>. The reader has here to understand that the courtesan of ancient India was totally different from the courtesan of to-day; and the accounts of the lives of persons trained under them, afford ample evidence for the above statement. We have no right to be prejudiced against the character of such women simply because they were given the appellation of courtesans.

There were many "Gurukulas" or residential schools. Such

(36) Mahāvīra, the last Tirthankara of the Jains, had once crossed the river Ganges in a boat.

(37) See Kalpasūtra commentaries pp. 74, where Mahāvīra has been described as going to school.

(38) The Universities of Nālandā and Takṣaḡilā.

(39) Valkalchiri, the brother of Prasannachandra, king of Pratiṣṭhānpura, was given social training in this manner. (See B. B. V. pp. 122). Sthulibhadraji, the son of Śakaḡāla, who was the prime minister of the ninth Nanda king, was also trained in this manner. This Sthulibhadra was the Guru of Bhadrabāhuswāmi, who was the preceptor of the Emperor Chandragupta. (See B. B. V. pp. 68). For further information, see in this book the passage quoted from Arthashastra, (pp. 182) in the account of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta.



institutes must have filled the place of the secondary schools of to-day. Students in such boarding schools had naturally two advantages over the boys going to the non-residential high schools of to-day:—(1) upto the time they studied in such schools, they could not marry e. g. they reaped all the advantages of leading a celibate life; (2) they could come into contact with boys hailing from various provinces, and thus could acquire a sound knowledge of the ways of the world. Thus, the boarding system prevailed in those times.

In universities, special classes were conducted for special branches of knowledge. The world-famous universities of those times are mentioned in various books concerning those times. (1) The university of Nālandā, situated in the town of Nālandā, which was near Rājgrhi, the capital of the country of Magadha. (2) The Takśaśilā university situated in Takśaśilā, the capital of Gāndhārā country, the modern Punjāb. In the time of king Śreṇika, e. g. in the time of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha, the Takśaśilā University was of greater importance than the Nālandā University. (The Takśaśilā University was famous for its medical education. This may be due to a close contact with the Persian traders, whose country was far advanced in medical science.) But when the ninth Nanda king conquered Gāndhārā and brought the learned trio of Pāṇini, Chāṇakya, Vararuchi, from Takśaśilā to Nālandā, the Nālandā University came into the fore-front<sup>40</sup>.

Boys began to go to school when they were seven or eight years old, and their general education was over by the time they were fifteen or sixteen years old. Those of them who wanted to make themselves specialists in any branch of knowledge, joined the university.

The hierachy of official order that is found to be existing to-day in this department, must have been conspicuous by its absence in those times. But the existence of a department akin to the modern Police department is sufficiently proved when we come across words like "Kotavāla" (City fouzdar) and "Danṇanāyaka."

(40) See the information about king Mahānanda further on in this book.



( Police Superintendent ). Of course our conception of the duties and responsibilities of these officers may differ from the conception of the ancients. Many reasons might be advanced to explain the absence of a complicated official machinery in this department in those times. People were happy; means of livelihood were ample; unemployment was not known even by its name. As a result incentives to thefts, quarrels, and strifes were far and few between<sup>41</sup>. Petty strifes and quarrels were settled by Village Panchāyats (Councils)<sup>42</sup>. Consequently, the officers in this department concerned themselves with cases of greater importance. Even then, the king himself took much interest in such cases, and thus facilitated and lightened the task of these officers. Kings usually took a round about the city at night in cognito, in order to gather information pertaining to important cases, and sometimes they solved, in a wonderfully short time, the mysteries that puzzled the officers of this department. Thus these officers and the king came into close contact with one another and their claim to be called the protectors of the lives and the property of the people, was entirely justified.

The army was chiefly divided into four parts:—(i) infantry (ii) cavalry (iii) elephants and (iv) chariots. For details about the

**The divisions of the  
 Army**

official terminology, duties and responsibilities, and the salaries and wages given to them, the reader is referred to the passages from Artha-shāstra in the chapter on Chandragupta, the Maurayan Emperor. Of course the time of Chandragupta is 400 B. C., and thus we cannot assert that even before that time the same conditions prevailed; but if the conditions were not the same, they were also not entirely different.

The criterion of the invincibility and the strength of any army was the number of elephants possessed by it. The more elephants a king possessed, the greater were his safety and chances of victory. Thousands of elephants were possessed by kings right

(41) Even during two centuries after this time, the cases of thefts were very few. See the diary of Megasthenes who was appointed as an ambassador in the reign of king Aśoka.

(42) Compare with this the paragraph on Village Councils in the former pages of this volume.



upto the time of king Aśoka, who had consented to offer as a present, five hundred elephants to Selukas Nikator, in order to preserve his honour at the time of the treaty. ( This Selukas Nikator afterwards had given his daughter in marriage to king Aśoka ).

Though the four above-mentioned divisions chiefly comprised an army, Chandapradhyota, king of Avanti, is described as using speedy female camels<sup>43</sup> for political purposes. This leads us to the conclusion that such animals also might have formed a part—may be small—of any army. These animals might have been used either in war activities or in some other political activities.

The number of chariots was not small. The king drove himself to the field of battle in a chariot; and generally all the chief officers used chariots. These chariots were drawn by one or more horses. Elephants and chariots have completely disappeared, but we cannot positively fix the date of their disappearance. The existence of chariots can be traced upto the foundation of the Rāṣṭra dynasty<sup>44</sup>.

Bows and arrows, spears, swords, shields, daggers were the main weapons and implements used in battles. Rifles, guns and machine-guns have not been found to have existed during those times. We do not know whether there were any aeroplanes, bombs, or poisonous gases in those times. One of the literary books of those times contains references to Vidyādhara—a special kind of deities or gods—making use of their craft of flying in the sky, for the protection of their religion.

Bullocks, horses, chariots and elephants were chiefly used for carrying men and their burden from place to place. Palanquins were also used by chief officers of the state and by rich persons for their daily movements in the city. There was a special class of people whose profession was palanquin-bearing<sup>45</sup> but they were not slaves in any sense of the word.

One might very naturally ask whether slavery, in any form, existed in ancient India. Servants there were, as they are now,

(43) See Sir Cunningham's "The Bhārḥuta Stūpa" pp. 27.

(44) See further in the chapter about Shatavāhan dynasty the information about Queen Nāganikā's father.

(45) We are, here, reminded of the Rikshaws still used in Madras and Burma.



## Servants and Slaves

and perhaps will be in future, because all men are not intellectually equally gifted in this world. Intellectual inequalities are mainly

### Servants and Slaves

responsible for creating masters and servants. But servants are surely not slaves. A servant is he who is free to throw off one master for another; he has the right to choose his own master. A slave has no such right. His food, clothes, treatment, even his very life depend upon the sweet will of his master. Even the marriages of the children of the slaves are decided by their masters. Every movement of a slave is according to the will of his master. We can confidently assert that no such slavery existed in ancient India. There were servants-male and female-who changed and exchanged their masters as freely as those masters exchanged and changed their servants.

The population of India was divided into four classes: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Each class had its own rules and conventions, and its own occupations and means of livelihood. The people in each class were satisfied with their own work, and each son cheerfully followed the footsteps of his father. These four classes still continue to exist in India, though much importance is not now attached to them. Caste distinctions and religious sections were unknown then, because they came into existence much later<sup>46</sup>. The wide and complicated variety of castes and sub-castes that we see in India to-day, was the result of many causes; population began to increase and people had to move further to the interior regions inhabited by uncivilised tribes; customs and conventions were set up by people to prohibit other people encroaching upon their occupations and curtailing their means of livelihood; peculiar marriage laws were established to stop any further mixture of blood; petty religious creeds took hold of the mind of this group of populace and that; and many other causes were responsible for the most deplorable caste and creed divisions that we see in India to-day. Between 900 B. C. to 600 B. C. people were either followers of the Jain religion or

### Class distinctions, Castes, Marriages and Religion

(46) For proofs see further in the chapters on the Maurya dynasty.





the Vedic religion. Between 600 B. C. to 100 A. D. Gautama Buddha established Buddhism. People followed any one of these three religions. Any man, belonging to any of the above-mentioned four classes, could follow any religion that appealed to him. Class distinctions and observation of faith did not in any way influence each other.

As time went on, and population increased and means of livelihood began to decrease on account of the influence of God Time, something like the mediæval guild-system came into existence. People were classified according to their occupations, the number of which was speedily increasing<sup>47</sup>. The result was that any man could not select any occupation for which he had a natural aptitude.

It would be interesting to quote here a sentence from pp. 37 of the Oxford History of India : "Separate Castes existed from an early date. Their relations to one another remain unaffected whether they are grouped theoretically under four occupational headings or not." (the italics are mine). We can clearly see that the word "caste" is here confused with and used for the word "guild" (Shreni), because as stated just above, nothing like castes ever existed during that time. The difference-and an important difference-between castes and guilds was this: intermarriage among castes was impossible, while it was the order of the day among different guilds. To make matters clearer we would say, (i) to know that a particular man belonged to a particular guild, indicated his occupation; (ii) to know that a person belonged to a certain caste meant that he could not marry with any one belonging to a caste other than his own. Here we see how the original four "classes" were divided into "guilds", which were sub-divided into "castes", although these divisions were not, what we would say into logic, "mutually exhaustive". That a person belonged to a particular "class", had nothing much to do with his occupation. A Brāhmin could devote his life to religious preaching or plunge himself headlong into a political career, according to his own

(47) See C. H. I. pp. 206, "Important handicrafts were organised into guilds." (Vide also pp. 96 "Buddhist India.")



inclination. These "guilds" were created by the Emperor Bimbisāra who, on that account was nicknamed "Shreṇika" ( builder of guilds ) in about 600 B. C.

Commensality and interconnubium prevailed among persons belonging to the same religion, class, or "guild." This does not mean that disorder and confusion were in full swing. It only means that no body objected to, or censured persons who intermarried and believed in commensality. Generally marriages took place between persons who were intellectually and morally, and sometimes materially, on the same level, no matter to whatever class, religion, or guild they belonged<sup>48</sup>. Even distances of each other's native places did not matter. One law was rigorously observed: persons belonging to the same clan or persons in whose veins flowed the same type of blood, did not marry<sup>49</sup>. For instance the group of Kshatriyas named Samvrijis, was divided into eighteen clans ( Lichhavi, Gnat, Malla etc. ). A Kshatriya belonging to the Lichhavi clan could marry a girl of the Gnat clan, but he could not marry a girl belonging to his own clan. That persons belonging to different classes and guilds could intermarry is certain because emperor Bimbisāra ( Shreṇika ), the originator of the guilds system, himself gave his daughters in marriage to Vaishyas and Shudras, even though he was a Kshatriya<sup>50</sup>; and had himself married with girls belonging to the Vaishya class<sup>51</sup>. This freedom about marriages had not a long life to live. The Brahmins soon asserted their superiority, and being religious preachers, fixed in the minds of the people that to intermarry among the four classes was a sin.

(48) A change came over the mentality of the people during the interval of time between Emperor Chandragupta and Emperor Aśoka. See further on in this book.

(49) Cheṭaka, king of Vaiśālī, had given his seven daughters in marriage to kings of very distant countries. ( for further information vide the chapter on " Vaiśālī country " ).

(50) His daughter named Manoramā was married to a member of the Vaishya class named Dhannā. His other daughter was married to a Shudra ( a Chāṇḍala ) Mauryaputra.

(51) His own queen and the mother of his son, Abhayakumār, who was also his prime minister, was the daughter of a Vaishya.



Emperor Nanda the Second of Magadha—Mahāpadma by name—had a hard time with his Brahmin<sup>52</sup> preceptors.

In short, in or about 600 B. C. people followed one of the three religions, and belonged to one of the four classes. A century later, guilds came into existence. Lastly came into being class consciousness due to the Brahmin preachers, and later on the various castes and subcastes that we see in India to-day.

As time went on, this open-mindedness about marriage and religion began to disappear. Narrow-mindedness began to permeate gradually the minds of the people. Generally, these things depended on the king who ruled over the country. During the reigns of emperors like Khārvel<sup>53</sup>, Aśoka, and Priyadarshin, tolerance both in religion and marriages was the order of the day. But after Priyadarshin, his descendents like Pushyamitra and Agnimitra, were orthodox and intolerant in these matters<sup>54</sup>. Both nature and God Time were working for the downfall of India<sup>55</sup> and for over a long interval of a century and a quarter, such intolerance and religious persecution prevailed. Kings began to fight against one another and thus the monkey in the form of the foreign invader<sup>56</sup>, made the cat's paw of the foolish kings of India<sup>57</sup>.

(52) Mahāpadma has been called "Kālāshoka" in the Brahmin mythological books, because he had married two girls from the Shudra class. See f. n. 53 below.

(53) It is said that Emperor Khārvel had married a girl from Baluchistan. Examples of religious tolerance: Aśoka was a Bauddha, Priyadarshin was a Jaina, and Khārvel followed Ājivika Sect (in the beginning), but there was no religious persecution during their reigns.

(54) The decline of the Mauryan Empire, which had reached its zenith during the time of Emperor Priyadarshin, was chiefly due to this religious persecution.

(55) This confusion prevailed between 236 B. C.—the year of the death of Priyadarshin—and 114 B. C.—the year of the end of Śiśunāga dynasty.

(56) This was the time of the invasion of foreign people like the Bactrians and the Parthians, and it was due to them that religious quarrels and consequent bloody warfare, prevailed at that time.

(57) Alexander the great had formerly invaded India, but he had not made up his mind to stay and establish himself in the land. The foreign invaders of this time began to settle themselves in India.



We have enough evidence to prove that the people of ancient India upto about the end of the sixth century B. C., were superior to the people of modern India—both in physical proportions and in height. The standard of average height in India to-day is five feet and four inches—sometimes five feet and six inches<sup>58</sup>. We stand and stare at a man whose height is more than six feet and six inches, and we consider any man with five feet and seven to ten inches as a man having a good height<sup>59</sup>. This was not the notion of the people of Ancient India, when the average height was ten to eleven feet<sup>60</sup>. During the two centuries before sixth century B. C. it was not less than twelve to thirteen feet<sup>61</sup>.

(This proves the fact that God Time exerts his influence even on the physical dimensions of our bodies. Is it not possible that as time passes on, we shall decrease and decrease in height and at last dwindle into insignificant pigmies?). Because these people were tall, they required taller houses to live in; and the arrangement of joints, and reciprocal proportion of different limbs in the bodies of these people were stronger and superior to those in ours<sup>62</sup>.

(58) A glance at the registers of Insurance companies will convince any reader as to the truth of this statement.

(59) People having this height are selected for military services to-day.

(60) The height of Mahāvīra is said to have been seven cubits. A cubit measures a foot and a half. Mahāvīra's height, then, was ten feet and six inches.

(61) Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthankara of the Jains lived between 777 B. C. to 877 B. C. His height was nine cubits or thirteen feet and six inches.

(62) Saṅghayanas or Articulation of joints are of six kinds, (i) Vajra-ṭṣabha-nārācha saṅghayana (ii) ṭṣabha-nārācha saṅghayana, (iii) Nārācha saṅghayana, (iv) Ardha-nārācha saṅghayana, (v) Kilikā, and (vi) Chhevathum.

Meanings:—Vajra=nail; ṭṣabha=covering; and Nārācha=two sides joined together. (1) Vajraṭṣabha-nārācha saṅghayana is that kind of body in which the joints of the bones are made, by putting the ends of the bones upon each other, covering them, and then nailing them tightly. (2) In ṭṣabha-nārācha-saṅghayana the joints are made by putting the ends of the bones together and covering them; but they are not nailed. (3) In Nārācha-saṅghayana, there are neither coverings nor nails. Only the ends of the bones are put together. (4)



As their bodies were built of stronger elements<sup>63</sup> they very early attained maturity from the sexual point of view and consequently married earlier than we do. Thirteen was the common age for marriage<sup>64</sup>.

Thirteen was also the year of the attainment of majority for a person. It will not be difficult to find instances of persons of this age who successfully acted as governors of provinces<sup>65</sup> and even of those who bore the burden of vast empires<sup>66</sup> and thus made their names immortal by their unflinching devotion to duty.

In Ardha-nārācha saṅghayana, the end of the bone on one side (only) holds tightly the end of the other bone instead of both holding each other tightly. (5) In Kilikā, the ends of the bones are joined by one nail passing through both. (6) In Chhevaṭhum, the bones cling together without the aid of nails. The joints in our body at present, are of the last type.

Saṅsthāna (or Saṅsthān)—Reciprocal proportion of limbs in the body—are also of six kinds:—

(1) Sama-chatusra Saṅsthān, (2) Nyagrodha-parimandala Saṅsthān, (3) Ādi Saṅsthān, (4) Vāmana Saṅsthān, (5) Kubja Saṅsthān, (6) Huṇḍaka Saṅsthān.

Meanings:—(1) Sama-chatusra-square-Saṅsthān is that in which the body measures exactly hundred and eight fingers of the person and in which a perfect square is formed when the person squats on the ground. (2) Nyagrodha-parimandala Saṅsthān means that type of body, the formation of which is like that of a banyan tree i. e. that part of the body which is above the navel is fine-looking and well proportioned, and that part which is below the navel is thin and void of symmetry. (3) In Ādi Saṅsthān, it is exactly opposite to Nyagrodha-parimandala Saṅsthān. (4) In Vāmana Saṅsthān, the body is well-proportioned upto the abdomen, but is not so above. (5) In Kubja Saṅsthān, it is just the opposite of Vāmana Saṅsthān. (6) In Huṇḍaka Saṅsthān, all the limbs of the body are out of proportion.

All the above six kinds of Saṅghayana and Saṅsthān are based on Jaina scriptures. The ascetics of ancient India could endure bitter cold, scorching heat, and heavy showers of rain, because their Saṅghayanas and Saṅsthānas were very much superior to ours.

(63) Elements forming the human body are ordinarily said to be seven; blood, flesh, bones, semen, skin etc.

(64) Gautama Buddha, Mahāvira and king Śreṇika, all these married at the age of thirteen or fourteen.

(65) Aśoka became the governor of Avanti at the age of fourteen.

(66) Emperor Priyadarshin, was crowned at the age of thirteen.



As a consequence of the people of that time being stronger and taller than the people of our time, the duration of human life too was longer than that of ours. In the sixth century B. C., an average human being did not die before hundred or hundred and ten.

**The duration of human life**

In the ninth century B. C. people lived even longer. Even though this was the ordinary duration of human life, instances of early death are not wanting<sup>67</sup> but these were exceptions and not the rule. We all know that as time has passed on, our lives have been shorter and shorter<sup>68</sup>.

On account of their simplicity and Nature's full bounty, means of livelihood were within the reach of all. People had not to toil night and day to keep their bodies and souls together. As a result, they occupied themselves with the thought of God and His marvellous creation. Religious preachers and preceptors did

**Religious mindedness and Religious tolerance**

not find difficult to gather round them a large number of disciples because the general inclination of those people was towards a pious life. There are even instances when people have abandoned worldly life without the external aid of religious preaching<sup>69</sup>.

Between ninth century B. C. and sixth century B. C., only two religions—the Vedic and the Jain—existed and held sway over the mind of the people. Any man belonging to any one of the four classes, followed a religion which appealed to him more strongly than the other. Of these two even, the Vedic religion was on the decline and the Brahmins had begun to make a speciality of it. At this stage was born Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddha religion, which, in many ways, resembles Jain religion. Generally people from all the four classes accepted Buddhism as

(67) According to Jaina Scriptures, a Jaina Ascetic named Manaka died at the age of twelve. (450 B. C. or 77 years after Mahāvīra died.)

(68) Experts of to-day have fixed twenty-three years as the average duration of life in modern India.

(69) Such people were called "Svayam-buddha" i.e. people who acquire true knowledge without the aid of any preceptor. Those who begin to think about real things by fixing their attention on a single thing are called "Pratyeka-buddha."



their faith, but on a minuter examination, we realise, that a great majority consisted of the people belonging to Kshatriya and Vaishya classes only. It was only Jainism which represented very fairly all the four classes in good proportion. Not only many of the Shudras were Jains, but many of the disciples of Mahāvīra were Brahmins. Thus the sphere of influence of the Jain religion was wider than that of both the other religions.

Religious tolerance and openmindedness were the order of the day. People observing different faiths mixed freely with one another and even kings did not hesitate to run to the aid of the people who observed a faith other than their own<sup>70</sup>.

It was not only kings who helped the people financially. From the people themselves sprung forth persons with philanthropic inclinations. But their charitable activities were influenced neither by class distinctions nor by religious differences. The only idea which appealed to them was to render help to those who needed it. The main reason for such a state of affairs was the plenty of the means of livelihood.

Ordinarily a man had only one wife, and vice versa; but a man could marry another woman in spite of his first wife being alive and in spite of his having children by her.

**Conjugal Relations** Neither social rules nor religion prohibited this.

Rich persons married many girls at the same time, and for kings a large number of wives was believed to be enhancing their royalty and prestige. Princes born of different queens were distinguished from one another by uniting the family name of their mothers with their own names<sup>71</sup>.

Thus, while man had all freedom and facilities about marriage, women could not do as they liked even after becoming widows.

(70) King Ajāśatru was a Jain. He is said to have got a pandal built at his own expense for an assembly of the Buddhists.

(71) Gautamiputra so-and-so meant the son of a mother who came from Gautama family. Similarly, Vashishṭhaputra so-and-so meant that the person was the son of a woman who came from the Vashishṭha family. Hence the words Gautami-putra and Vashisṭha-putra are used to denote their matronymics but not patronymics. A man did not marry a girl belonging to his own family. As the son was known by the family name of his mother, there was a great difference between the names of the father and of the son.



Widow remarriages, if not wholly prohibited, were allowed as exceptions. Only among Shudras, widow-remarriages were allowed without any restrictions.

At present the administration of a village is conducted by the village headman and the village council. Several such villages are grouped into a Taluka or a district which is under the jurisdiction of an officer called the Māmlatdār who manages affairs with the help of a staff and an office. Several districts are grouped together and is called a province which is placed under the supervision of an officer who is given the designation of the "Collector". Several such provinces are grouped together and placed under the searching eye of an officer called the "Commissioner." Over these all, we have Governors, Viceroys, and a Secretary of State for India, with their legislative assemblies and executive councils and Ministers for different departments. Such hierarchical official order though on a smaller scale, seems to have prevailed even in Ancient India. Titles and official designations of persons holding posts in the administrative departments are found in the literature of those times<sup>72</sup> though we do not know exact details about their powers and positions, duties and responsibilities. Nature and God Time smiled sweetly on those people, and so they did not bother with complicated official distinctions and definitions of the particular duties and powers of each officer. This does not mean that the people were intellectually inferior to us. (The reader is here referred to the paragraphs on Village Reconstruction, on ministers and councils and on the formation of guilds for the development of trade). Persons, whose intellectual powers were above the average and who were consequently respected in the society, had such responsibilities trust upon them, and they acquitted themselves worthily in their duties. A council of such persons was just like the Legislative Council or The House of Commons of to-day<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, on account of the

(72) Śresṭhin, Gṛhasthin, Bhāṇḍārik, Jethaka, Rajjuka, Jānapada, Paurasabhā, etc., are the words used in Buddhistic books. "Bhāṇḍāriks were also trusted with the work of hearing quarrels and giving decisions thereon. (C. H. I. p. 206).

(73) "Buddhistic India" p. 96:—"Most of the handicrafts had their guilds;



federal system of Government prevailing at that time, kings were called "Jāgirdārs," and a representative assembly of such kings or jāgirdārs had the same functions as the House of Lords of to-day. The duties of the officers of those days might have been different from the duties of the officers of to-day, but the difference is of degree and not of kind.

✓ One peculiarity deserves notice here. The kings themselves often presided over the meetings of legislative and executive councils, and thus kept themselves in close touch with all administrative affairs. As stated before, they also took keen interest in the investigation of crimes and thus facilitated the arduous task of the police officers, by supplying them with valuable information gained during their night-stralls in the city streets in disguise. Thus they justified themselves in being called the fathers and protectors of their subjects.

✓ Chāṇakya, the prime minister of Maurya Emperor Chandra-gupta, has compiled a monumental treatise on economics, holding the title of "Arthaśāstra." This treatise furnishes

**Sources of Revenue  
and Taxes**

ample evidence to prove that attempts were made to increase the revenue of the state from various sources, and particularly from the soil. But the time with which we are concerned is two hundred years before Arthaśāstra came into existence, and thus it is difficult to say whether the same conditions prevailed during that time. The author has not come across any book or literature of those times, which would furnish this much-wanted information. Even under these circumstances we have enough reasons to believe that there were no taxes on the people except fines inflicted on persons who committed

it was through these guilds that the king summoned the people on important occasions. The Aldermen or the Presidents of such guilds were important persons, wealthy and favourites at the court. The guilds were said to have powers of arbitration between the members of the guilds and their wives, and disputes between one guild and the other were under the jurisdiction of the Mahāsheṭhi, the Lord High Chancellor, who acted as a sort of chief Alderman over the Aldermen of the guilds," (See T. R. A. S. 1901, article by Mrs. R. Davis p. 863-868 ).



crimes<sup>74</sup>. State treasuries were always full to the brim, and it was seldom that the State had to incur and defray any extraordinary expenses. Even when such occasions arose, patriotic and rich citizens readily undertook to bear the burden, and thus save the ordinary and the poor from any extra taxation. People were happy, and financial crisis were very rare; consequently the State did not need to hoard money like a miser. In short, the administrative expense of the State was very low and the people were not harrassed with taxation for that. Nature was always merciful, and rainfall was regular and plentiful; famine were very rare. But from the time of king Śreṇika undesirable excess in rainfall and famines frequently visited the land, and from those times seems to have begun the custom of taxation. Even then, it is difficult to say how much time might have elapsed in establishing and regulating the custom. May be, two centuries might have elapsed and taxation might have begun from the time of Emperor Chandragupta.

As means of livelihood were ample, people did not bother to exploit the land fully; and they never had a keen desire to eat so many various things at a time. Rice was the staple food of the people and was grown everywhere in plenty on account of bountiful rainfall.

The statement that rice was the staple food of the people, should not lead any one to believe that farmers did not grow or did not know how to grow anything else. They did grow other corns, but India was not mainly an agricultural country as it is now. As the people of some of the western countries to-day grow enough corn to sustain them, and devote the rest of their time and energy to the development of industries and commerce, so also in ancient India people devoted much of their time to the exploitation of the mineral wealth of their country, and exporting those minerals, manufactured or raw, to the foreign countries, and thus earning

Method of Exchange  
and kinds of Wealth

(74) The statement of Herodotus that a certain amount of tribute was levied from Takṣaśilā, a provinces of Gandhāra country, (vide CH. IV) certainly is about sixth century B. C.; but this is not taxation by an Indian king on his subjects; this is a tribute levied by a foreign invader from an Indian king, as a fine.



wealth. Forest products and spices were in abundance and were also exported in ships to foreign countries and thus were a powerful source of income to the traders. We do not know how the people bought and sold commodities or what were the means of exchange. Bartering must have been common; and precious metals like gold and silver did exist in those times<sup>75</sup>, and it is easy to guess that they might have been in use as a means of exchange, because both in Jaina, and Buddhistic literature and in descriptions of historians like Herodotus<sup>76</sup> we come across words like "Golden Dust." This method must have existed before the time of king Bimbisāra. As time went on, and God Time exerted His influence in limiting means of livelihood, thus necessitating the formation of guilds, we can imagine that coins of gold and silver<sup>77</sup> might have been made to make exchange easier. As there were no necessary mechanical appliances—which are in use in modern mints "punch-marked" coins must have been first made<sup>78</sup>.

When foreign trade was thus in full swing, some device to keep accounts and to know the whereabouts of one's mother-land while residing in foreign countries for trade purposes, must have been in use. Both language and script, in some form, must have existed. The letters of those times resemble more the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet; this script was known as "Brāhmī"<sup>79</sup> in eighth century B. C. and as "Māgadhi" after that. Of course, we do not know on what the script was written. The memory of the people of those times was very powerful and they were in the

Language, Script  
and the art of  
Writing

(75) The reader is here referred to f. n. 11 in Chapter one.

(76) See f. n. 74 above.

(77) Cheaper coins made from copper, lead and other mixtures of metals, came into existence much later than the time of king Śreṇika.

(78) For further information on coins see vol. II. CH. II & III.

(79) We have reasons to believe that the sages who compiled Shrutis of the Vedic religion, came from the region around a lake named Hamāma in Afghanistan. This region was known as Śakasthān or the residence of the Śaka people in those times. Their language was "Brāhmī". The reader will understand from this that Hindus originally were residents of Śakasthān.



habit of committing things to memory<sup>80</sup> rather than writing them down<sup>81</sup>. Thus there was little need of writing and less thought of materials for writing. The inscriptions of those times lead one to believe that important events which deserved immortality were commemorated on rocks and pillars<sup>82</sup>. They, at the same time, prove that there was a language spoken and written by the people, and that they were not uncivilized or illiterate. They did not bother much about writing materials because, as explained above, they did not need them, and thus ink, paper etc., might not have existed in those times. But we need not believe that the people were illiterate.

There were sixteen different kingdoms in India in those times; and it is possible that each kingdom might have had a language of its own. But in the east was the country of Magadha which was a centre of religious activities and also the place where the greater part of the lives of the great religious preachers was spent. Consequently greater importance was attached to the language of this country and it was called "Māgadhī,"<sup>83</sup> from the name of the country of its origin. The learned men of to-day call it "Prākṛta". This language must have been in use, more or less, throughout India, because traders of this country travelled throughout India, in large groups and caravans. Kamboja was the name given to the region in the north of modern Afghanistan and the

(80) The knowledge which is gained by hearing and remembering is called "Śruta Gnāna". Śrutis are so called because they were heard and committed to memory; their antiquity is proved by this.

In Jainism, too, such knowledge is called "Śruta" knowledge. Persons who acquired knowledge in this way were called "Śruta Kevali." Sthūlabhadraji, a contemporary of emperors Chandragupta and Bindusāra, was a "Śruta Kevali".

(81) The reader is here referred to a paragraph "Were the ancient people illiterate"—in chapter one of this book.

(82) Mānikyāl pillar-inscription in Gāndhāra and Kamboja is believed to have been erected in eighth century B. C. The inscriptions of emperor Priyadarshin are of fourth century B. C.

(83) The original scriptural books of Jainism and Buddhism are written in Prākṛta or Māgadhī.



language of that country was called Kharoṣṭhi<sup>84</sup>. This language resembles Prākṛta or Māgadhī language; but its chief peculiarities are seen on the rock inscriptions of Shāhjānghī and Mañśerā by Emperor Priyadarshin. Though these inscriptions date from third century B. C. yet Pāṇini's grammar—which dates fifth century B. C.—furnishes rules about the language. This Pāṇini was a native of Gāndhāra, the modern Punjab. The countries of Gāndhāra and Kamboja were nothing but provinces of one mighty empire,<sup>85</sup> and were in close touch with each other, consequently influencing each other's language. This country later came into possession of the Bactrians and then was ruled by emperors like Demetrius and Menander and Kshtrapas like Bhūmaka and Nahapāṇa. They added many new words to the original language.

During this whole time Sanskrit language, on which all these languages are based, was not much in use. Learned men might have been using it. It was revived by the famous commentator Patañjali in the times of the Śunga dynasty.

When no body cared to bother about keeping accounts, it was even rarer to care for history or political records. As federal system of Government prevailed, no king was fired with an ambition for territorial expansion.

Was there any Era  
in existence ?

We have given above details about the art of writing. Life was far from complicated and questions seldom arose for the solutions of which people had to approach the king. If an event was considered worth remembrance and if it was thought proper to remember its date,<sup>86</sup> it was united with an event which was happened in the lives of the great religious prophets.<sup>87</sup> From ninth to sixth century B. C. only two religions existed. Buddhism came into existence in the fifth century B. C. People began an

(84) This region is to be considered as the birthplace of any man speaking the Kharoṣṭhi language. This language was spoken in the region about the Hindukusha mountains and these people are known as yonas. This was also the birth place of Demetrius, Menander and Euthedemus.

(85) See Chapter IV.

(86) See f. n. 11, Chapter I, "The paragraph on land."

(87) Compare the paragraph, "Were the ancient Indians illiterate ?" in Chapter I.



Was there any Era in existence ?

era with the death of such a prophet and dated events that way. This system was used by Jains and Buddhists only, and not by the followers of the Vedic religion because no king accepted that faith, except the kings of the Śunga dynasty, who have no rock inscriptions to their credit to furnish us with the proof of the existence of any Vedic Era. Instances are found of the Buddha Era being used in Buddhistic books; while many of the emperors were Jains and have many inscriptions<sup>88</sup> to their credit. In these inscriptions the era used is that which was begun with the Nīrvāṇa (going to heaven) of Lord Mahāvīra. No king was keenly desirous of making his name immortal through the initiation of an era connected with his name. If an emperor thought any event worth the remembrance of posterity, he got the description of that event inscribed on a pillar or a rock, and in it was mentioned that the event took place so many years after the Nīrvāṇa of his religious Prophet. From this it becomes clear that kings and emperors thought that their religious preceptors were more worthy of remembrance than they themselves were<sup>89</sup>. Sometimes this devotion to religion and religious preceptors amounted to orthodoxy<sup>90</sup>.

The indifference of the kings and emperors to posthumous fame about them continued as long as they had not come into contact with any foreign nations. Even in the coins, they never cared to get their names mentioned<sup>91</sup>. With the beginnings of the

(88) In the Sahasram-inscription of Emperor Priyadarshin the number of the year is 256; in Hāthigumphā-inscription of Emperor Khārvel the number of the year is 103. These two numbers refer to the era begun in the name of Mahāvīra because both the emperors were Jains.

(89) Due to this reason only, the kings got the religion-signs inscribed on their coins. To show more reverence to their religion, they got their family-sign inscribed on the reverse side of the coin, and the religion-sign on the obverse side of the coin.

(90) Devotion to religion, changes into despotic orthodoxy when general welfare of the people is disregarded for the sake of a religious belief,—or intolerance is shown towards people following any other religion. Persecution and repression are signs of orthodoxy. Emperor Priyadarshin illustrates reasonable devotion to religion, while emperors of the Śunga dynasty illustrate orthodoxy.

(91) See supra f. n. 89.





foreign invasions<sup>92</sup> and the subsequent contact with the foreigners, Indian kings and people began to adopt some of the customs of these foreign invaders. One of the customs, imitated by the kings, was to have their own likenesses inscribed on the coins, and the second was to begin eras connected with their names. Thus religious eras began to fade into insignificance and kingly eras began to prop up like mushrooms<sup>93</sup>. (Details about coins and eras are given in chapters specially devoted to them).

It is useless to think of a postal system of communication when letter-writing itself was non-existent. Oral messages were sent by people through caravans which travelled from place to place. Special political messages were sent by kings and ministers through a specially appointed set of people who were called "Dūtas". (Messengers). The present system of keeping ambassadors constantly in foreign countries did not prevail at that time. That custom seems to have begun in India after the Indian kings came into contact with the Persian and the Greek emperors.

Variety in clothes was as much in fashion as it is to-day. Cotton and silken clothes of all colours, full of embroidery, were worn by the people. Clothes were worn according to a man's position in life. One peculiarity deserves notice here. If we look at the pictures of ancient kings and queens we shall notice that the upper part of their bodies is unclad<sup>94</sup>. We do not know the reason why they did so. Ornaments were also of various kinds. To-day the male-members of the society do not like to put on ornaments; in ancient

(92) The first foreign invasion was made by a Persian emperor in the 6th century B. C.; while another was made by Alexander in the 4th century B. C. The first foreign invader who settled in India was Euthedemus, the father of the Bactrian emperor Demetrius. But he had gone away to his own country after a short time, while Demetrius and Menander had settled for good in India.

(93) The first king who started an era in his own name was Vīra Vikramāditya Śakāri. Some learned historians believe that Mauryan Era existed before this Vikrama Era, but are there any proofs to justify the belief?

(94) See the pictures of Māyādevī's dreams and the pillar of king Ajātaśatru in the book entitled "Bhārahut stūpa". by Sir A. Cunningham.



India, even kings put on a number of ornaments to decorate their bodies. This might have been due to the immense wealth which they possessed, and for which there were not so many uses. Women put on more ornaments than men did. The shape of the ornaments was dependent on the social customs of the times. Ornaments were chiefly made of gold and silver.

Common custom was to burn the dead bodies. We do not find any instances of bodies being buried. No information is forthcoming as to what was done with the ashes of a body already burnt. The remains of great religious prophets and preachers were preserved for a long time<sup>95</sup>. Specially their teeth, bones, hair or any other parts of the body which would not decompose for a long time, were preserved in stone or jewel boxes<sup>96</sup>. These boxes were preserved at the place where the bodies were burnt<sup>97</sup>, or they were removed to some other place. Over these boxes were erected big edifices which became the centres of pilgrimage for the people.

Emperor Priyadarshin got commemoration structures built on the places where his kith and kin and his religious preceptors died. For details the reader is referred to the chapters on Priyadarshin, who lived in the 3rd century B. C.

All the details given in this chapter are to be understood as describing the conditions prevailing in the 6th century B. C. The same conditions might have prevailed during the three hundred years before 6th century B. C., or they might have begun in 6th century B. C.<sup>98</sup> and might have developed fully later on. In short, 6th century B. C. is the centre from the view point of time.

If we compare all those details with the customs prevailing in modern India, we shall be able to see that the differences are of

(95) To have some idea about such remains the reader is referred to the chapters on Priyadarshin.

(96) See f. n. 95.

(97) The Sānchi stūpa furnishes instances of both kinds. For further information see the chapters on Emperor Priyadarshin.

(98) Modern history of India can be said to begin with the sixth century B. C. The time before that can be said to be the prehistoric age.



degree but not of kind, showing us that even with the passage of twenty five hundred years, fundamental conditions have not much changed.

Mr. Hornel once delivered a very interesting lecture from the presidential chair of the annual meeting of Royal Asiatic Society for Bengal. He said that Buddhism and Jainism were respectable rivals in ancient India; but in modern India, Buddhism has disappeared while Jainism has continued to prevail. The chief reason for this persistence of Jainism must be due to some inherent elements in the faith itself. Not only has Jainism continued to exist but its beliefs and rites are adaptable, even in our own time with very little changes. This persistence reflects creditably on the solid foundations of the faith.

All the social rules and regulations have their origin in the reign of king Śreṇika<sup>99</sup>. He had a proper and powerful helper in his son Abhayakumāra. King Śreṇika derived his name due to his formation of guilds because the word Śreṇika itself means the "builder of the guilds". His real name was Bimbisāra. He was inspired to form these guilds by the great Jaina prophet, Mahāvīra. He changed his faith from Buddhism to Jainism, only because he was impressed by the religious principles of Mahāvīra. For further information, the reader is referred to the chapters on Śreṇika. In short, all the social structures and customs originated with Mahāvīra who possessed the knowledge of Past, Present and Future,—that knowledge which is called "Kaivalya Gnāna" in Jainism. It is no wonder that a religion started by such a personality is bound to be everlasting<sup>100</sup>.

(99) History of India can be said to have begun with the reign of king Śreṇika (see f. n. 98).

(100) The author requests the reader not to think that the author has a partiality for Jainism. He is a worshipper of truth and truth only. Whatever has appealed to him as truth has appeared in these pages. At least Mr. Hornel had no reason to be partial towards Jainism.





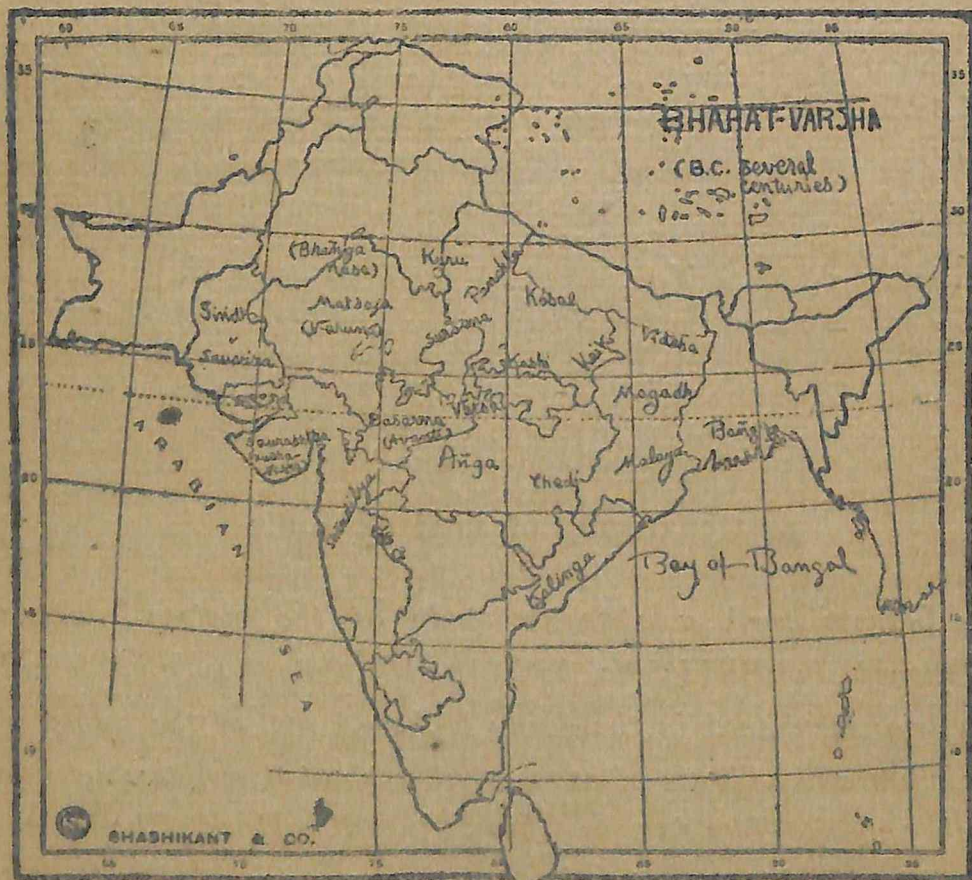
## Chapter III

### Geography of Ancient India

**Synopsis:**—A comparative study of the sixteen countries mentioned in Buddhistic books and twenty-five and a half countries mentioned in the Jaina books—A list of the names of the cities and villages of each country; short descriptive notes on each country—The famous Chinese traveller Huen Chang and his list of eighty count. in the seventh century A. D.—Seventy out of these eighty countries which were in India proper and information about them.



We have seen in chapter one that Bhārata-varṣa was divided into two parts—Northern India and Southern India. The ranges of the Vindhyā mountain lie between them. Because the people of Northern India were more civilized than the people of Southern India, Northern India was named “Āryadesha or Āryāvarta” and Southern India was named “Dakṣiṇā-patha or Anāryadesha.” The scriptures of all religions assert that all great men were born in Northern India or “Āryadesha”<sup>1</sup> According to Jaina scriptures this “Āryāvarta” is said to have consisted of twenty-five and a half countries. It would require volumes to describe them all in detail and its reading too would be tiresome. So we shall try to describe them as briefly as possible. Some information will also be given of the countries mentioned in Buddhistic books; we shall also make a comparative study of them both.



(1) Such great men are given the name of “Śalākā Puruṣa” in Jaina Scriptures. They number in all 63, like this:—(i) 24 Tirthāṅkaras (ii) 12 Chakravartins or Sovereign Emperors, (iii) 9 Vāsudevas, (iv) 9 Prativāsudevas, (v) 9 Balāhadras (Nārāyaṇas or Rāmas) = 63.



(3) Jain Books	(2) Buddha Books	(4) Name of the Country	Name of the Capital	Number of towns	
				In very old times	Later
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	Magadha	Rājgrhī	6500	6600
2	2	Aṅga <sup>(5)</sup> [ <sup>1</sup> ]	Champānagarī <sup>[2]</sup>	500	5000
3	3	Baṅga	Tāmraliptī <sup>[3]</sup>	50 (A)	5000
4	4	Kalinga(6)	Kānchanpura <sup>[4]</sup>	100 (A)	1000
5	5	Kāśī	Vaṇārasī <sup>[5]</sup>	192	1920
6	6	Kośal <sup>[6]</sup>	Sāketpura	908	9080

(2-3) These numbers will make it easy to understand what different names were given to the same country in Buddha books and in Jaina books. For instance, in the Jaina list No. 8 is Kuśāvarta and No. 11 is Saurāṣṭra. The number for both in the Buddha list is, 11. So Saurāṣṭra was the name given in the Buddha books both to No. 8 and No. 11., of the Jaina books. Similarly in the Jaina list, No. 7 is Kurū, No. 9 is Pāṇchāla, and No. 10 is Jaṅgala. The number for all these three in the Buddha list is No. 9. So Pāṇchāla was the name given in the Buddha books to three countries of the Jaina books. Same is the case with No. 1 and No. 15 of the Jaina books. Both these are known as Magadha in the Buddha books.

(4) Andhra or Āndhra is not mentioned in this list. Two explanations can be forwarded:—(i) This list refers to Northern India, while Āndhra was in Southern India, and was considered uncivilized or only half-civilized. (ii) The name Āndhra might have come into existence after 6th century B. C. (?) The name Āndhra is mentioned in Mahābhārata. Might it not be that the name Āndhra might have been dropped by the people for some reasons for some centuries, and then again revived? These twenty-five names of the countries are so old that it is difficult to fix their boundaries. The author has tried his best to arrange them in order, but his decision is not to be taken as final.

(5) For the explanation of this read f. n. 3 and 4 and see the map also.

(6) Vide infra.

(A) Wherever this sign (A) occurs (it occurs nine times), the number of towns and villages is below hundred. The reader might wonder how could that be reasonable when the number of towns and villages elsewhere is more than



Countries of Aryāvarta (India)

Chapter

7	9	Kurū <sup>[7]</sup>	Gajapura <sup>[8]</sup>	87325	8730
8	11	Kuśāvarta <sup>[9]</sup>	Soripura <sup>[10]</sup>	4083	14080
9	9	Pāñchāla	Kāmpilyapura	383	3830
10	9	Jañgala <sup>[11]</sup>	Ahichchhatra	145	1450
11	11	Saurāstra <sup>[12]</sup>	Dvārāvati <sup>[13]</sup>	6805	6805
12	12	Videha <sup>[14]</sup>	Mithilā <sup>[15]</sup>	8 (A)	...
13	13	Vatsa	Kauśāmbī <sup>[16]</sup>	28 (A)	2800
14	25	Śāṇḍilya	Nandipura <sup>[17]</sup>	10 (A)	1000
15	1	Malaya <sup>[18]</sup>	Bhaddilapura <sup>[19]</sup>	700	7000
16	16	Matsya <sup>[22]</sup>	Vairāṭa <sup>[23]</sup>	80 (A)	8000
17	16	Varuṇa <sup>[21]</sup>	Uchchhapurī <sup>[20]</sup>	24 (A)	2400
18	18	Daśārṇa <sup>[24]</sup>	Mrtikāvati <sup>[25]</sup>	1892	1892
19	19	( <sup>6</sup> ) Chedi <sup>[26]</sup>	Śuktimati <sup>[27]</sup>	6800	68000
20	20	Sindha	Vittabhaya-		
		Sauvīra <sup>[28]</sup>	paṭṭana <sup>[29]</sup>	68500	68500

a thousand. The author assures the reader that they are true numbers and are fixed after a study of a lifetime. The reader might wonder how provinces with Mathurā, Pāvāpurī, Tāmraliptī, Vañāraśī, Mithilā and Kauśāmbī, etc. which had cities with large populations, could have only a few villages and towns to boast of. Two explanations can be given for this : ( i ) A large number does not always denote more population. The population of villages was very meagre, and a thousand villages combined could not boast of as large population as a single large city like Kauśāmbī, Vañāraśī, or Pāvāpurī. In short, a large number of villages in a province does not guarantee its superiority from the point of population or revenue over provinces having a smaller number of villages. ( ii ) A portion of a country might have been separated from the country proper, and constituted a different country with a different name, on account of its political significance, as has happened the case with the modern province of Delhi, which was originally a part of the Punjab. In short, the reader is requested to labour under no erroneous conception on account of the wide variety in the numbers of villages in provinces.

(7) For the description, vide no. 21 in the list of Map no. 2.

(8) See the description of No. 19 of the list, further.

Foot notes for the map on page 44

[1] See map No. 2; for the description of No. 41.

[2] See No. 1.

[3] See map No. 2; for the description of No. 45.



# Estimate and comparison of population

21	21	Sūrasena	Mathurā	68 (A)	6800
22	13	( <sup>6</sup> ) Aṅga[ <sup>30</sup> ]	Pāvāpurī	36 (A)	3600
23	13	( <sup>6-7</sup> ) Māsa	Pūrivattāh or Pūrivarta[ <sup>31</sup> ]	142	1420
24	24	Kuṇāla[ <sup>32</sup> ]	Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī	63053	6305
25	25	( <sup>8</sup> ) Lāṭa[ <sup>33</sup> ]	Koṭivarā[ <sup>34</sup> ]	2103	2103
25½	—	Kaika[ <sup>35</sup> ] (Ketaka)	Śvetāmbikā	Half	
Total				250535	252315

Both in very old times and later, the number of towns and villages in the twenty-five and half countries of Āryāvarta was two hundred and fifty thousand. We also know that Southern India is smaller in area than Northern India, and is full of dense forests. Consequently it must have been very sparsely populated. So, the whole of ancient India must not have contained more than four hundred thousand villages. At present there are seven hundred and fifty

An estimate of the population of those times and its comparison with the modern times

[4] See the description of No. 50 (Map No. 2).

[5] The Sanskrit name is Banāras. See the description of No. 29 of Map No. 2.

[6] See map No. 2; note on No. 51.

[7] Kurū means the country of the Kauravas.

[8] Gaja=Elephant; Pura=City. The other name is Hastipura or Hastināpura.

[9] Kuśāvarta=Kuśa+Āvarta. Kuśa=Grass, and Āvarta=covered with i. e. that country which is covered with grass. The regions around the Girnar mountain and the Gir forest itself are of this type. They are under the jurisdiction of the Junāgaḍha State at present.

(Mr. De, in his Ancient Geography of India, says that according to Mr. Todd, Kuśāvarta means Dwārkā. I think he is mistaken, because Kuśāvarta is just near the borders of the Vindhya mountains).

[10] Śauripura=Śauri+Pura; "Shauri" seems to have been derived from "Chauri" and "Chauri" is the abbreviation of "Chora"; so "Chorapura" or the modern "Chorvād" (which is 12 miles to the south-east of Junāgaḍha



thousand towns and villages. One reason of this great increase in the number of towns and villages might be the economic and financial break-down of a very large city which might have formerly been a very great business and manufacturing centre.

and where was established the kingdom of Samudravijaya, the father of the twenty-second Jaina Tirthāṅkara Neminātha). Some scholars believe that this place is situated 47 miles from Agrā in an impenetrable forest. It is 12 miles from Śekohābāda, a station on the E. I. Ry.

[11] Jāṅgala (See map No. 2 the description of Nos. 69 and 70).

[12] Saurāśtra—See “Buddhiprakāsha” (a quarterly published by the Gujarāta Vernacular Society), No. 1. 1934. Pp. 48 to 55, for details regarding the area and the situation of this country.

No. 10 Śauripura was included in Saurāśtra. Vāsudeva, the father of Śree Kṛṣṇa, and Samudravijaya, the father of Śree Neminātha, and other eight brothers, (in all ten), are famous in history with the name “Dasha-dashārha” (all deserving ten). All these were the ornaments of the Yādava family. They had settled in Kathiawar from Mathurā.

[13] Dvārāvati or Dvārāmātī; the original name is Kuśasthālī or Ānarta-pura. For further information vide p. 48 to 55 and 119 to 129 of Buddhiprakāsha mentioned above.

[14] Videha—(See map No. 2, description of No. 38) and f. n. No. (6).

[15] Mithilā is many times confused with Mathurā, Mathurā is the capital of Sūrasena country (see No. 21 in the list). Mithilā is the capital of Videha country. (See No. 14 in the list).

[16] Kauśāmbī—(Map No. 2, No. 31).

[17] Nandipura or Nāndera, the capital of the modern Rājpiplā State. Gurjar kshatriyas of the Daddā family ruled over this territory from 6th to 8th century A. D. The father of the famous Jaina monk Mallavādisuri, who had vanquished the famous Buddha monk Dharmottarkirti in religious discussion in the assembly hall of the Vallabhi State, was of this Daddā family. (Vide p. 45, of Jainadharma Prakāsha, Shrāvana number of the Vikrama year 1985, in the article containing information on Vardhamānpurī).

[18] Malaya—and

[19] Bhaddilapura.

It is written on page 12 of De's “Ancient Geography of India” that the country in which the Pārśvanātha mountain is situated was called Malla (according to Mr. Yule) i. e. the region around Hajāribāg and Mānbhūm; but according to Purāṇas or mythological books two countries bear this name, one



When people did not find means of livelihood in a city, they disintegrated and migrated to habitable areas of land and founded new towns and villages there. Dense forests of the former times became thinner and thinner due to famines. They were also

in the east and one in the west. One of them contains the Malaya mountain which is in Chhotānāgpur (See above). The other is Bhaddilapura which is very near Rājgṛhī, the capital of Magadha. So Mr. De's Malladesha might be the Malaya country and its capital might have been Bhaddilapura. If it is so, the regions of Singbhūm and Sambalpura, over and above Hajāribāg and Mānbhūm must be included in it.

[20-21] Map No. 2 No. 63.

[22] Matsya—It is consisted of the modern Śekhavatī province, and the western portion of the Alwar State. According to my belief, this kingdom stretched upto the west coast of the Arvalli ranges, and included in it the major portion of the Jodhapura State. Its capital was Virāṭanagara, where now stands the rock inscription of Bābhṛā-Vairāṭa of Emperor Priyadarshin. Uttarādevī, the wife of Arjun's son Abhimanyu, was a princess of the king of this Vairāṭa. The Pāṇḍavas hid themselves for a year in the ranges of Arvalli.

[23] See f. n. No. 22.

[24] Daśārṇa—I think this must be near Bhilsa (In Purātattva Vol. I p. 45., it is written that the eastern portion of the Avanti country was Vidiśā which at present is called Bhilsa and is in the Bhopāla State. This conclusion is supported by the story that Āryamahāgiriji lived with his brother Āryasuhastiji (the religious preceptor of Emperor Priyadarshin) in Avanti; but because he disobeyed him, he went to stay on the Gajendrapada mountain in Daśārṇa country, (Gaja=elephant; Gajendra=the best among the elephants or Airāvata; Gajendrapada=the mountain at the base or on the top of which is the foot-print of Airāvata, the best of the elephants. From this we understand that these places must have been near each other.

Hence we come to the conclusion that a large foot-print of the elephant must have been inscribed at the foot of the Gajendrapada mountain, just as a huge elephant is inscribed at the foot of the Jagauḍa and Dhauli mountains of the Kalinga country (see the paragraph on the inscription in the chapters on Emperor Priyadarshin).

[25] I am at a loss to make any definite statement about this city.

[25-27] Information about this is given in the chapter on Chedi dynasty.

[28-29] Sindh and Vīṭṭabhayapaṭṭaṇa—See further the paragraph on Sindh-Sauvira country.



destroyed by men by cutting trees<sup>9</sup>. Thus more land was made habitable, and new towns and villages were constructed on this new land. This is the secret of the rapid increase in the number of towns and villages.

Buddha books containing information about ancient India have been translated into English<sup>10</sup>. In those books, sixteen kingdoms are said to have existed in the time of Gautama Buddha<sup>11</sup>. The names of all the sixteen are not given. Only

[30] Map No. 2 description of No. 32.

[31] No information is forthcoming about the situation of this. In R. W. W. Vol. I P. 179, we find a description of Pāriyātra. Compare it with this.

[32] I have not come across any region bearing this name, but the very name brings into my mind Kuṣāla, the son of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, and the father of Emperor Priyadarshin. He had become blind. We do not know what connection might, the account of his life, have with Śrāvastī.

[33] Lāṭa—Once the boundaries of this country were as follows:—Pālanpur in the north. Surat in the south, Godhrā in the east and Cambay in the west. From this we can know what territory was included in the Lāṭa country.

[34] Koṭivarśa—I cannot definitely locate it, but it might have modern Vadnagar or Cambay, because this place is famous from very old times.

[35] The name of this territory appears to be strange. The name of its capital, however, is Śwetāmbikā. If this is another name for Śwetāmbī, we can say that this territory might have been what is now called Behrech, through which flows the river Raptī, and near which Mahāvīra had to undergo the hardships inflicted on him by Sangamdev.

[36] Compare f. n. No. 35.

(9) Even at present, the tendency is to cut down forests and make the land open. That, famine increases and water decreases due to this, is accepted by the scientists of to-day.

(10) See, "Records of the Western World, Vo. I and II by Rev. S. Beal. These volumes are considered to be the translations of the descriptions of the famous Chinese traveller Huen Chang. See also "Buddhist India" by Prof. R. Davis, p. 23.

(11) Vide p. 29 of the "Early History of India" by Vincent Smith, 4th edition.



eight are described. Moreover, these descriptions do not have any political significance. Hence, we are at a loss to decide how much importance ought to be attached to them from the view point of history. Yet because these books are easily available at present, they deserve some attention here.

All Buddhist books which contain information about ancient India are composed of descriptions written by various Chinese travellers in India. Some of these books have been, more or less, translated into English by scholars.

**Information from Buddha books**

We should remember one thing here. We are here concerned with 5th and 6th century B. C. when Lord Buddha himself lived; while all these Chinese travellers had come to India almost after a thousand years or even later. Their descriptions may contain truth, and nothing but the whole truth, but they throw little light on the age with which we are here concerned. One instance will suffice to convince the reader as to the truth of the above statement. In these books, these travellers have stated that the number of independent kingdoms in India was eighty instead of the original sixteen. Of course, many of them were dependent and many of them were situated within the limits of the bigger kingdoms. If we enter into details and ignore such kingdoms of a later growth, we shall come to the conclusion that sixteen is the right number of kingdoms at the time of Buddha. All other names of kingdoms are of a later origin<sup>12</sup>.

Thus sixteen was the original number of kingdoms in 6th. century B. C. They disintegrated and developed into eighty, chiefly due to two reasons:—(i) Sixteen is the number of kingdoms in Āryadesha or Northern India only; while in eighty kingdoms are

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(12) Even these sixteen kingdoms faded into insignificance in the time of the emperors of the Maurya and the Śunga dynasties, when something like sovereign autocracy was established by these emperors throughout India. After that, Republican and Democratic states came into existence and many new states or kingdoms were established; and thus the number might have risen upto 80.



included the kingdoms of Southern India also. (ii) We have stated in Chapter one, that Kaliyuga was advancing day by day and God Time was exerting His baneful influence. Hence the tendency of the people was towards division and separation and not towards union<sup>13</sup>. Nature was gradually becoming less merciful, and famines were increasing in number; forests were destroyed; whole areas of land were becoming plain and barren; swarms of people were wandering here and there in search of the means of livelihood, and were establishing new kingdoms on these new lands. Thus the number of kingdoms might have increased, and the distinction between Ārya (civilised) portion and Anārya (uncivilized) portion was lost for ever.

Out of these sixteen kingdoms, three were in every way superior to the remaining thirteen. They were (i) Kamboja-Rāṣṭra (ii) Sindh-Sauvīra and (iii) Magadha Rāṣṭra. The first two were greater in area than the third, which was more powerful than the first two, from both the political and religious points of view. The people of Magadha were more cultured and civilized than the people of the other two countries, because they had come into close contact with great religious prophets and preachers.

First, we shall briefly describe all the sixteen kingdoms. Then we shall show how they were brought under the sovereign authority of one vast empire, and how the federal system of Government was replaced by the unitary system of Government<sup>14</sup>. I shall here attempt to give, side by side, the names of all the eighty kingdoms<sup>15</sup> to give an idea to the reader how one ancient kingdom broke into so many smaller kingdoms, and also what names were given to the kingdoms of the 5th century A. D. in the 5th century B. C.

(13) See f. n. 12.

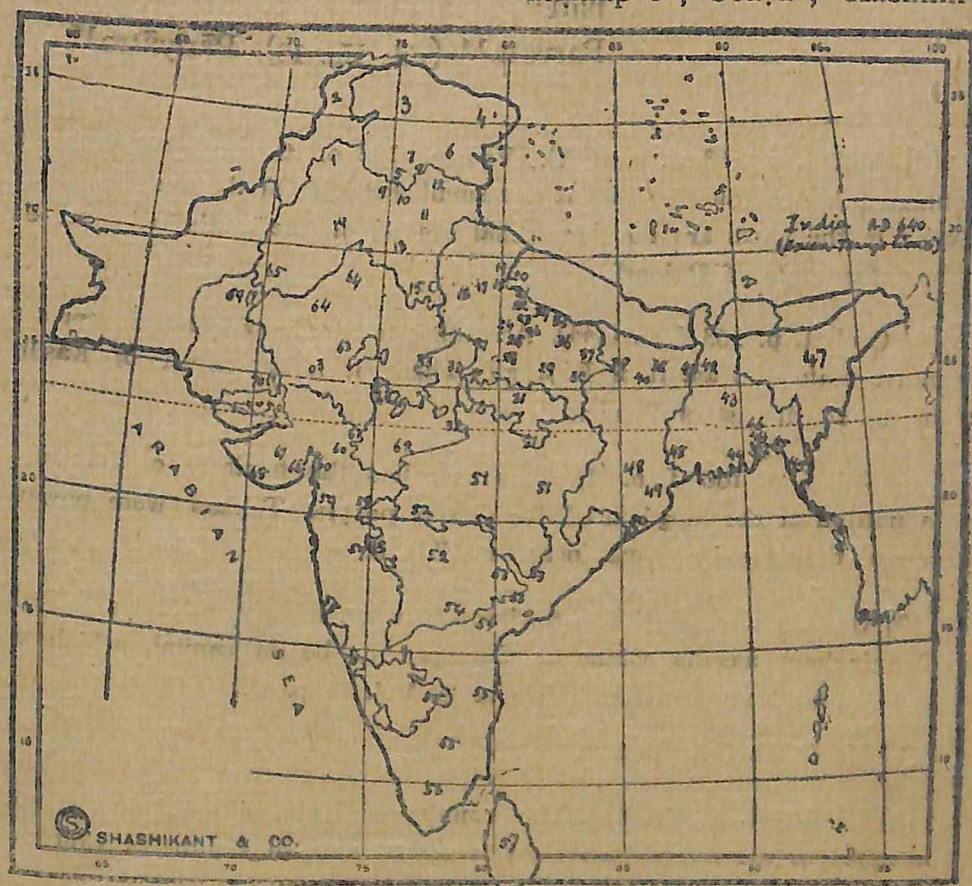
(14) Decentralization.

(15) All these names are taken from Rev. S. Beal's "Records of the Western World".



1. Gāndhāra.

(16) Takṣaśilā<sup>1</sup>, Udyān<sup>2</sup>, Bolor<sup>3</sup>,  
 Simhapur<sup>4</sup>, Uraṣa<sup>5</sup>, Kāshmir<sup>6</sup>,



(16) From here begins the footnotes on the map on this page.

[1] (Vol. I. P. 136 f. n. 43). This is to be understood as a village named Hasan Abdal which is eight miles in the north west of Shāhdari.

[2] (Vol. I. P. 119 f. n. (1). This is situated in the north of Peshawar on the bank of the river Swāt; but all the mountainous territory around Hindu-kusha and the Chitral country are included in it.

[3] (Vol. I. P. 135 f. n. (40). This includes Bālti and Bātistan (a part of Kashmir.)

[4] (Vol. I. P. 143 f. n. (69) It is one of the following three places:—  
 (i) Takī or Narsinha, (ii) Sangohi (iii) Ketakṣa; Sir Cunningham favours the third place. Hu-en-Chāng had visited this place with Jaina pilgrims.

[5] This is the grassy reign called Zārā, between the rivers Sindhu and Zolum.

[6] Very large territory. Its old name was Kāshyap-pura (See Vol. I. page 248 f. n. 87). In it was a great river named Vatastā.



Punachha<sup>7</sup>, Rājpurī<sup>8</sup>, Takka<sup>9</sup>, Chhinpatī<sup>10</sup>, Jālandhar<sup>11</sup>, Kulut<sup>12</sup>, Śatādrū<sup>13</sup>, Parvata<sup>14</sup> (vide No. 12), Pāriyātra<sup>15</sup>.

[7] (Vol. I. p. 163 f. n. (141). (Vide p. 128 of the geography by Sir Cunningham). According to him it is a small district. On the west is the river Zelum. On the north are the Pīrpanchāl ranges, on the south and south-east is the native state of Rajourī.

[8] (Vol. I. p. 163 f. n. (144). According to Sir Cunningham, it represents the native state of Rājāurī or Rājāpurī which is in the south of Kāshmir and in the south east of Punāch.

[9] (Vol. I. p. 166 f. n. (1). This is called the territory of Bāhikā. It was a portion of the kingdom of the Gurjar people. Takkas were powerful people and their residence was near the Chināb.

[10] (P. 173 f. n. (20). The territory between the rivers Rāvi and Satluj. Sir Cunningham asserts Chine or Chinigarī to be its capital, which was nearly 11 miles from Amritsar. (Vide A. S. Vol. 14 p. 4).

[11] Needs no introduction.

[12] (P. 173 f. n. No. 31). The country of Kulu, situated in the north of the valley of the river Vyās. That territory is called Kālūt or Kolūka.

[13] According to Sir Cunningham, even Rev. Beal is inclined to call it "Red District." It is identified with the district named Laḍāk. I am of the opinion that both of them are mistaken, because in the south of Kālūt is the river Satluj and its circumference is from 300 to 400 miles, while Laḍāk is far in the north of Kālūt, and its area is two thousand miles. Secondly the word "Śatādrū" suggests the river Satluj, while Laḍāk is situated far away.

[14] It is 700 Li. away in the north-east of Multān. I am of the opinion that it is the modern Montgomery district, the capital of which is said to be 20 Li. in area. It might also be the town of Harappā, where research work is being conducted at present. So this region may possibly be Parvata (See Vol. II. p. 275 f. n. 87). Pāṇini has described Parvata as a part of that portion of the Punjab which contains Takśasīlā and other districts (I. A. Vol. I. p. 22).

[15] (Vol. I. p. 179 f. n. 45). It is 100 miles in the west of Mathurā. Rev. Beal suggests it to be "Vairāṭa". I differ from this opinion because in the original book (p. 178 it is stated to be 800<sup>2</sup> Li. away<sup>2</sup> in the south-west



2. Pāñchāla.

Mathurā, Sthāneshvara<sup>16</sup>, Śrughna<sup>17</sup>,  
 Matipura<sup>18</sup>, Brahmapura<sup>16</sup>, Govishan<sup>20</sup>,

of Śatādru, and thus it happens to be the south-west portion of the Hisār district. My statement is also supported by the fact that in the book it is described as a region rich in the crops of wheat and seeds, and we all know that towns like Bhatindā and Revāri in this region are very famous for wheat and seeds.

[16] 500 Li. In the north-east of Mathurā is the kingdom of Sthāneshvara (Vol. I. p. 183 f. n. 51). The region containing modern districts of Shāh-jahānpura and Bareli in U. P. can be said to have constituted this kingdom. According to Sir Cunningham (his Geography of Ancient India P. 331) this kingdom was connected with the Pāñḍavas and hence is famous as a very old kingdom.

[17] It is 400 Li., in the north-east of No. 16. Its name is Śrughna (Vide vol. I. p. 186 f. n. 64). Rev. Beal says that this region was near the Kālsi (because the Bauddha emperor Aśoka has got a rock inscription erected) and Sirpur States: but when it is definitely stated to be in the north-east of Sthāneshvara, it can be said to be the places called Pimīnit and Kherī; but when we come to the description of its boundaries, the river Yamunā in the middle, and Matipura State in the south-west and when we take these things into consideration we come to the conclusion that this region must have comprised in itself the districts of Shahārāñapur, Bijnor, and Muzfarnagar, which are in the north-west of Sthāneshvara and not in the north-east.

[18] The kingdom of Matipura (Vol. I. p. 190. f. n. 77) is in the east of Śrughna (Vol. I. p. 190). According to Sir Cunningham (his A. G. I. p. 341) this Matipura is none other but Munḍor or Maḍāvara in the West Bundelkhandā. If it is so, this region consisted of the modern district of Murādābād, Rāmpur State, and a portion of Nainitāl.

[19] It is in the north of Matipura (p. 198) 300 Li. away. According to Sir Cunningham (p. 198 f. n. 100) this region consisted of the present British Dhāriwāl. According to my opinion it also included in itself a portion of the Almorā district.

[20] The kingdom of Govishan is 400 Li. away from Brahmapura (p. 199). Sir Cunningham thinks that this Govishan should be none other than a small village named Ujjain, a mile in the east of Kāshipura, and near which is a very old fortress. According to my opinion it consisted of the remaining portion of the district of Almorā.



Abikhsetra<sup>21</sup>, Vīrsana<sup>22</sup>, Kapitha<sup>23</sup>,  
Kānyakubja<sup>24</sup>.

3. Kośala. Ayodhyā<sup>25</sup>, Hayamukha<sup>26</sup> Viśākha<sup>27</sup>.

[21] Ahikhsetra (f. n. 104) is 400 Li. away in the south-east of Govishan (P. 200). It was the capital of North Pāṇchāl of Rohilkhandā.

[22] The kingdom of Vīrsana (f. n. 107) is 260 or 270 Li., away in the south of No. 21 (P. 201). According to Sir Cunningham it consisted of a ruined district named Atrantikher, which is full of large heaps of dust, four miles in the south of Karsān.

[23] The region of Kapitha (f. n. 110) is 200 Li. away in the south-east of No. 22 (P. 202). I think it is none other than the present district of Shāhjahānpura. Sir Cunningham calls it Sankitha and says that it was 40 miles away from Atranti. Dr. Kern is of the opinion that the famous astrologer Varāhamihira studied in Kapitha.

[24] P. 205, in the north-west of No. 23 (I think it should be south-west) at the distance of 200 Li., is the kingdom of Kanoj or Kānyakubja (P. 206 f. n. 1). Kanoj was famous for a very long time as the capital of North India. The present city is situated in the northern portion of the old city and that part which is now known as the fort, was also included in the old city. (Cunningham A. G. I. P. 380).

(14) It should be "Āyuddha" instead of "Ayodhyā." "Āyuddhas are a tribe of people and they have distinct coins of their own". (Vide Ant. Coins of India," Cunningham).

[25] The kingdom of Ayodhyā is on the other bank of the river Ganges, 600 Li. away in the south-east of No. 24 (P. 224). (I think the word should be pronounced not as Ayodhyā but Āyuddhās; this is none other than the region containing Cawnpore, the Chobās of which are famous for their strength and eating capacity). Scholars think Ayodhyā to be Śaketa; and hence they are confused; if we take it to be Āyuddhās, all difficulties will disappear. Sir Cunningham (A. G. I. P. 385) says that this place is none other than the old city of Kākupura 20 miles in the north-west of Cawnpore.

[26] The region of Hayamukha is 300 Li. away in the north of the river Ganges and the east of No. 35. (P. 229). According to Sir Cunningham (P. 229 f. n. 58) the capital of this region is Daundiyaḥher which is 104 miles in the north-west of Allahabad. I think it consisted of the districts of Unāu, Luknow, and Rāybareli.

[27] The region of Viśākha is 180 Li. away in the north of Kauśambī. (P. 239). Sir Cunningham (P. 239 f. n. 71) says it was Śaketa (for my



III

Short notes on every kingdom

57

4. Kāshi. Prayāga<sup>28</sup>, Vārāṇasi<sup>29</sup>, Gāzipur<sup>30</sup>.  
5. Vatsa. Kauśāmbī<sup>31</sup>, Chikiṭo<sup>32</sup>, Maheshvara-  
pura<sup>33</sup>.

ideas see No. 25 ) I think this large region must have been none else than the portion of land between the districts of Fatehpura and Pratāpgaḍha.

[28] The kingdom of Prayāga is in the south of the river Ganges, and 700 Li., away in the south-east of No. 26 (P. 230). I think it is modern Allahabad which is situated on the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Yamunā. ( f. n. p. 60. )

[29] The Sanskrit name is Vārāṇasi, and it has got this name because it is situated between the two tributaries of the river Ganges, named Varṇā and Asi ( Ashi ). ( See " The sacred city of the Hindus " by Mr. Shering ). [ Vol. 2. p. 44 f. n. 1 ).

[30] ( Vol. 2. P. 61 ) Gazipur is 300 Li., in the east of Vārāṇasi. The Chinese pilgrims call it Garjanpati, the war God ( f. n. 40 ) and Sir Cunningham calls it Gāzipura.

[31] ( Vol. I. P. 235 f. n. 63 ). Kauśāmbī is 30 miles from Allahabad on the river Yamunā. ( Sir Cunningham ). " Kauśāmbī " occurs in Rāmāyaṇa ( see the description of Vatsadeśa ).

[32] The area of this region is 4000 Li., and the area of its capital is said to be 15 to 16 Li. The Chinese pilgrim Hu-en-Chang ( Vol. 2. P. 271 ) has given it the name of Chikiṭo. We do not know anything else about it, but he has written as follows, " Majority of the people were atheists and non-believers, and very few accepted and observed the faith of Buddha." From this, and because the description of this region is placed between those of Ujjain and Maheshvarapura, I think that he ought to have thought this region to be that, which contains the inccriptions of Sānchi and Bhilsā. ( I believe that the " Nirvāṇa " ( going to heaven ) of Mahāvīra in 527 B. C. took place in an old office used by clerks of king Hastipāla, in this place. The descriptions of Hu-en-Chang agree with this. So this was a place of pilgrimage for Jains, ( and so a place of atheists according to Bauddhas ). ( for further information see the description of Avanti ).

[33] ( Vol. 2. P. 271 ). Maheshvarapura is 900 Li., in the north of No. 32. Its area is 3000 Li. ( The modern states of Bundi and Jaipura might have been included in it ).



6. Śrāvasti.

Śrāvasti<sup>34</sup>, Kapilvastu<sup>35</sup>, Rāmnagar<sup>36</sup>,  
Kushinagar<sup>37</sup>.

[34] (Vol. 2. P. 1. f. n. 1). Śrāvasti is in the province of Uttar Kośala, and it is also called Dharmapaṭṭaṇa. Sir Cunningham says that this was none other than the village of Sāhet-māhet, 58 miles in the north of Ayodhyā, and which lies in the ruins on the southern banks of the river Rāpti. Fa-he-Yāna-says that it was 64 miles in the north of Ayodhyā (Chapter 20).

[35] (Vol. 2. P. 13). Kapilvastu is 500 Li., away in the south-east of No. 34. (P. 14 f. n. 28) and it consisted of the region beginning with Faizābād and ending with the confluence of the rivers Dhāgrā and Gaṇḍakā. (if this is true, this region consisted of the whole of the district of Bāsti, and a portion of Faizābād; while Mr. Carlyle thinks this place to be none else but the town of Bhūilā 25 miles in the north-east of Faizābād. (I am inclined to agree with him).

[36] Rāmnagar is 30 Li., away in the east of Kapilvastu (P. 25). See Mr. Dey's A. G. of Ind. P. 2 (Dr. Fuhrer and Cunningham) Rāmnagar is 24 miles west of Bareli. The name is at present confined to the great fortress in the lands of Ālampur Kot and Nasaratgunj. It was the capital of North Pañchāl of Rohil Khandā." It is a barren region. (P. 36 f. n. 67). It is not definitely located. (A. G. Cunningham P. 420). (I think this region consisted of Gorakhpur and the forest of Champā).

[37] (P. 30). Kushinagara is in the north-east of Rāmanagar. It is a large fortress (P. 31 f. n. 85). Lord Buddha is said to have achieved his "Parinirvāṇa (going to heaven), here. It is said to be Kaisā, which is 35 miles in the east of Gorakhpura. I think north-east is a wrong direction; it should be south-east, because it is stated to be barren on pp. 32, while on p. 43, it is described as stretching through a large forest right upto Vanārasi 500 Li., in length; while on p. 31, it is written that the road between Kāmnagar and Kushinagar was barren, and full of wild animals and elephants, and infested with robbers and thieves. From this it becomes clear that Kushinagar was situated between Rāmnagar and Vanārasi. This belief is supported by a story from Jaina literature (Kalpa Sūtra Subodhikā p. 85). It is stated there, that on the way to Ayodhyā, is a large forest in which is the hermitage of the ascetic Kanakakhala, where Śree Mahāvira had converted the Chanda-koshīā serpent to Jainism by his preaching. From this it becomes clear that Kushinagar must have consisted of the modern districts of Āzamgaḍha and Jānipura which are in the south-east (and not north-east) of Kapilvastu,



7. Vaiśālī.

Vaiśālī<sup>38</sup>, Vriji<sup>39</sup>.

8. Nepāl.

Nepāl.

[38] (P. 66). Vaiśālī country is 140 or 150 Li., in the north-east of Gājipura, across the river Ganges. Its area is nearly 5000 Li. It is stated in (f. n. 67) that Hu-en-Chang once had crossed the river Ganges (it should be river Gaṇḍakā) and so the kingdom of Vaiśālī is said to be in the east of the river Gaṇḍakā. Sir Cunningham thinks it to be the modern village of Besar. The place, where even now is a standing ruined fortress named "Rājā Visalakāgaḍha," was its capital, or was the chief center of Vriji or Vajji people (for further information, see my article in "Jainadharma Prakāsha," Chaitra Number, 1985 (V. E.). These people settled here from the north and the territory occupied by them, stretched from the base of the mountain Himālaya to the Ganges in the south, and from the river Mahā in the east to the river Gaṇḍakā in the west. We do not know the time when these people settled here, but they might have come not later than the publication of these Bauddha books. They can be said to resemble the Vidyāls and the Yue-chi people, who were the authors of the Chinese books. (R. A. S. New series. Vol. 14 No. 2). I think all the above things are mere guess work, because if ever the Yue-chi people came in India, they at least did not come before the third century B. C. It is possible that Vidyāl might have been written for Videha, because Videha (Mithilā) is a part of Vaiśālī. (See below f. n. C.)

(C) We have to take these to be the modern districts of Mufarpur, Saraṇa and Champāraṇa, in Bihar. Vaiśālī, was a kingdom in the 6th. century B. C. and Cheṭaka, the king of Vaiśālī, was called "Videhapati," and his sister Triślādevi was known as "Vaidehi" and her son Mahāvira was called "Vaidehiputra" (See K. S. Com. p. 75. and further in this book). Sitā, the wife of Rāma, was also daughter of Janaka, the king of Videha, and so she is called "Vaidehi".

Dey's A. G. Ind. P. 104:—"Boundaries of Videha; river Kaushiki (Kushi) in the north, river Gaṇḍakā in the west, Himalaya in the east, and the Ganges in the south".

[39] (f. n. 100. p. 77). This is the country of Vriji or Sauvriji people. It is said to be a union of the eight kingdoms of the eight different kinds of Vriji or Vajji people. One of them were Licchchavis and they stayed in Vaiśālī. They were republicans and were defeated by king Ajātaśatru.



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| 9. Magadha.  | Magadha, Hiraṇyapārvata <sup>40</sup> , Champā <sup>41</sup> .   |
| 10. Vaṅga.   | Kājigṛha <sup>42</sup> , Puṇḍravardhan <sup>43</sup> , Sam-<br>taṭṭa <sup>44</sup> , Tāmralipti <sup>45</sup> , Karṇasuvarṇa <sup>46</sup> . |
| 11. Kāmrupa. | Kāmrupa <sup>47</sup> .  |

[40] (P. 185). If we go eastwards from Magadha, we come to a large forest 200 Li., away from this forest is the region surrounded by Hiraṇya mountain (p. 186. f. n. 1). It is also called the mountain of gold, which, according to Sir Cunningham, is the hill of Monghir.

[41] Aṅga deśa is the name of the region containing the district of Bhāgalpur in Bengal where the river Ganges flows southwards after a bending because there is a town named Champāpuri. But the old Champānagar is different from this Champāpuri. (for which see further on, chapter V.) (R. W. W. Vol. II. p. 191 f. n. 15). The capital of Aṅgadeśa or Bhāgalpura district is Champā or Champāpuri. (Wilson Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. 2, p. 166; Vol. 4, p. 125; T. R. A. S. Vol. 5, p. 134; I. A. Vol. I. p. 175). Both Champānagar and Karṇagṛha are near Bhāgalpur.

[42] It is the territory about modern Rājshahi district (400 Li., away from Champā which is described on p. 193). From here we can go to Kajoogira or Kanjigṛha.

[43] (P. 194. f. n. 18). Prof. Wilson thinks that the old country of Puṇḍra consisted of the modern districts of Rājshahi, Dinājpur, Raṅpur, Nādiā, Vīrbhoom, Berdwan, Midnāpur, Jāṅgadamahāl, Rāṅgaḍha, Pachitpalman, and a portion of Chunār. (This does not agree with the description in the original book).

[44] (P. 199. f. n. 30). This province is on the sea-coast, and is Samotaṭa or Samataṭa (which means a country near sea, or a plain country) of Eastern Bengal.

[45] (P. 200). Tāmralipti is 100 Li., away in the west of Samataṭa. (f. n. 36). It is the modern town of Tāmluk where there is the confluence of the rivers Hugli and Selai (J. R. A. S. Vol. V. p. 135; Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. II. p. 277; I. A. Vol. I. p. 177).

[46] Karṇasuvarṇa is 700 Li., in the north-west of Tāmralipti.

[47] This is the western portion of the present Assam.



12. Kalinga. Udrā<sup>48</sup>, (<sup>15</sup>) Konyoghra<sup>49</sup>, Kalinga<sup>50</sup>.  
 13. Kuśasthala Kośala, Parvata<sup>51</sup>. (See the word  
 (Chedi). "Gāndhāra").

[48] (P. 204) Udradeśa is 700 Li., in the south-west of Karnasuvārṇa. (P. 204 f. n. 49). This Udra or Oḍa is nothing but Orissa, (Mahābhārata Canto II. 1174, III, 1188). Its second name is Utkula (Mahāvamśha A. 7. p. 122; Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. II p. 160).

[49] (P. 206). The country of Konjoddhā or Konyoghra is 1200 Li., in the south-west of Udra. We have to cross a large forest on the way.

(15) According to Mr. Fergusson, the capital of Kanyoghra was near Kaṭaka. (See W. World Pt. II. P. 207 f. n. 60).

[50] If we go in the south-west of Konyoghra, we come to a large forest. In it the trees are very tall and dense, and even the rays of the sun cannot penetrate through them. When we pass 1400 to 1500 Li., through such a forest, we come to the country of Kalinga. (This forest, must be none other than the region of the hills of Aśvatthāmā or Dhauli and Jagauda. See f. n. A).

(A) Its boundaries : River Godāvarī in the south-west, Gaulyā in the north-west; for further information see Sewell Opt. cit. p. 19. (Kalingadeśa). 1 Li., = 1.7 mile and hence the capital of Kalinga must be in the neighbourhood of Vijayanagara.

[51] Kuśasthala—Some scholars call it Mahākośala but this is not the same Kośala, the capital of which is Ayodhyā. (R. W. W. Vol II. P. 209 f. n. 64). The other name of Ayodhyā or Śrāvastī is Kośala. This is different from that. (Wilson, Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. II. p. 172; I. A. Vol. II. p. 160. Vol. IV. P. 702). It is in the south-west of Orissa and in it flow the rivers which are at the mouth of the rivers Mahānadī and Godāvarī. From this it will be clear that there are two countries bearing the name of Kośala; in one of them are Śrāvastī and Ayodhyā; and the second is situated between the rivers Mahānadī and Godāvarī; while this description refers to altogether a different country. According to my opinion Kuśasthala consisted of the southern portion of the Revā State and eastern portion of Jabalpur. It is a hilly region. This was the region where Chandragupta was first made king by Chanakya; and then he invaded Magadha. This region stretched upto Kalinga in the south-east. (for further information see the Chapters on emperor Chandragupta.)



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| 14. Andhra.  | Āndhra <sup>52</sup> , Dhankāṭaka <sup>53</sup> .     |
| 15. Cholā.   | Chulyā <sup>54</sup> , (Cholā), Drāviḍa <sup>55</sup> |
| 16. Pāṇḍya.  | Malkooṭa <sup>56</sup> .                              |
| 17. Sinhala. | Sinhala <sup>57</sup> .                               |

[52] (R. W. W. Vol. 2 p. 217). Āndhra deśa is 900 Li., away in the south of Kośala. Its area is nearly 3000 Li., (P. 217 f.n. 86). Its capital was Vigilā (Possibly an old name for Vengi), which is in the north-west of the lake Elur, which is between the rivers Godāvarī and Kriśṇā. In its neighbourhood are the remains of stone-carved temples; but I differ from this opinion, because the distance between Kuśasthala and Āndhra is only 900 Li., and hence Āndhra at the most can include in itself the eastern portion of the modern Nizam State, and its capital can possibly be Chinur on the river Godāvarī, or Chandānagar near the Vaingangā.

[53] R. W. W. Vol. 2. p. 221). If we go 1000 Li., in the south of Āndhra we come to a region named Dhankāṭaka. Its area is nearly 6000 Li., and the area of its capital is 40 Li. From this, I think that the region must have consisted of the area between the sources of the rivers Godāvarī and Kriśṇā, in which, Varāṅgul is in the north, Golkonḍā is in the west, Kārnul and Gondākamaniā rivers are in the south. Its capital must have stretched from Bezvāḍā to the lake Elur. The archeological experts of Madras have discovered some remains in the Gantur district, which resemble the Sāñchi and Bhārḥuta stupas (See Government communique dt. 30-12-29). This discovery supports the above statement. It is called Nāgārjun-konḍā. In Jaina books it is known as Bennāṭaṭ-nagar. (See further the description of the Dankaṭaka country).

[54] R. W. W. Vol, II p. 227. The district of Cholā is 1000 Li., in the south-west of Āndhra. Its area is 2500 Li. I think it must have consisted of the modern districts of Belāri, Kaḍāppā, Anantpur, and Nelor.

[55] If we go in the south of Cholā (P. 228) we come to a dense forest. 1500 Li., from thence is the country of Drāviḍa. Its area is 6000 and its capital is Kāñchivaram. It includes the districts of Chingalpet, both the districts of Arcot, Trichinopalli, and Sālem. On its south are the river Kāverī and Mysore State.

[56] (P. 230) Malkuṭa (scholars call it Pāṇḍyā also) is 3000 Li., in the south of Drāviḍa. Its area is 5000 Li. If the direction is exactly south, it definitely suggests the kingdom of Pāṇḍyā).

[57] The island of Ceylon.



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| 18. Aparānta.   | Konkanpura <sup>58</sup> .                     |
| 19. Mahārāṣṭra. | Māhārāṣṭra <sup>59</sup> .                     |
| 20. Lāṭa.       | Bhṛkachha <sup>60</sup>                        |
| 21. Avanti.     | Mālvā <sup>61</sup> , Ujjayinī <sup>62</sup> . |

[58] In the north of Drāviḍ (P. 253) is a forest, in which are found innumerable deserted huts and other signs of former human habitation. 2000 Li, from there is the country named Konkanpura. (These forests must be those which are near Chitaldurga and Shimogā.) Konkanpura might have included in itself that portion of the Bombay Presidency which is in the south of Belgaum, over and above these two districts).

[59] (P. 255) Mahārāṣṭra is 2400 Li., in the north-west of Konkanpura. Its area is 5000 Li. Hence it is equal in area to Konkanpura, but smaller than Drāviḍ and Dhankaṭaka. The area of its capital is 30 Li., and is on the western bank of a large river. Scholars have come to different conclusions about this, (St. Martin thinks it to be Devgiri or Doltābād; Sir Cunningham thinks it to be Kalyāṇa; Mr. Fergusson thinks it to be Tokā, Kulathāmbā, or Paithan). I think it to be Junner. If we take this to be the boundary of Mahārāṣṭra, the country would then consist of the area between the river Tāpti in the north and river Kriṣṇā in the south; the region which is in a parallel straight line to Belgaum and Sāvantvādī; besides, it can be said to include all the area between Paravaṇī in the north and Hddrabad in the east upto Belgaum in the south.

[60] If we go 1000 Li., in the south of Mahārāṣṭra (P. 259) and cross the river Narmadā, I stated therein (f. n. 59) the limit of Mahārāṣṭra to be upto the river Tāpti; now this limit is to be taken upto the Narmadā. We come to the district of Bhṛgucachchha. (Its other name is Bārigazā or Broach). Its area is nearly 2400 Li.

[61-62] We have two names; Mālvā and Ujjain, so I take them together. I believe that the author might have included Udepur, Pratāpgadh, Rutlām, Dhār, Indore, Nimach, Bundi, and Kotā in the first, and the region between the rivers Chambal and Narmadā in the second, on the north of which is Jāorā, and on the south of which is Mandsor.



22. Matsya.

Aṭali<sup>63</sup>, (16) Gujjar<sup>64</sup> Mūlsthānpura<sup>65</sup>.

23. Cutch,

Cutch.

[63] (P. 264) In the south-west of Mālvā there is a gulf (possibly the gulf of Cutch see p. 64. f. n. 66) 2400 Li.; from this (the direction is not given) is the region of Aṭali (R. W. W. Vol. I. p. 265 f. n. 67). Aṭali is very far in the north of Karāchi. It might possibly be the region of Uchha or Bhāwalpura, but in the neighbourhood of Multān is a town named Aṭāri. (Uchha is the name of a country and its capital might be Uchhāpuri: from this I conjecture that Varuṇa, the capital of which is Uchhāpuri, might be none other than this Uchha or Aṭali desha). Looking to its connection with the country of Matsya, Sir Cunningham's suggestion that Uchhā is the other name for Bhāwalpur, seems reasonable. (To my mind, the boundaries of Aṭali might be arranged thus : Aravalli mountain in the east, Sindh in the west, latitude No. 6 in the north, and the line between Abu and Pālanpur of the Bombay Presidency in the south).

(16) From this it will become clear that the country of Gujjara was included in the country of Matsya; while scholars of the present believe that it was included in the country of Niṣadha, or the modern Gwalior and Zansi. They assert it to be the origin of the Gurjar people. I leave it to the reader's sense of judgment to find out what is true.

[64] (P. 269). Gurjar desha is 1800 Li., from Vallabhidesha in the north. (Everything would be alright if we put the word Aṭali in place of the word Vallabhi). Here the author has referred the reader to f. n. 80 on p. 269. Looking to the languages which are spoken in modern Rājputānā and southern Mālvā, we come to the conclusion that the word Gurjar can appropriately be applied to them. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar thinks it to be Kurkurdesha. (I agree with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar. Some scholars consider Kurkur to be a part of Saurāṣṭra, while really speaking Kurkura consisted of the southern portion of the Jodhpur State). Bhinnamāla, famous in Jaina books, was the capital of Gurjar-desha. So Gurjardesha must have consisted of the modern Jesalmir and a great portion of the Jodhpur State.

[65] If we go 900 Li., to the east of Sindh (P. 274) and cross the river Indus and go further in the east, we come to Mūlsthānpur State. Its area was 4000 Li., and the area of its capital was 30 Li., (f. n. 85). Mūlsthānpur is none else but Multān. (See Raymond *Mémoires S. L. Inde*. Vol. 98). It can be said to have consisted of the modern districts of Muzfargāh and Multān.



24. Surāṣṭra. Vallabhi<sup>66</sup>, Ānandpura<sup>67</sup>, Surāṣṭra<sup>68</sup>.  
 25. Sindh-Sauvīra. Sindh. (Atyanvekala<sup>69</sup>) Laṅgala ?<sup>70</sup>.

All these names (names of countries as well as their capitals.) are taken from "Records of the Western World" Vol. I and II and the numbers of the pages are of that book. Wherever any other book is consulted, it is specifically mentioned. (To make everything clear, numbers are printed on the map).

This is the information furnished by Rev. Beal's book. Readers who are not interested in these details, may skip over the footnotes.

[66-67-68] (P. 266 f. n. 71) That region which is stated to be the kingdom of Vallabhi by Hu-en-Chang, can be defined as "the country of the Lāṭa people residing in the north." It is given on p. 266 that Vallabhipur is 1000 Li., in the north of Cutch. (South is the right word, because on p. 268, while showing the boundaries of Ānandpur, it is stated that Ānandpur is 700 Li., in the north-west of Vallabhi, and, moreover, Saurāṣṭra is 500 Li., in the west of Vallabhi). (P. 66 f. n. 71). The author's words themselves support my belief. The following modern states can be said to have been included in this country.

- (A) In Vallabhi :- Gohilvād, Bābariavād, und a portion of Kāthiāwār.  
 (B) In Ānandpur :- a portion of Kāthiāwār, and the whole of Zālāwād.  
 (C) In Saurāṣṭra :- the remaining portion of Kāthiāwār.

In short, the present peninsula of Kāthiāwār contained all these three kingdoms (Vallabhi, Ānandpur and Saurāṣṭra).

[69-70] Looking to the description of these two provinces, they can be located in the north-west of Sindh. They have no scope in this book, hence I do not think it proper to describe them. As for Laṅgala, Sir Cunningham thinks (see R. W. W. Vol. II. p. 277. f. n. 89) that it is a city named Lokoriyan or Lākura, which was believed by Mr. Mason (see A. G. of Ind. P. 311) to be a ruined city situated between Khojdār and Kilāt, 200 Li., in the north-west of Koṭesar. If we take the above statement to be true, this region must be taken to be the southern territory of the Sauvīra country. I think it must have been a part of Pāñchāl, because the name of its capital is Ahikshetra, which is said to be Rāmnagar in the United Provinces.

(17) Does it mean that Bauddha [books wanted to express that there were sixteen kingdoms in Northern India only?



The following countries are Anārya or uncivilised:—

No. 8 Nepāl, No. 11 Kāmrupa, No. 14 Āndhra, No. 15 Cholā, No. 16 Pāndya, No. 17 Sinhala, No. 18 Aparānta, and No. 19 Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible that Bauddha books did not mention them because they were Anārya or uncivilised countries, and because they wanted to describe only Ārya or civilized countries. Hence the twenty-five and a half countries are reduced to sixteen in the Bauddha books. In both the series of names, they sometimes differ, but from the view point of both, the total number comes to sixteen by a peculiar coincidence.





## Chapter IV.

### An account of all the sixteen kingdoms

**Synopsis:**—(1) *KAMBOJA-GĀNDHĀRA*—area and its rulers. Accidental death of the king of Gāndhāra at the time when he was on the point of achieving friendly relations with the king of Magadha—the failure of the Persian Emperor to invade India in spite of his valour, and the fulfilment of the desire of the Persian Emperor Cyrus after his death—Consequence of the invasion—a great amount of wealth taken away to Persia.

(2) *Pāñchāla*—short account—

(3) *Kośala*—different names of this country, places, dynasty of the ruler and the name of his kingdom; confusion about all the above due to different writers giving different names and the author's answers and explanations about them, item by item—similarity shown between the two names of Prasenjit given in the Jaina books (*Pradeśi*) and in the Bauddha books (*Pasādi*) wars between the kings of Kośala and Magadha on account of family pride, and subsequent marriages—names of other kings besides Prasenjit and fixing of their years of rule, after much correction; the destruction by Prasenjit's son Viruddhaka, of his relations on the mother side—*śākya*s—and their land, after coming to the throne, for their deceitful conduct, and the sorrow



caused to Gautama Buddha on hearing this, in the last years of his life—Conclusion.

(4) *Kāśī*—The end of the *Brhadratha* kings described in *Mahābhārata*, and *Asvasena*, the father of the twenty-third *Tirthankara* of the Jains, *Śree Pārśva*, who was the last and the best in their line—The kingdom was conquered by a *kshatriya* prince named *Śīsunāga*, and the account of the *Śīsunāga* dynasty established by him—Invitation to him from *Magadha* to take up the reins of that country—Union of *Kāśī* and *Magadha*—The names and short accounts of the four kings after him.

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In writing the accounts of these sixteen kingdoms,<sup>1</sup> I have adopted the following plan:—the accounts of those countries, information about which is not sequential and well-arranged, but broken and hap-hazard, are given first:—the accounts of those countries, information about which is linked and full, are given afterwards.

### (1) KAMBOJA-GĀNDHĀRA

Out of the sixteen kingdoms as stated in Chapter III, three were considered to be empires because of the vastness of their areas. One of these three, was *Gāndhāra* or *Kamboja*.

It was in the north-west corner of India. It consisted of the present *Kāśmir*, some portion in its north-west, *Chitrāl Province*, a great part of *Afghānistān*, and almost the whole of the *Punjab*. It would be true to say that river *Sutlaj* formed its boundary-line on the east and on the south. Its capital was *Takśilā* (*Takśaśilā*)<sup>2</sup>. The name of the emperor of that time was *Pulusāki*. This kingdom was divided into two equal parts on account of the river *Indus*

(1) "Early History of India" by Vincent Smith, 4th. ed. p. 29. "Sixteen States in Northern India."

(2) See appendix No. 2, Pt. III Ch. vi for full information.



flowing across it north to south. The western portion was called Kamboja, and the eastern was called Gāndhāra. Kharoṣṭī was the language spoken in Kamboja, and Brāhmī was the language spoken in Gāndhāra (for the comparison of these two languages see the chapter on Kśātrapas). Though thus two different languages were spoken, yet the people of both the parts came into close contact with each other. Consequently the languages were often mixed. This was specially the condition in the region where Kamboja and Gāndhāra had a common boundary line<sup>3</sup>.

Takṣaśilā was the capital of the whole kingdom as well as of Gāndhāra, but the capital of Kamboja was Puṣpapur or Puṣkalāvati, the modern Peśāvara.

Pulusāki was a lover of peace. The kingdom was prosperous during his reign. We do not know anything either about his ancestors or about his descendents. Whatever information is forthcoming, is only about himself.

**Ruler**

He was a pious king. He had friendly relations with the king of Magadha, Śreṇika by name and both of them exchanged presents. This friendship had resulted into close intimacy. Pulusāki once desired to see Śreṇika personally, and to fall at the feet of the two great prophets, Mahāvīra and Buddha, who resided in Magadha. He had already begun his journey towards east, but no sooner did he enter the kingdom of Magadha, than he unfortunately fell seriously ill and died. (about 550 B. C.).

We cannot say definitely who succeeded him. It is possible that the eastern portion of the kingdom must have been absorbed by the neighbouring small states; while the western portion was chiefly under the sway of Emperor Cyrus<sup>4</sup>. This powerful emperor

(3) We see this specially illustrated in the rock inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarh and Mañserā, and also in the grammar of Pāṇini, in which, over and above the Prakṛit words due to this reason only, the words of the Kharoṣṭī language have entered.

(4) (A) C. H. I. P. 533.

Cambacys ( first ).

Cyrus 558 B. C. to 530 = 28.





had often heard about the wealth and prosperity of India, and he was only waiting for an opportunity to find an opening. The death of Pulusāki made his way clear and he began gradually to annex the neighbouring portion of this kingdom, and began to drag away vast amounts of wealth from India, as a tribute. The sway of Cyrus must have extended upto Kābul, but Darius, who succeeded him on the throne, had annexed even the Punjāb<sup>5</sup> to

Cambacys ( second ) 530 B. C. to 522=8.

Smardis ( Imposter on the throne ) 522 to 521=1.

Darius 521 to 480=42.

His authority was established in the Punjāb in 518 B. C.

(B) E. H. I. 3rd. ed. p. 12.

Hystāspis ( first ).

Darius 486 B. C.

Hystāspis ( second ).

( Comparing these two, we see that Cambasys II in A is Hystāspis I in (B).

The names given in " Iran " by Mr. W. S. W. Walks, M. A., F. R. S. agree with the names given in C. H. I.

(5) The empire of Darius was divided into many provinces; Over each province was appointed a governor who was called "Satarap". The number of the governor of this province was twentieth. He had to send a great amount of gold dust as the early tribute to the emperor. All these things are described in the histories of Persia. The reader will get an idea of the amount of tribute paid by the following details.

" Bhāratvarshakā saṃkshipta Itihāsa " p. 196. " It amounted to 15 to 20 million rupees in the present money."

C. H. I. P. 335, " The Punjāb was a part of the realm of the king Darius about B. C. 518."

E. H. I. 4th. ed. P. 40:- " (The Indian Satarapy). It paid the enormous tribute of 360 Eubonic talents of gold-dust of 185 hundred weights worth fully a million sterling and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asitatic provinces. The conquered province was considered the richest and most populous province of the empire."

The same author adds a f. n. (No. 1) :- "One Eubonic Talent=57.6 lbs. avoirdupois. Therefore 360 Talents are equal to 20,736 lbs. Assuming silver to be worth five shillings an ounce= $\frac{1}{4}$  £. or £. 4 per 1lb, and the ratio of silver to gold to be as 13 to 1, would be worth £. 1'078,272; if the Eubonic Talent be taken as equivalent to 78 & not 70, the 360 of gold will be 4680



the Persian Empire<sup>6</sup>. His authority had been established to such an extent that one of the twenty governors (Satraps) who conducted the administration of his empire, was called the Governor of Gāndhāra, which was the twentieth district of his empire.

It appears that the Persian sway in India lasted for nearly three quarters of a century. After that, either due to the decline of the power of the Persian rulers, or due to the increasing power of the Nanda emperors of Magadha, this Indian province<sup>7</sup> came under the sway of the Indian emperor, and experienced many ups and downs under the sway of the different kings of Magadha belonging to different dynasties. For a decade or two it was run over by the generals of Alexānder the Great. Then for a century it was under Indian emperors. After that, again it was won over by yavana generals who settled permanently in India and became Indians.

Thus the Punjāb had to serve under many masters.

## (2) PĀNCHAL

This kingdom seems to have been divided into two parts: North Pāñchāl, and South Pāñchāl. Both had their own capitals. Mathurā was the capital of North Pāñchāl, and Kapila (Kāmpilapūra) which was near modern Kanoja, was the capital of South Pāñchāl. Some scholars are of the opinion that the boundaries of Pāñchāl stretched very far in the north-west. The boundary might have

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talents of silver; the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces (including a small part of Lybiā in Africā) was 14560 silver talents. (Cunningham. coins of Ant. India pp. 12, 14, 26 p. 30). (The author's note:— Here the ratio taken is a bullion ratio, i.e. 1£ of gold=20 s. or 20 pieces of silver, and the price is estimated that way. At present in India, 100 Tolās of silver are worth about Rs. 50/- & hence 2 Tolās for a rupee; while 1 Tolā of gold is worth Rs. 34; so the ratio between the prices of gold and silver is  $34 \times 2 = 68$ : 1 Cf against 13 : as counted above. So, looking to the present prices of gold and silver it would amount to £5661000).

(6) See f. n. No. 5.

(7) This is to be understood to be the modern Punjāb. Even now it is thickly populated, but it is inferior to several provinces of India from the view point of prosperity. (This account is in connection with the Persian Empire only).



been different at different times, but that must have been in very very old times with which we are not concerned from the viewpoint of our history. So we shall let it go. The "Records of the Western World" is a systematic and reliable account of these kingdoms, and I have based my account of Pāñchāl on it.

It is said to have consisted of all the countries from Mathurā to Kānyakubja. All these names appear to be the names of large cities instead of countries. For my opinion about these, I request the reader to read f. n. No. 6(A) in chapter III of this volume.

No further historic information is forthcoming about this kingdom. Later on, this kingdom was annexed to Kośala.

### (3) KOŚALA<sup>s</sup>

The third name in our list is Kośala. Its capital is said to be Ayodhyā. Prasenjit<sup>9</sup> was the king of this country in 6th century B. C.

Some historians divide this country into two parts—North Kośala and South Kośala or Mahā Kośala. The area of North Kośala was surely smaller than the area of South Kośala, and hence South Kośala was called Mahākośala. The supposition, that North Kośala and South Kośala were two divisions of one and the same country and kingdom, is unbelievable, because these two Kośalas have no common boundary line. Between them are the great provinces of Kāśī and Vatsa<sup>10</sup>. Had they been divisions of the same kingdom, they ought to have been situated near each other<sup>11</sup>.

But they are not near each other. The mistake of the scholars can be explained as follows:—

Prasenjit was the name of the king of Kośala; and on one of the four main doors in the artistic Bhārhut-Stūpa in the

(8) The provinces named Hayamukha and Vaiśākha, described in R. W. W. were included in this province.

(9) He was also called Pasādi and Pradeśi. See further in this volume.

(10) See Map No. 1.

(11) There are instances of the same ruling power, over places distant from one another. For instance, the Amareli and the Okhā districts in Kāthiāwār under the Barodā State.



Mahākośala province<sup>12</sup> there is an inscribed picture illustrating an incident in the life of Prasenjit. (see picture No. 7). This is famous as "Prasenjit-pillar in historical books (see picture No. 8). Scholars must have conjectured that this Prasenjit is the same individual as Prasenjit of Kośala, because the same name occurs in both the provinces, and that he can be called king of both the provinces. Thus these two provinces are supposed by them to be under the power of one king, and then they are given different names, because of the difference in their areas<sup>13</sup>. The

(12) Kuśasthala was the name given to this province in very old times. I will state reasons why this name was given in the description of that province.

(13) I myself was at first confused and mistaken about this. It would be rather interesting to let the reader know, how I corrected my mistake. I add it as f. n. because it is not proper to give it a place in the text proper :

Two kings named Prasenjit have come to the throne of Kośala; one of them was he, with whom we are now concerned, and the other was the father-in-law of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthāṅkara. The first Prasenjit lived in 550 B. C., and the second lived in 800 B. C. (more information about him is given in the description of Kuśasthala.)

The pillar erected by Prasenjit is a part of the Bhārhut-stūpa (see plate No. 13 in General Cunningham's Bhārhut-stūpa). This place was situated in Kuśasthala in Angadeśa in olden times. Hence the question naturally arose : which of the two Prasenjits is responsible for the pillars? whether he was the one who lived in 550 B. C. and who can be called the king of Ayodhyā or Kośala, or whether he was the one, who lived in 800 B. C. and was the king of Kuśasthala (which was once called Mahākośala, but was called Angadeśa at the time with which we are concerned; and the capital of which was Champānagarī?; and who can truly be called the king of the territory in which is situated the Bhārhut-stūpa?.)

Both the Prasenjits can be called "Kośala-pati" (king of Kośala); but the first (who lived in 550 B. C.) can be called "Kośala-pati" only; while the second can also be called "Mahākośala-pati" or "Kuśasthala-pati". (This is one of the reasons for distinguishing Kośala from Mahākośala). The first can have no connection with the territory in which Bhārhut-stūpa is situated; while the second was the ruler of that territory. My interest in the question was thereby keenly excited.

To solve the question, my mind was directed towards fixing the date of Bhārhut-stūpa. I made a minute study of all the scenes inscribed in it. One



question whether both these provinces were under the power of the same king or not, will be discussed in the account of the

of them attracted my eyes [1]. It reminded of the time when Śree Pārśvanātha acquired Kaivalyagnāna (the power to know everything about past, present and future). He was standing in deep meditation[2] on the edge of a well. At that time a god named Meghamāli, who was his enemy in the former birth, caused a heavy shower of rain in order to disturb him in his meditation. Pārśvanātha did not allow himself to be disturbed even when the water reached his nostrils. At last god Dharaṇendra[3] lifted up Pārśvanātha from the ground in order to save Him from drowning, and spread his hood over His head in order to protect Him from rainfall. Meghamāli was ashamed of his action and stopped the rainfall. I thought, the scene which attracted my eyes was inscribed to illustrate the above story, and I came to the conclusion that Bhārhut-stūpa must have been erected in the time of that Prasenjit, who was the father-in-law of Pārśvanātha. But when I consulted the Jaina books about the place where Pārśvanātha acquired Kaivalyagnāna, I came to know that it was very near Vaṇārasī (the modern Benāres). Naturally I began to believe that that scene did not illustrate the above story and so does not represent the time of the second Prasenjit, because such edicts were usually erected at places where such events took place, (one who lived in 800 B. C. ) I now decided to find out the real time of the erection of Bhārhut-stūpa, and I turned to the rock-edicts of king Priyadarshin. My study of Jaina books helped me here. Twenty of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jains have attained salvation on mount Sametśikhara[4]. (Which is in Bengal, and which is now called Pārśvanāth hill). The first Tīrthaṅkara, Rśabhadeva attained salvation on Aṣṭāpad[4]. The twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha, attained salvation on Raivatāchal[4] (near Junāgaḍh) and the twelfth, Vāsupūjya, in the garden of Champānagarī[4] (the capital of Aṅgadeśa) and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth in Apāpānagarī (which was afterwards called Pāpā-nagarī (sinful town) because Mahāvīra died there, and then was called Pāvāpurī[4]. These are the places given in Jaina books, where the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras attained salvation. Priyadarshin wanted the posterity to

[1] See picture No. 8.

[2] The position for standing in meditation was like this : standing erect, legs to-gether, arms straight at the sides, eyes fixed on the tip of the nose.

[3] He is the lord of heaven, and controls rainfall.

[4] There are verses in Jaina books where these names are given with the names of the respective Tīrthaṅkaras.

[5] See the account of Aṅgadeśa further.



kingdom of Chedi (Kuśasthala)<sup>14</sup> (See the description of kingdom No. 12).

Another mistake is committed by the writers of history. The first mistake was in connection with the names of the country. This second mistake is in connection with the name of the capital.

remember these places, hence he got rock-edicts erected, in all these places (see the chapters on Priyadarshin, for a full account of the rock-edicts). Then I tried to find out, whether the place in question was one of these places, and I was convinced that this place was none other than the garden of Champānagarī: because the rock-edict of king Priyadarshin, erected at Rupnātha, is in its neighbourhood. Secondly, in the time of Mahāvīra, the town of Champānagarī,<sup>[4]</sup> which was the capital of Dadhivāhan<sup>[5]</sup>, king of Angadeśa, and which was attacked and destroyed by Śatānika, the king of Vatsa, was situated here. It was again established by Kuṇika<sup>[6]</sup> the son of the king Śreṇika. This Kuṇika has shown his devotion towards Jaina religion by getting a pillar erected in a place in Bhārhut-stūpa.<sup>[7]</sup> Moreover, according to Jaina books, the town-entering ceremony of Sudharmā swami, the first disciple of Mahāvīra, was celebrated by this Kuṇika, with unprecedented pomp and procession. (A scene illustrating this is inscribed on a gate of Bhārhut-stūpa). Thus when I got so many historical proofs, I was convinced that Bhārhut-stūpa is connected with the Jaina religion. The place where Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthankara attained salvation, is also near Champānagarī (the place of Rupnātha's rock-edict), and hence Priyadarshin has a rock-edict erected there (from this it became clear to me that the rock-edicts of Priyadarshin were meant to indicate the places where the Tīrthankaras died and attained salvation<sup>[8]</sup>). Both Kuṇika and Prasenjit have got pillars erected to show their devotion towards Jaina religion.

Prasenjit was a follower of Buddhism first, and then exchanged it for Jainism. Then he might have come to this place for a pilgrimage in or after 556 B. C. (when Mahāvīra acquired Kaivalyagnāna, and only a year before which Śreṇika was converted to Jainism.) There is here also a pillar erected by Kuṇika (Ajātsatru) which might have been erected in between 523 B. C. to 496 B. C. Hence king Prasenjit's pillar must have been erected in, between 556 to 523 B. C. and king Ajātsatru's pillar must have been erected between 523 to 496 B. C.

(14) See f. n. No. 12 above.

[6] See the account of king Kuṇika further.

[7] See "Bhārhut-stūpa" by General Cunningham.

[8] See the chapters on king Priyadarshin.



Its situation and the confusion about it

We have stated that the capital of Kośala was "Ayodhyā". Now, "Āyuddhās" is the name of a people; and their province, according to Chinese writers, was "O-u-to", and its capital was Sāchī<sup>15</sup>. This province is said to have been situated in the south-east of Kānyakubja. Historians have confused these two names "Ayodhyā"<sup>16</sup> (name of a city), and "Āyuddhās"<sup>17</sup> (Name of a people) and have asserted that Sāchī (Sāket) was the capital of "Ayodhyā", because Sāket was the other name of "Ayodhyā". (So they have confused "Sāchī" and "Sāket" also!). We can prove that this is a gross mistake by the evidence of the Chinese travellers who have written that "Sāchī" was in the south-east of Kanoj or Kānyakubja; while "Ayodhyā" or "Sāket" was many miles in the north of Kanoj. Hence we come to the conclusions that "Ayodhyā" and "Āyuddhās"<sup>18</sup> are quite different terms having quite different connotations.

One is the name of a city. The other is the name of a people. (They had their own coins, and this race still exists in India. They are famous for their strength and are now called "Chobā"

(15) "Sāchī" and "Sānchī" are, again, different places. Sāchī is near Kānyakubja; while Sānchī is in Bhopāl and is famous for its inscriptions. (Full information about Sānchī is given in the account of Avanti in chapter VII.

(16) See the f. n. on No. 25 chap. III. It is a Jaina place for pilgrimage. In the silver Jubilee Number of the "Jain" p. 41., we have a verse (see at the foot of p. 121) in Sanskrit in the article by Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayaji in which occurs the word "Joddhāṇa" in the first line. Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayaji has commented on this word. He says "It is the name of a very old place, about which we know nothing now. The word "Yoddhānaka" occurs in the rock inscription of Ajāra of the Vikrama Era 1222. It must have been in the region of Goḍwād and Bhītroḥ."

Now the etymological meaning of the word "Āyuddhās" is "a place of the residence of a race of strong and sturdy people". (see chap III, f. n. No. 14., and chap. III f. n. No. 25). "Joddhāṇa" and "Yoddhānaka" mean the same thing.

See the position of No. 25 on the map on page 53.

(17) See the description of Ayodhyā in R. W. W.

(18) See C. A. I.



or "Bhaiyā". Their territory extended from Kānyakubja to Cawnpore<sup>19</sup>. (See Chapter III. f. n. 24 ).

In Bauddha books, Kośala is divided into two parts. The capital of the northern portion is said to be Śrāvastī, and that of the southern portion, Ayodhyā. The king at that time was Prasenjit, and he was a contemporary of Buddha<sup>20</sup>. The names of all the predecessors and descendents of Prasenjit are given in another Bauddha book named "Aśokāvdān"<sup>21</sup>. The name of the first king is Bimbisār, and Prasenjit is put ninth in descent to him. If we allow twenty-five years to each king's tenure of rule, two hundred years must have elapsed between the rule of Bimbisāra, and the rule of Prasenjit. But it is a historical fact that both Prasenjit and Bimbisāra were contemporaries of Buddha. Hence we shall have to disregard the information given in Bauddha books.

"Pasādi"<sup>22</sup> is the name of the king of Kośala in Bauddha books, and "Pradeśi" is the name in Jaina books, in which he is said to be a devout follower<sup>23</sup> of Keśi,<sup>24</sup> fifth in the line of

(19) See chap. III. f. n. No. 25.

Chāmpā Rajagṛhe cha Chakra-Mathurā-Joddhā Pratiṣṭhānagre,  
 Vande Swarnagirau tathā Sūragirau Śrī Devapaṭṭaṇe.  
 Hastanḍipurī Pāḍalā-Daśapure Chārūpa-Pāñchāsare,  
 Vande Śrī Karmāṭaka-Sivapure Nāgadrahe Nāṇake.

(20) See the description in chapter II.

(21) R. W. W. Vol. II. f. n. No. 3.

(22) "King Pasādi"—these are the words written in Bauddha books. Whether Passādi, Pradeśi, and Prasenjit can have the same etymological sense, is a subject deserving the attention of a linguistic expert. In R. K. M. p. 32, the word given is "Pasenādi". My idea is this: "Pradeśi" is the name in Jaina books. In Prakṛit language, it might have been written as "Padeśi" and in the Bauddha books written in the Pali language, it must have been written as "Padesi" or "Padāsi" which in English became "Paddāsi". Some writer, through a slip of pen, or to show its similarity with Prasenjit, might have written "Passādi".

(23) In Jaina books, the principal disciples of a Tirthankara are called "Gaṇadhar" which appellation is not applied to any one else. Keśi cannot be called a "Gaṇadhar". It is true that Pārśvanātha had a "Gaṇadhar" named Keśi, but he must be a different individual.

(24) See further, and f. n. No. 32.



preceptors, beginning from Pārśvanātha, and a contemporary of Mahāvīra.

So, Prasenjit was a contemporary both of Mahāvīra and of Buddha, thus proving that Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries. Hence, Śreṇika, Mahāvīra, Buddha, What is the Truth ? and Prasenjit were all contemporaries. Śreṇika was the king of Magadha and Prasenjit was the king of Kośala. Prasenjit and Śreṇika did not belong to the same dynasty. Only they were contemporaries. Mahāvīra and Buddha being preachers travelled in all places and did not settle anywhere.

It is also stated in Bauddha books that battles had taken place between Prasenjit and Śreṇika. Jaina books are silent on this point. The reason is not far to seek. (see f. n. No. 32). Then they had come to terms as follows:—King Prasenjit was to give his daughter in marriage to Śreṇika himself, and his son's Viruddhaka's daughter was to be given in marriage to Śreṇika's son Kuṇika. Thus ties of marriage bound both the kings.

Thus it seems possible that "Pradeśi" of the Jaina books, and "Pasādi" of the Bauddha books might have been one and the same individual, and that both these names refer to the king of Kośala, who was contemporary of Śreṇika. It is true that two kings came to the throne of Kośala during the time of Śreṇika, but the second was Viduratha—Viruddhaka, son of Prasenjit. Viduratha could not have been called Pradeśi. Hence we come to the conclusion that Pradeśi is the other name of Prasenjit.

The reason why Pradeśi is known as Prasenjit is, that he must have been at first a follower of Buddha. It is also possible that he might have belonged to the Sākya race<sup>25</sup> to which Gautama Buddha belonged; and he might have been his relative, because

(25) It is possible that Śakyas may be a branch of the Ikshavāku kshatriyas. If it is not so, Śakyasinha and Prasenjit cannot have been of the same race. As to Prasenjit's belonging to Ikshavāku race see f. n. No. 31. below.

It has been proved later that Gautama Buddha and Prasenjit belonged to the same race of kshatriyas. (See the account of king Vidurath—Viruddhaka in this chapter).



the kingdoms of this king and of Buddha's father were near each other. Just as the kingdom of Mahāvīra's father Siddhārtha was one

**Why Pradeśi was called Prasenjit?** of the federal states included in the kingdom of Chetāk, king of Videha or Vaiśālī; similarly,

the kingdom of Gautama Buddha's father Suddhodhan, might have been a part of the kingdom of Prasenjit.

We can give enough reasons in support of this conclusion; firstly it is stated in Jaina books that this Pradeśi was converted to Jainism by Keśi Muni, fifth in the line of preceptors from Pārśvanātha.

This conversion proves that he must have been following another religion before it<sup>26</sup>. Secondly, it is a proved fact that Buddha

began preaching at the age of thirty-six in 564 B. C.<sup>27</sup>, while Mahāvīra became a monk at the age of thirty and began preaching

at the age of forty-two, in 556 B. C. So there is about a decade's interval between the beginnings of the preachings of the gospels

of these two prophets; and Buddha had begun first; thirdly, historians have stated on the authority of Bauddha books that

Śreṇika was at first a follower of Buddhism, (This is not clearly stated in Jaina books, but is tacitly admitted)<sup>28</sup>, but after his

queen Kshemā was made a Bauddha nun, his mind began to waver. Then he married Chillāṇa, the daughter of Chetāk, king of

Videha<sup>29</sup> and became a staunch Jain. This took place in 556 B. C.;

(26) Buddha began to spread the gospel of Buddhism at the age of thirty-six in 564 B. C. (See f. n. No. 27 below). So king Prasenjit must have been converted to Buddhism, only after 564 B. C. Before that, he might have been following some other religion. It is possible that he might have been a Jain just as the kings of his Ikshavāku race (See the account of Kāśi) were Jains. Keśi Muni, then reconverted him to Jainism, before 556 B. C. (the year in which Mahāvīra acquired Kaivalyagnāna) as proved before. So we come to the conclusion that king Padeśi was reconverted to Jainism between 564 B. C. and 556 B. C. and Buddhism lost a mighty follower.

(27) See Vol. II, chapter I (fixing of the dates of Mahāvīra and a chronological list of the events of their life).

(28) See f. n. No. 29 below.

(29) The girl was absconded for the sake of marriage. (See the account of Vaiśālī) because Chetāk, father of Chillāṇa, did not consent to the marriage, possibly because king Śreṇika might not have been a Jain at that time. Jaina books may be silent about Śreṇika being a Bauddha, but at least he was not a Jain at this time. (for further information see the account of Śreṇika further).



it is now found out that the first ancestor of Śreṇika and the founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty, was the king of Kāśī<sup>30</sup>. He had often to wage wars with the king of Kośala (i. e. an ancestor of Prasenjit) whose kingdom was in his neighbourhood, on account of both having a sensitiveness for family pride<sup>31</sup>. These wars culminated in the decision of the king of Kāśī to marry a daughter of the king of Kośala, who called himself belonging to a higher family. Fortune smiled on the king of Kāśī, and he became the king of Magadha also. Śreṇika, his descendent not only fulfilled his ancestor's vow by himself marrying a daughter of the king of Kośala, but also married his son Kuṇika to the daughter of Viruddhaka, Prasenjit's son. In short, both the kings of Kāśī (or Magadha) and Kośala were very sensitive about family pride; and so it is possible that Śreṇika and Prasenjit might not have been on good terms from the very beginning; and now they also belonged to different religions, because Prasenjit was converted to Jainism<sup>32</sup> much earlier than Śreṇika. So there were two reasons for these wars: family pride<sup>33</sup> and difference of religion.

(30) Details are given in the account of Kāśī further in this volume.

(31) Kings of Kośala belonged to the Ikshavāku race, while kings of Kāśī belonged to Malla race (a branch of the Vriji kshatriyas of Vaiśālī). The race of the Ikshavāku is considered high, because it can boast to have produced twenty-two out of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras. Followers of other religions also have considered Ikshavāku race to be very high. (c. f. p. 81 f. n. No. 25).

(32) See the para entitled "What is the truth?" in this chap. The conversion of Prasenjit took place after 565 B. C., or any time between 556 (the year of Mahāvīra's attainment of Kaivalya-guṇa) and 565 B. C. One more proof of this conversion is the erection of a stūpa known as "Bhārhut-stūpa" in historical books. See the account of Priyadarshin for the reasons why this pillar was erected here; and f. n. 13 above.

(33) That a devout follower of Jainism like Śreṇika (who had deserved and acquired the fitness to be placed on one of the highest positions in the next birth) should have attached so much importance to religious differences is not believable. The wars between them, must have been due to their over-sensitiveness for family pride. If the cause of the wars had been religious difference only, wars would have come to an end by 556 B. C. When Śreṇika



Taking all the above reasons into consideration, we come to the conclusion that both Śreṇika and Prasenjit were first followers of Buddhism; that Prasenjit and Buddha possibly belonged to the same race; that the family of the king of Kośala must have been higher than the family of the king of Magadha.

Even now we find the name "Prasenjit" in the Jaina books, but after he became a follower of Jainism, he was given the name "Pradeśi". In Bauddha books "Passādi" might have possibly been written through religious jealousy.

A peculiarity of the Jaina writers deserves a short notice here<sup>34</sup>. The charge of religious jealousy the reader would naturally think, which I have put on Bauddha writers, can be applied more forcibly and more justifiably to Jaina writers, because Bauddha writers have, at least some times, written Prasādi (Passādi) for Prasenjit, but Jaina writers have taken every precaution not to admit "Prasenjit" even once (as far as I know) in their books. Really, it is not due to religious jealousy. The very word "Jain" means "a man without jealousy". But the fact that the Jaina writers have adopted the method of giving a certain one name throughout to an individual, suggests and illustrates their peculiarity which is this : it has been a very common custom with them to give names to persons in such a way, that they might symbolize certain events in the lives of those persons<sup>35</sup>. They therefore give up the original birth-names of the persons. For instance, the name "Bimbisār"

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accepted Jainism as his faith. But the wars continued and were over only, when Śreṇika conquered Kośala during the middle years of his reign. So it was the family pride, which had acquired such a powerful hold over their minds.

(34) The reader will ask the reason, why I should intrude upon him this discussion in a book concerned with pure history. The reason is this : this type of knowledge often helps a student of history when he is wrecking his brains over the most ambiguous historical problems.

(35) This is a good custom in a way, because the name which one gets at the time of birth, does not shed any light on the life of a man. Names given at the times of birth, have often confused many historians.



is time and again found in Bauddha books, while it is seldom found in Jaina books. He has been given by them, the very suggestive and symbolic name of Śreṇika (Śreṇi=a guild; and ka=builder; builder of guilds) because he achieved the difficult task of the construction of the whole of the social and political structure. The father of king Ajātsatru had brought him up at a great sacrifice and much trouble, and had kept his aching finger in his mouth. This Ajātsatru forgetting the benevolence, imprisoned his father for a small fault, instead of serving him in his old age. In order that the posterity may remember his ingratitude, they gave him the name of Kuṇika<sup>36</sup>, on account of his deformed finger. Priyadarśin was the name of the grandson of emperor Aśoka<sup>37</sup>; but because his reign was that of unimpeded and increasing prosperity, he was given the name of Saṃprati<sup>38</sup>. This is no place to quote many instances. We should not here forget that these names were given to those persons, not by themselves, but by the people around them and by the writers. We have no reason to believe that they called themselves by these names, or adopted these names. Śreṇika always called himself Bimbisāra, Kuṇika called himself Ajātsatru, and Saṃprati Priyadarśin, and Pradeśi called himself Prasenjit. From this it becomes clear what names were inscribed by these kings on the pillars erected by them, and also why Jaina writers constantly gave them different names. Moreover, Prasenjit was a Buddhist first, and a Jain afterwards. This must have been known to the writers of those times. They

(36) For further information see the account of king Ajātsatru.

(37) Hitherto all scholars believe that Aśoka and Priyadarśin are one and the same individuals. I think they are different individuals. Priyadarśin came to the throne after his grandfather Aśoka. Details are given in chapters on Aśoka and Priyadarśin.

(38) The word "Saṃprati" means "just now". (For the hidden meaning in this name, see the chapters on Priyadarśin). I believe that the first name must have been Saṃprati: but afterwards changed into "Saṃpatti" (wealth) on account of his possessing immense wealth. Later on this might have become "Saṃpāti" or "Saṃbādi". (In Tibetan books this name is found. It is also sometimes found in Bauddha books).



might have purposely suppressed this fact, because of their principle to give those facts about Buddhism only, which would not be discreditable to it, and leave the rest as they were. There is a third explanation. They might have been impartial and might have written facts which they knew, and the subsequent writers also might have slavishly followed them without further investigation. But the fault lies with those who possessed the old manuscripts of Jaina books and scriptures, who kept them a sealed book of knowledge to all the students of history and thus prevented them from comparing the statement.

Thus it is a fact that Prasenjit had changed his religion, and Jaina writers might have given him a name after their own tastes—Pradeśi or Paradeśi<sup>39</sup>. This Prasenjit was the king of Kośala or Ayodhyā.

We get no information about this from the Jaina books. In Bauddha books, however, it is stated that, Viduratha<sup>40</sup> succeeded his father Prasenjit; that, Kuśulika, who was a contemporary of Anuruddha, king of Magadha, succeeded Viduratha; that he was succeeded by Suratha, who was a contemporary of the first Nanda king; that his son Sumitra was defeated by Mahānanda<sup>41</sup> and that Kośala was annexed to the empire of Magadha.

(39) This "Paradeśi" seems to be a crude form for the pure one "Pradeśi". "Paradeśi"=foreigner; hence he might possibly have belonged to a country outside India. (i.e. the region of Śuddhodhana, father of Śākyasinha, is in Nepāl which, to their calculation was out of India.). While "Pradeśi" (Pra-many: Deshi=lord of countries) means "Lord of many countries"; his kingdom must have been very vast.

(40) In H. H. pp. 499, his name has been given as "Viruddhak".

In R. K. M. Pp. 68, his name is Vidudbha.

(41) I once believed that king Kuṇika had annexed Kośala to Magadha (see further the account of Viduratha). I had to change my belief because Bauddha books explicitly tell us that kings of this race ruled on Kośala upto the time of king Nanda.



A woman historian<sup>42</sup> has given us the geneological list of the whole race, as follows:—

- (1) Vṛta (Vaṅka)—A contemporary of king Kākavarṇa of the Śiśunāga dynasty; he was the first king of Kośala to invade Kāśī.
- (2) (Son) Ratañjaya or Dabbasena.
- (3) (Son) Sañjaya—The great conqueror of Kāśī; a contemporary of king Kshemjit of the Śiśunāga dynasty.
- (4) (Son) Prasenjit—Father-in-law of Śreṇika of the Śiśunāga dynasty; peace was established between Kośala and Magadha.
- (5) (Son) Viduratha—A contemporary of Kuṇika, king of Magadha (was living upto 520 B. C.).
- (6) (Son) Kuśulika—A contemporary of Anuruddha.
- (7) (Son) Suratha — A contemporary of king Nanda.
- (8) (Son) Sumitra — Defeated by king Mahānanda.

Our woman historian has furnished no details about any one of the above kings. We can glean out some information about them<sup>43</sup> by making a study of the other ruling families who were their contemporaries.

(1) King Vṛta or Vaṅka—He is said to have invaded Kāśī, the king of which was Kākavarṇa, who was defeated by him<sup>44</sup>. Kākavarṇa was the second in the line of the king of the Śiśunāga dynasty, while Vaṅka was the founder of his own dynasty. It follows from this, that Vaṅka must have been far advanced in age at the time of his invasion of Kāśī<sup>45</sup>, and the tenure of his rule and his life too, must have been long enough. Thus a knowledge of the kings of Kāśī helps us much in our attempt at gleaning information about the kings of Kośala.

(42) See C. I. D. and the geneological lists given at the end of this book.

(43) I have arranged their geneological lists as correctly as I could. See further.

(44) H. H. pp. 497, "Kākavarṇa was not heroic like his father. It appears that king of Śrāvastī wrested Benāres from his hands."

(45) See the account of Kāśī.



(2) Ratañjaya or Dabbasena:—He must have also ruled for a great number of years over Kośala, like his father, because in his old age, he must possibly have been a contemporary of Kākavarṇa, the second king in the Śiśunāga line. Moreover, his son Sañjaya is stated to have been a contemporary of Kshemjit, fourth king in the Śiśunāga line. In short, the tenure of Ratañjaya, the second king<sup>46</sup> of Kośala, must have been long enough to make him a contemporary of the second, third, and fourth kings of the Śiśunāga line. His son is stated to have been a contemporary of the fourth Śiśunāga king Kshemjit, and not of the third Śiśunāga king, Kshemavardhan.

(3) Sañjaya:—He is stated to have been a contemporary of king Kshemjit, the fourth Śiśunāga king. His son Prasenjit (fourth king of Kośala) was the father-in-law of the sixth Śiśunāga king Śreṇika who ruled Magadha. Śreṇika's reign lasted for fifty-two years. In short, the tenure of the rule of the third and fourth kings of Kośala must have been as long as a part of the tenure of the fourth, the whole of the fifth, and a major part of the fifty-two years of the sixth king of Magadha. Another idea arises in our mind from this.

That idea is this : If the tenure of a king's reign is exceedingly long, his son succeeds to the throne at a very advanced age. Consequently his tenure of reign is short. If, by any chance, or due to much longevity of his life, this son's tenure of reign is also exceedingly long, at least the tenure of the reign of this son's son is bound to be short. Sometimes he never comes to the throne, because he dies before his father dies. If it happens so, the second king is directly succeeded by his grandson, who must be a young man, and this young man's tenure of reign may be and can reasonably be as long as his grandfather's or even longer. In short, if we have three kings, each reigning for a very long time, we may reasonably suppose that at least the third king must be not the son, but the grand-son of the second king.

(46) There are reasons to believe that his number might be third; but if his number is fourth, Vanka's number would be second, and hence he must have been a contemporary of king Kshemjit, fourth king in the Śiśunāga dynasty. (See the geneological list for further information).



Now keeping the above idea in mind, let us turn to the numbers of years of the rule of each of the first four Kōśala kings, Vaṅka,<sup>47</sup> Ratañjaya, Sañjaya, and Prasenjit. We may reasonably grant the long tenure of reign to Vaṅka and Ratañjaya, and also admit of them to have the relation of father and son. But when we are confronted with the fact, that even Sañjaya and Prasenjit reigned for a very long time, we shall have to admit the possibility of an intermediary king either between the second and the third, or at least, between the third and the fourth. That the relation between the second and the third was that of father and son is a proved fact. Hence, we come to the conclusion that there must have been an intermediary individual between Sañjaya and Prasenjit. The individual who might have been Sañjaya's son and Prasenjit's father. The second explanation of these long tenure of reigns may be that Ratañjaya and Dabbasen might have been different individuals having the relation of father and son. To make matters clear, I give here different possible geneological lists of the Kōśala kings, and request the reader to accept that, which appeals to him so, most reasonable :

1	2	3	4	5
Vṛta (Vaṅka)	Vṛta (Vaṅka)	...	Vṛta (Vaṅka)	Vṛta (Vaṅka)
Ratañjaya or Dabbasen	Ratañjaya Dabbasen	Vṛta (Vaṅka)	Ratañjaya or Dabbasen	Ratañjaya or Dabbasen
Sañjaya	Sañjaya	Ratañjaya or	...	Sañjaya
...	Prasenjit	Dabbasen	Sañjaya	...
Prasenjit	Viduratha	Sañjaya	Prasenjit	Prasenjit
Viduratha	Kuśulik	Prasenjit	Viduratha	Viduratha
Kuśulik	Surath	Viduratha	Kuśulik	Kuśulik
Surath	Sumitra	Kuśulik	Surath	Suratha
Sumitra		Surath	Sumitra	Sumitra
		Sumitra		

(47) Vaṅka should be taken as the second in the line. See the lists at the end of the book.



In No. 1 list, the order of names is, as given in the list of the woman historian.

No. 2 appeals to me most. The other three are given in order as they appeal to me.

If we allow ourselves to believe that there were nine Kośala kings instead of eight, they tally in being contemporaries to many different dynasties. I give below the possible number of every king's tenure of reign.

1.	790 to 740 B. C.	50 years
2.	740 to 700 B. C.	40 „
3.	700 to 640 B. C.	60 „
4.	640 to 585 B. C.	55 „
5.	585 to 535 B. C.	50 „
6.	535 to 490 B. C.	45 „
7.	490 to 470 B. C.	20 „
8.	470 to 460 B. C.	10 „
9.	460 to 450 B. C.	10 „

Total 340 years

A great number of years of Prasenjit's reign was spent in wars with the kings of Kāśī and Magadha, and in changing his religion and saving his soul. We do not know any more about him. Bauddha books are silent about the manner of his death, possibly because he had become a Jain in his old age. From Jaina books<sup>48</sup> we come to know that, he died of poison which was served to him by his queen. We do not know the exact date and year of his death, but it must have taken place about 530 B. C., because when Kuṇika succeeded his father in 528 B. C. at the age of twenty-eight, his wife Prabhāvatī (who was Prasenjit's son's Viduratha's daughter) had a son nearly seven years old. Consequently Kuṇika must have married Prabhāvatī

(48) Vide P. 101, of "Bharateśvara Bāhubali Vṛtti" where it is stated that queen Suryakānta served poison to her husband Pradeśi, because she was a licentious woman.



in  $528+9=537$  B. C., and king Prasenjit was alive at that time<sup>49</sup>. Hence he must have died at least after 537 B. C., when he was nearly sixty years old; because Prabhāvatī, his son's daughter, must have been at least twenty years old in 528 B. C. Now if we take Prabhāvatī's year of birth to be 550 B. C. her father Viduratha must have born not earlier than 570 B. C., and his father Prasenjit must have born in 590 B. C. So he must have died at the age of sixty<sup>50</sup>. A writer has stated the circumstances under which he died as follows:—"His son Viruddhak revolted against him. Prasenjit fled and came down to Rājgrha to seek shelter of his son-in-law, but died outside the town tired and careworn".

Whether he died under this circumstances, or through the effects of poison served to him by his queen Suryakāntā, is a problem to be solved by the students of history. It will here suffice to say that his death did not take place under normal conditions.

Further research has brought out that he died in 526 B. C. [See f. n. No. 52 below].

This is all about Prasenjit. Now we shall take up the next in the line.

(5) Viruddhak—It is said<sup>51</sup> that once king Prasenjit was bewitched by the beauty of a Śākya princess, and wanted to marry her. The leaders of the race did not like this proposal because Prasenjit and the Śākyas belonged to the same family. On the other hand, they could not afford to displease such a powerful king. So they placed a beautiful maid-servant in the place of the princess, and married her to the king. Viruddhak was born of her. When he grew up, he came to know of this deceitful action played with his father, and decided to avenge it. Five years, after he came to the throne (according to our calculation, about 520 B. C.).

(49) It was he, who had made peace-terms with king Śreṇika and it was he, who has given his daughter in marriage to him, and his son's-Vidurath's daughter in marriage to Śreṇika's son Kuṇika.

(50) See below. His death took place in 526 B. C. at the age of sixty-four.

(51) Vide P. 38 of E. H. I. 4th. ed. and H. H. p. 499.



he invaded the region of Kapilvastu, which was under the Śākya, slaughtered them all, and annexed that region to his kingdom. A short time after this, the "Nirvāṇa" (going to heaven) of Buddha took place<sup>52</sup>.

(6, 7, 8) Kuśulik, Surath, and Sumitra:—No information is forthcoming about these three kings. I have already stated the names of the kings who were their contemporaries. I shall discuss later on, the tenures of their reigns in connection with their contemporary kings. It will suffice here to state, that the Kośala dynasty was exterminated by Mahānanda<sup>53</sup> who defeated Sumitra, the last king, and Kośala was annexed to the empire of Magadha.

The boundary lines of Kāśī and Kośala touched one another at many points; hence it is possible and natural that wars might have been waged in connection with them. But

#### Conclusion

kings of that time were not much interested in territorial expansion. Hence, family pride and religious differences, as stated before, must have been chief reasons of wars. King Vaṅka is said to have invaded Kāśī for the first time, when Kākavarṇa was its ruler. This Kākavarṇa was the son of first king Śīsunāg, who was the founder of the dynasty of that name<sup>54</sup>. This Śīsunāg also was a contemporary of Vaṅka; but Vaṅka might not have thought it safe to provoke him to battle, because he must have believed him to be more valorous than he himself was. When Śīsunāg acquired the kingdom of Magadha, he went there, and left Kāśī under the care of his son. Vaṅka might have then seen his opportunity and invaded

(52) The "Parinirvāṇa" (attainment of salvation) of Buddha is said to have taken place in May or June of 520 B. C. In R. K. M. p. 68, it is stated that Kapilvastu was destroyed only a short time, before the death of Buddha. Hence the year of Kapilvastu's destruction must have been 521 B. C.

(53) In Bauddha books it is stated that his country was annexed to the kingdom of Magadha by king Nandivardhan. But the exact words are "conquered by Nanda the Great", which title can be applied to the Ninth Nanda king only, because his tenure of reign was the longest amongst all the Nanda kings.

(54) His dynasty takes its name from his name.



Kāśī. Śiśunāga kings had to protect two kingdoms, Magadha and Kāśī; but the rulership of Magadha commanded more respect and prestige. Hence Śiśunāga kings spent most of their time in Kusumpura, the capital of Magadha; and thus Kośala kings found it easy to invade Kāśī as often as they liked, and conquered Kāśī, either because the three kings from Kākavarṇa to Kshemjit were weak, or because they were tired of coming to Kāśī from Magadha, and fighting against these ever-disturbing Kośala kings. People always spoke of Kāśī and Kośala in the same breath<sup>55</sup>

Kshemjit was succeeded by Prasenjit and Prasenjit was succeeded by Śreṇika, the famous emperor of Magadha. (Śreṇika, being a valorous king, could not forget to avenge his forefathers by fighting against Kośala kings). He made powerful invasions<sup>56</sup> on Kośala, the king of which, Prasenjit was an old man. Prasenjit accepted his defeat and was forced to give his daughter in marriage to Śreṇika, and his son's (Viduratha's) daughter in marriage to Śreṇika's son Kuṇika, because Śreṇika wanted to strike a blow against his family pride.

#### (4) KĀŚĪ

This country consisted of the modern Vaṇārasi, Prayāg, and Gāzipur districts.

Brhadratha, who figures prominently in Mahābhārat, was a king of Kāśī, and his descendents are called "Brhadrathās". In mythological books it is stated that beginning Preliminary account with this Brhadratha, thirty-two Brhadratha kings reigned in succession over Kāśī, upto the time with which we are here concerned. Now there are many "Purāṇās" (mythological books). Mr. Pargiter, once a judge, has made a deep study of the many manuscripts of these "Purāṇas", and then has published a book entitled "Pargiter's Dynastic list of Kali Age". In this book is mentioned this succession of thirty-

(55) For the names of these two countries being spoken together, see "Purātattva" vol. II, p. 3.

(56) It is said that eleven or twelve wars had taken place.



Defects in the above calculations, and the reasons of these defects

two kings<sup>57</sup>. Brhadratha has been stated to be the founder of the line. During the reign of the tenth king, the famous Mahābhārat wars are stated to have taken place. The thirty-second king was defeated by a king named Śiśunāg<sup>58</sup> who founded a dynasty after his name, and became the king of Kāśī. This is stated to have happened one thousand years after the Mahābhārat wars, by Mr. Pargiter. Thus, according to him the period of the rule of 22 kings was 1000 years, and those of 32 kings was also 1000 years.

Mr. Pargiter has thus stated that a thousand years was the tenure of the reigns of these thirty-two Brhadratha kings<sup>59</sup>. He has described some events that had taken place during their reigns, and has given an estimate of the number of years that might have elapsed between the taking place of one event after another. A simple addition of the numbers of these intervening years, far exceeds one thousand. Again, he has based his method of calculating the years on that of ancient astronomers and astrologers. These astronomers noted the names of the constellations through which the sun had passed, whenever they wanted to calculate how many years had elapsed between the happening of the two events. Then they counted the number of constellations through which the sun might have passed, during that time. Thus, if the first event might have happened when the sun was passing through a constellation X, and the second event when the sun was passing through a constellation Y, they counted the number of constellations through which the sun must have passed in his journey from X to Y and then multiplied that number by hundred,

(57) Vide p. 68 of that book:—"These thirty-two kings are future Brhadrathas, their kingdom will last for 1000 years indeed."

(58) This means that before Śiśunāg, all the kings were the descendents of Brhadratha, who is said to have belonged to the Ikshvāku race, in Mahābhārat. (For the information about the family of Pārśvanāth's father Aśvasena c. f. this with the paragraph, "The origin of Śiśunāg")

(59) 1000 years can be said not the tenure of all the thirty-two kings, but of the twenty only, who succeeded the tenth king and who lived in the time of Mahābhārat.



because the sun takes nearly a hundred years to pass through one constellation<sup>60</sup>.

These astronomers (and Mr. Pargiter has followed their footsteps) have glibly ignored the possibility of a big mistake that would surely be committed in these calculations. They count the number of constellations to be twenty-seven. The sun would take twenty-seven hundred years to finish his one round through them all, and so on his rounds would continue. Now there can be no possibility of a mistake, if the interval between the two events was less than twenty-seven hundred years; i. e. less than the time taken by the sun to finish his one round. But, if in between two events the sun might have finished his one whole round, the astronomers dropped to mention that, and only gave the names of the two constellations; one of the happening of the first event, and the other of the happening of the second event. In that case, if the sun might have finished only one round, the mistake would be of twenty-seven hundred years; and if the sun might have finished more than one round, the mistake would be of twenty-seven hundred multiplied by the number of rounds. Now, the writers of *Purāṇas* have given us only the number of constellations through which the sun might have passed, from the time of the wars of *Mahābhārat*<sup>61</sup> to the reign of *Mahāpadma* (one of the *Nanda* kings). Calculating from the number of these constellations, one thousand years are all right. But they have not stated how many rounds the sun had finished between the happenings of these two events. Had they stated that, we could have got the correct number of years. Now, all the subsequent historians have taken these one thousand years as all right without any hesitation, because they had the authority of these astronomers.

(60) At that time, the belief of the people was, that the sun revolved round the earth.

(61) It is evident, that just as the authors of the "*Purāṇas*" have committed a mistake in fixing the date of *Mahābhārat*, they have also miscalculated the time of *Kṛṣṇa*. *Neminātha*, the twenty-second *Tirthankara* of the *Jains*, was a cousin of *Kṛṣṇa*, and is said to have lived eighty-four thousand years before our time. Many different opinions prevail as to his date also. (I have discussed this subject in another book). See f. n. No. 63 below.



That my objection, stated above, is justified, can be proved by a simple arithmetical calculation. I take this opportunity to justify myself.

King Mahāpadma (Mahānanda) reigned in fifth century B.C.<sup>62</sup> If the sun might have been passing through the same constellation in the time of king Mahāpadma, through which he was passing at the time of Mahābhārat wars, we can calculate, that 2700 years must have passed between the happening of the two events. Then we have to find out, how many such rounds were finished by the sun between these two events. If the sun has finished not even a single round, the Mahābhārata wars must be said to have taken place in the 5th century B. C. If the sun has finished one round, Mahābhārata wars must have taken place in 3200 B. C. If the sun has finished two rounds, they must have taken place in 5900 B. C., and so on. Now the late Lokmānya Tilak has fixed the time of Mahābhārat<sup>63</sup> to be 3201 B. C.. (Whether Lokmānya Tilak's calculation is correct or whether he has committed the same mistake as these astrologers did and whether the time of Mahābhārata wars must have been 5900 B. C., 8600 B. C., or 11300 B. C. etc. etc., are questions out of place here, and so I leave them aside for a while<sup>64</sup> ).

It must now have been clear to the reader that there are grave mistakes in the calculations of the time of Mahābhārat, and the number of the Kali Age based on that. Also Mr. Pargiter's statement that a thousand years had passed between Mahābhārata wars and the reign of king Mahāpadma, is totally wrong. Now, when the interval between the tenth Brhadratha king and the reign of Mahāpadma was more than thousand years, the interval between the first Brhadratha king and Mahāpadma must have been

(62) For the exact time of these Nanda kings, read the chapters devoted to them.

(63) I have calculated and stated my opinion as to the time of Mahābhārat and the duration of the life of Kṛṣṇa, but I do not think it proper to intrude upon the reader, a discussion of these subjects here.

(64) See f. n. No. 63 above.



The origin of Śīsunāg, and how he became the king of Kāśī

still longer. Thus it is proved that both Br̥hadratha and Śīsunāga ruled over Kāśī, but they had no blood relationship<sup>65</sup>.

All the Jaina books unanimously state that their twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, was the son of king Aśvasena of Kāśī<sup>66</sup> who belonged to the Ikshavāku race<sup>67</sup>, that his duration of life was 100 years, that time of his "Nirvāṇa" (attainment of salvation) was 250 years before the "Nirvāṇa" of Mahāvīra, that he had become a monk at the age of thirty and lived as an ascetic for seventy years. We know that the "Nirvāṇa" of Mahāvīra took place in 527 B. C. Hence we come to the following conclusions about the time of Pārśvanātha:—

The "Nirvāṇa" of Pārśvanātha— $527+250=777$  B. C.

The birth of Pārśvanātha  $777+100$  (the duration of his life)=877 B. C.

The time of his becoming a monk  $877-30=847$  B. C.

When he became a monk, his father Aśvasena was on the throne; but we do not know the time of his death.

In other books<sup>68</sup> it is stated that the founder of the Śīsunāga dynasty, was at first the king of Kāśī, and his capital was Vaṇārasi. ("King Śīsunāg, the founder of the Śīsunāga dynasty had his sway over the province of Kāśī and his capital was Vaṇārasi). " It is also stated elsewhere in the same book<sup>69</sup> that "when the

(65) It has not been settled whether he was a son and successor both, but he must have been the successor only and not the son.

(66) See below the estimate of time no. 4 and f. n. no. 70.

(67) Cf. f. n. no. 58 above to ascertain the fact that this Aśvasena was a descendent of Br̥hadratha of the Mahābhārata wars. It is a question whether all the Br̥hadratha kings followed the same religion. If they followed the same religion, Mahābhārata can be proved to be a book belonging to the Jaina religion. (It is truly so. I have only stated the bare fact, and have not entered into discussions, because this is not the proper place for it.) Ikshavāku is the name of a family and not of a race. I have used the two words as synonyms wherever there was no danger of confusion; but I have made distinctions wherever I have thought them necessary).

(68) Vide J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. p. 114.

(69) Vide J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. p. 76.



house of Bṛhadratha became extinct and while the Vitihotras were ruling in Avanti (that is before the Pradyotas). Śiśunāg came to Girivraja placing his son on the throne of Benāres, his original kingdom<sup>70</sup>. From the above statements, we draw the following conclusions:—(i) The family of the Bṛhadrathas was exterminated<sup>71</sup>; (ii) At that time the kings of Avanti were of the Vitihotra family; (iii) kings of the Pradyota family ruled over Avanti after the kings of this Vitihotra family; (iv) only after a short time Śiśunāg became the king of Kāśī<sup>72</sup>; (v) He founded the Śiśunāga dynasty; (vi) He had to go to Girivraja (the capital of Magadha) during his reign; (vii) During his absence from Kāśī, he had appointed his son as the ruler of Kāśī.

Keeping the above facts in our minds, we come to the inevitable conclusion that Aśvasena, the father of Pūrṣvanātha, was the last Bṛhadratha<sup>73</sup> king (he also belonged to the Ikshavāku race), and that only a short time after his death, a member of the Śiśunāga family, became the ruler of Kāśī<sup>74</sup>. This Śiśunāga king, obtained the throne of Magadha, in the middle of his reign, and went away to Magadha, leaving the kingdom of Kāśī to his son.

We shall prove later on that these Śiśunāga kings belonged to the Malla family of the kshatriyas, who were cousins of the Samvriji and Lichchhavi kshatriyas of Vaiśālī. (They were not Vrijis of Turkey as stated in f. n. No. 73 above). Consequently their original place must have been near (Magadha) but they must

(70) Vide p. 77. f. n. No. 16. J. O. B. R. S. "This is stated on the authority of Vāyu-Purāṇa and Matsya-Purāṇa."

(71) King Bṛhadratha belonged to the Ikshavāku family. King Aśvasena also belonged to the same family; and it is possible that they might have blood-relationship. The Bṛhadratha family was exterminated in Aśvasena's time. Thus he is proved to be the last king of the Bṛhadratha family. (Cf. f. n. No. 64 above).

(72) Cf. f. n. No. 65 above.

(73) Cf. f. n. No. 71 above.

(74) Vide p. 496 H. H. "Śiśunāg was formerly a vassal of the Turanian Vrijians. He founded his dynasty of 10 kings and ruled for 250 years." It comes out from this, that he belonged to a family different from Bṛhadrathas.



have migrated elsewhere to acquire territory and for other political purposes<sup>75</sup>. The above statement is supported by the fact that Śīsunāga's claim to the throne of Magadha was established and accepted. Now, we shall have to find reasons for his going to Kāśī, when he was the naïve of a territory near Magadha. We know that the throne of Kāśī had been vacant for some time because of the death of Aśvasena. It is clear that this Śīsunāg must have been the scion of a royal family, or even the son of the king of Magadha, and being very brave and adventurous, must have felt a desire to occupy the throne of Kāśī, just because nobody claimed it, and must have conquered Kāśī by an invasion. He must have become the king of Kāśī, only by invading and conquering it; because otherwise, the kings of the neighbouring country of Kośala, like the Brhadrathas of Kāśī, were of the Ikshavāku family<sup>76</sup> and had a stronger claim to the throne of Kāśī. Vaṅka was the king of Kośala at this time, (see the account of Kośala already given) and he did not think it safe to wage war against Śīsunāg, whom he considered mightier than himself<sup>77</sup>. From this it follows, that at the time of Śīsunāg's invasion on Kāśī, king Vaṅka must either have been very young or his father must have been on the throne, and so he must have postponed his idea of invading Kāśī to the time of his coming to the throne; or he must have considered himself inferior to Śīsunāg in might and the art of warfare. Thus a deep sense of antipathy was, at this time, established between the kings of Kāśī and Kośala, and we know that no sooner did Śīsunāg turn his back upon Kāśī, than

(75) According to Bauddha books, the place of the Malla kshatriyas was the region near modern Gayā.

(76) Vide previous pages of this book, and the notes No. 30., and No. 31 in chapter III.

(77) Kings were not serious about the acquisition of territories at this time; but they were serious about establishing their claims. To this motive, many other motives were added later on, i. e. family pride, religious differences etc. (In the time of king Śreṇika many wars were waged on account of the above two reasons). Vide previous pages of this book (p. 80, f. n. No. 33 and further description).



his son Kākavarṇa<sup>78</sup> ( who was younger and weaker than Vaṅka ) was defeated by Vaṅka (See the account of Kośala already given ).

Thus the kings of Kośala and Kāśī were always at war with one another, and the weaker had to go to the wall. This continued for a generation or two. Sañjaya, the Kośala king, had once even reconquered Kāśī (Vide **Further details about king Śiśunāg** previous page No. 84. ). But attacks from Magadha continued, till the time when Prasenjit came to the throne of Kośala, and Śreṇika, to the throne of Kāśī. Peace-terms were established between them, and warfare came to an end<sup>79</sup>. Marriage-ties united both the kings<sup>80</sup>, family-pride was not attached much importance, and they began to reign happily in their respective kingdoms<sup>81</sup>. In the time of king Kuṇika, again there arose hostility between them<sup>82</sup>, but lasted only a short time.

In short, the first kings of the Śiśunāga line were formerly the kings of Kāśī, and later on became the masters of Magadha also, and then there were no quarrels for the throne of Kāśī.

Now we have to answer the following questions:—(1) Did Śiśunāg conquer the throne of Kāśī immediately after the death of Aśvasen who was the father of Pārśvanātha, and who was reigning over Kāśī in 847 B. C. ?

**The relation between Śiśunāg and Bhadratha** (2) If he at all came to the throne of Kāśī immediately after Aśvasen, had he any blood-relationship with him ? I will discuss these two

questions in the account of Magadha, because I have given there all the details about the whole of Śiśunāga dynasty.

(78) Vide p. 84 and p. 97 of this book and f. n. No. 75. "Left his son on the throne of Kāśī and went to Girivraja" ( Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa ).

(79) See the account of the Kośala kings already given.

(80) In giving rise to these conditions, king Śreṇika revealed his political wisdom, social foresightedness, and ability to fulfil his own desires. See f. n. No. 76, 77, 79 above.

(81) Family pride must have been a greater cause than religious differences, because Jainism is tolerant to all other religions, and a Jaina king does not fight for religious differences. Family pride had always been a cause of quarrels and battles among kshatriyās.

(82) Vide pp. 25 and 30 B. I.



Below I have given further information about "Kamboja" or "Gāndhāra", the account of which **Further information** is already given in the previous pages of this volume.

The Persian emperor Xerxes died in 465 B. C. After his death, the hold of Persians on the Punjāb began to grow weaker and weaker. Nanda kings of Magadha invaded the country at this time, conquered it, and established their power over it. These invasions must have been made by Nandivardhan and by Mahānanda, the ninth Nanda king<sup>1</sup>. They had appointed the princes of the Samvriji family, to which they themselves belonged, as the governors of the Punjāb. These chiefs were almost independent. They continued to be so, up to the end of the reigns of the Mauryan emperors Chandragupta and Bindusāra. When Alexānder the Great invaded the country in 328 B. C., Saubhūti<sup>2</sup> of the Maurya—Maukhari race, (who is known by the name of Āmbhi in history)<sup>3</sup>, was ruling over the western portion of the Punjāb which was called Gāndhāra, and Porus, a relative of the king of Vatsa<sup>4</sup>, was ruling over the eastern portion.

Alexānder first exterminated in 331 B. C., the Achaimanidāi dynasty of the kings of Persiā, and conquered that country. Then he marched upto the boundary line of India. On this side, when the Mauryan emperor Bindusāra<sup>5</sup> died in 330 B. C., the chiefs who were ruling over the separate regions of the Punjāb, began to fight against one another to establish their independence. Alexānder saw this opportunity and marched over the territory of Āmbhi and challenged him to war. Much to the disgrace of his

(1) See account of the Nanda family: 2nd part, Chapter I of this book.

(2) Vide the chapter on coins; for figure No. 43 of this coin.

(3) His royal name was Saubhūti. He was also called "Āmbhi". Greeks called him "Sophytes—Sopheton". See his coin and notes on it, and C. I. B. Plate No. I.

(4) Vide chap. V. for the account of Vatsa.

(5) See f. n. No. 8 below.



family, he sought safety in yielding to the Greek emperor, and made his progress in India easy. Porus was the next in the field, but he did not yield or bow to Alexānder's authority. Alexānder was favourably impressed by his bravery, and established him again on his throne and expanded his territory<sup>6</sup>. When Alexānder went back to his own country, he placed the reins of kingdom in the hands of Porus<sup>7</sup>, but, as a cautious step, he also left some of his officers to keep a watchful eye upon him, so that he may not be able to deceive him by being faithless like king Āmbhi (who died very wretchedly). The result was, that both these officers and these kings began to distrust one another, and once more the Punjāb became a scene of warfare and rebellion. At this time Aśoka had already been proclaimed as the emperor of Magadha<sup>8</sup> but his coronation ceremony had not yet taken place, and hence he took care of his own kingdom only. On this side, this mutual hatred and distrust between these Greek officers and Porus, culminated in the murder of Porus in 317 B. C., and into the subsequent establishment of the Greek power on the Punjāb<sup>9</sup>. Aśoka now invaded the country, drove out all these Greeks from it, within two or three years, and annexed it to the empire of Magadha. In 312 B. C. again, an officer of Alexānder, named Selucos Nekator established his kingdom in Syriā, and tried to reconquer the Indian territory, which was lost by his own people. But the chances were not in his favour, because conditions were not the same as they were at the time of the death of Bindusāra, and because he had to confront a very powerful adversary like

(6) From 320 to 317 B. C. the Punjāb was under the power of Porus.

(7) Vide chapters on Aśokavardhan for a paragraph entitled, "India under the eye of the foreigners".

(8) Many historians at present have affirmed that Alexander was a contemporary of Chandragupta, whose date they have fixed as 327 B. C. Really speaking this Chandragupta, was already dead in 358 B. C. His son Bindusāra reigned from 358 to 330 B. C. Aśoka succeeded him in 330 B. C. Vide the chapters on Maurya dynasty for details.

(9) For the condition of the Punjāb. in 317 B. C. vide the chapters on Aśoka for a paragraph entitled, "India under the eye of the foreigners".



## The condition of the Punjab after 465 B. C.

Aśoka. In spite of his invading the territory seventeen times within eight (from B. C. 312<sup>10</sup> to 304) years, he was defeated and had to agree to very degrading peace-terms with emperor Aśoka<sup>11</sup>, who thus became the lord of a large territory outside India, including the modern Afghānistān. Sixty-five years after this, when emperor Priyadarśin died in 236 B. C., Indian kings lost this country for ever. Thus the Punjāb, after being ruled over by many powers, and after being time and again a scene of bloody battles, at last became the kingdom of the Bactrian people<sup>12</sup> (who are known as "Yons" in many historical books, and who have their origin in the mixed blood of the Greeks), the chief of which, Demetrius, became the first foreign ruler of it.

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(10) Pp. 23 C. I. B. "Eleven years after Alexānder's death, his general Seleucos founded the Seleucid kingdom of Syria".

(11) Vide chapters on Aśoka.

(12). Vide the chapter on foreign invasions to understand this fully.





## Chapter V.

### An account of the kingdoms (continued)

**Synopsis:**—(5) *Vatsa désa*—Its boundaries, capital, and the location of the territory—List of its rulers, corrections in the list with reasons for the corrections—Notes on the time of every king and short accounts of their lives—An illustration of the fact that even queens sat on the thrones and were perfect politicians—Further light on Vatsa and Avanti from the lives of the Vatsa king Udayan and his queen *Vāsavadattā*.—A confusion about the name Udayan, because there were three great kings of the same name almost at the same time, ruling over different countries; we being concerned with only two of them, my explanation about them—The death of Udayan without an heir and his relation with Magadha—A discussion on the question, whether kings adopted their successors at that time.

(6) *Śrāvastī*—included in the account of *Kośala*.

(7) *Vaiśālī*—Area and location—Its king, the best of the *Samvriji*—*Lichchhavi kshatriyas*—The marriages of all his seven daughters with seven great kings and the explanation of many historical problems arising from these marriages—The death of the king of *Vaiśālī*, and lessons to be taken from it.

(8) *Magadha* and *Bāṅg*—Short notes only given here; details further on.



(9) *Kuśasthala, Mahākośala, or Āṅga dēśa*—An explanation of the names of the Chedi dynasty connected with it—A solution of riddle of the modern place which represents the capital of Āṅga dēśa (*Champāpuri*)—Antagonism between Vidarbha and Kuśasthala—Origin of the Chedi dynasty; incidents from the lives of king Dadhivāhan and Queen Padmāvatī—How Āṅga dēśa was saved from a calamity—The origin of Gauda Śarasvata brahmins from the time of king Karkandū.

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## VATSA DEŚA

This country was situated in the south of Kośala and in the west of Kāśī. The name of its capital was Vatsapaṭṭaṇa<sup>1</sup> or Kauśāmbī. The name of the king was Śatānik. This country was also called "Vamśadeśa".<sup>2</sup>

Two small villages are seen to-day at the place where formerly was the large city of Kauśāmbī. The name of one village is Kośaminām (Rent-free), and the name of the second is Kośam-khirāj (Rent-paying). Both of them are on the bank of the river Yamunā, and are and them are the ruins of a fortress<sup>3</sup> which must have been very strong in former times. They are twenty-eight miles from Allāhbād<sup>4</sup>. In

The ruins of  
Kauśāmbī

(1) Paṭṭaṇa=city. Vatsa-paṭṭaṇa means the city of the country of Vatsa. (Hemchandra, Canto IV. verse 41. F. Hall's "Vāsavadattā. pp. 4, comments). More instances are given below:—

Lalit-paṭṭaṇa in Nepāl; Anahil-paṭṭaṇa in Gujrāt; Vittabhaya-paṭṭaṇa in Sindh; Deva-paṭṭaṇa in Saurāstra; Kālumbē-paṭṭaṇa in Karel (which is now called Quilon). In Kalpasūtra commentaries pp. 59 it is stated that the place to which we can travel by land only is called Paṭṭaṇa, and the place to which we can travel both by land and sea is called Droṇa.

(2) Vide B. I. pp. 7 (Vide the chapters on Kalinga; for knowing which country can truly be given the name of Vamśadeśa).

(3) Vide the account of Queen Padmāvatī, further in this volume.

(4) Vide pp. 20 introduction, Vol. I., A. C. I. "modern Kośam is on the left bank of the Jamnā, twenty-eight miles west by south from Allāhbād".



the north-west of these villages, not very far from them, is a holy hill named Prabhās<sup>5</sup>, which is a place of pilgrimage. In the hill there is a big cave, and in the cave there is an inscription which contains the name of king Brhaspatimitra, who may possibly be the same individual, whose name is mentioned in the famous inscriptions of Hāthigumfā in the country of Kalinga, and who is said to have been defeated by emperor Khārvel of Kalinga. This fortress must have been a great centre of military preparations. It is 80 miles in the north-east of Bhārhut (which has been very famous on account of containing Bhārhut-stūpa). The area of the fortress is nearly four miles, and the average height of its walls is 30 to 35 feet. There are many turrets and spires in the eastern wall. From the coins<sup>6</sup> that have been found in the ruins, we can conjecture that this place must have been a great trade-centre, and must have been frequently visited by great merchants from distant countries, and many travellers from Kośala in the north and Magadha in the east.

There were four suburbs<sup>7</sup> in ancient Kauśāmbī. (1) Badrik, (2) Kukkuṭa, (3) Ghosilā park, (4) the Mango grove. Veṇugrām must also have been a small suburb. A certain Ben-purva (Bamboo-town), which is in the north-east of Kośala, and from where its present land-lord found out old brick-work and foundation-stones while digging the ground, might also have been a suburb of Kauśāmbī.

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Vide pp. 36 B. I. "30 leagues=230 miles by river from Benāres".

C. H. I. pp. 525 "It seems to have been on the south bank of the Jamnā at a point about 400 miles by road from Ujjain and about 230 miles upstream from Benāres".

Mr. Dey in his "Ancient Geography of India". Pt. II., says that this place was the same as Bithā, a small village about 11 miles in the south-west of Allāhbād. I think it is a mistake, because he says that its original name was Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇa, which was the capital of Udāyan, king of Sindh-sauvīra, and not the capital of Udayan, the king of Vatsa.

(5) The other name is "Pabosā".

(6) Vide the chapter on coins in vol. II. for the coins of Kauśāmbī.

(7) B. I. pp. 36.



In J. O. B. R. S. (Vol. I. pp. 114) the following list<sup>8</sup> of the names\* of the kings of Vatsa is given:—

Kings of Vatsa.	Contemporary kings of Magadha.
(1) Sutrīth	Śiśunāg
(2) Ruch	Kākavarṇ
(3) Chitraksh	Kshemvardhan
(4) Sukhilal; Sahasraṇik	Kshemjit
(5) Paraṇtap Śatānik, and Jayanti <sup>9</sup> (daughter)	Śreṇik and Kuṇik
(6) Udayan <sup>10</sup> and a daughter <sup>11</sup>	Udāyin Bhata
(7) Medhavin or Maṇiprabh	Mund, and first Nand
(8) Daṇḍapāṇi <sup>12</sup>	Second Nand
(9) Kśemak <sup>12</sup>	(Defeated by Mahānand)

Though the above list is open to correction, yet it reflects much credit on the writer of the article, for giving us an unbroken line of names, this list, as far as I know, has not been published anywhere else.

It is possible that the sons of king Kśemak, might have migrated to the Punjāb and established their colony there. The natives of Vatsa were called Pauravas<sup>13</sup> and made themselves known in the Punjāb by the same name. One of the kings was Porus who has been very much famous in history, and who had

(8) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 114. Only names are given there. I have put more information side by side to make it possible for the reader to compare and contrast them.

\* For their dynastic name, vide infra f. n. no. 13.

(9) See f. n. no. 15 below.

(10) He had married Padmāvatī, the daughter of Kuṇik of Magadha, and Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Chandrapadyot, king of Avanti.

(11) This princess was married to Nāgadaśak, the commander-in-chief of Udāyin, the king of Magadha. Later on, he had been given the name of Nandivardhan, the first Nanda king.

(12) See f. n. no. 23 below.

(13) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89:—"The Paurava line of Kośāmbī continued for three generations after Udayan's son". (Udayan of Vatsa died without an heir. We shall prove this later on. The author of the above statement might have meant three successors and not sons).



opposed the great Greek invader Alexānder, and then had become his vassel and friend.

It is said that the kings of Vatsa were highly cultured and educated<sup>1</sup>. Many of them were not born of  
**its ruling family** pure kshatriya women.

I have said above, that the list is open to corrections; I now try to make them.

Correction No. 1:—No. 5 in the list is Paraṇatap Śatānik, and he is stated to have been a contemporary to king Śreṇik. Now Śreṇik's number in his own line is sixth.  
**Corrections in the list** Again, the founder of the Śisunāga dynasty and the founder of king Paraṇatap's family have

been stated to be contemporaries. If the founders of both the families were contemporaries, No. 6 in the one line must reasonably have been a contemporary of No. 6 in the other, and not of No. 5. Again, Sukhilal, the fourth Vatsa king has been stated to be a contemporary of the fourth Magadha king, Kṣemjit. Is it possible that Paraṇatap alone might have been a contemporary of both the fifth and the sixth kings of Magadha, Prasenjī and Śreṇik? It is possible only, if the tenures of the reigns of these two kings are short. But I shall prove later on, that the fifth king of Magadha reigned for forty-one years, and the sixth reigned for fifty-two years. Hence, if Sukhilal is taken as the fourth Vatsa king, and Paraṇatap Śatānik as the sixth, we shall have to find out the fifth Vatsa king, who can be a contemporary of the fifth king of Magadha, Prasenjī.

If we have a look at the Jaina books, we shall come to know, that king Śatānik is called there "Śatānik" only and not "Paraṇatap Śatānik". It is possible therefore that Paraṇatap and Śatānik might have been two different individuals. Again there is a semicolon between Sukhilal and Sahasraṇik ( who has been stated to be a contemporary of Kṣemjit, the fourth king of Magadha); hence a doubt arises whether these two names represent two different individuals, or only one. So we have three ways of introducing a new king :

(14) Vide pp. 7, 8, of Purātattva, Vol. II.



(i) either Sukhilal and Sahasraṇik were two different individuals;  
(ii) or, Paraṇatap and Śatānik were two different individuals;  
(iii) or, the introduction of a new king between the fourth and the sixth, as stated in the paragraph, above. To my mind the solution lies in the removal of the semicolon, and making Sukhilal, the fourth king, Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap<sup>15</sup> the fifth king, and Śatānik the sixth king. Udayan would be No. 7, and he would be the son of Śatānik, and the grandson of Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap. In Jaina books the relationship stated between them is the same as above<sup>16</sup>.

Correction No. 2:—In the list, Udayan is stated to be the sixth king, a son-in-law of Kuṇik, the king of Magadha, and a contemporary of Udāyin, the son of Kuṇik. Thus Udayan, the king of Vatsa, becomes the brother-in-law of Udāyin, the king of Magadha. We can agree so far, but we do not know, what to say, when we are confronted with the statement that the daughter of Śatānik, and sister of Udayan of Vatsa was married with king Nāgadarśak or Nandivardhan. If this marriage were a fact, Nandivardhan's queen's age would far exceed that of Nandivardhan himself, which is almost impossible<sup>17</sup>. A more reasonable way is to make Nandivardhan, the son-in-law of Udayan, and not of his father, Śatānik<sup>18</sup>.

Correction No. 3:—No. 8 in the list has been stated to be a contemporary of the second Nanda king, and No. 9 to be a

(15) The following statement proves that Paraṇatap-Sahasraṇik was the name of one individual only. In a Jaina book entitled "Bharateśvara Bāhubali Vṛtti" (pp. 233) it is stated, "The king of Kośāmbī was Udayan, who was a grandson of king Sahasraṇik (i. e. son of Śatānik), who was the son of king Śatānik by his queen Mṛgāvatī, whose mother was the daughter of king Choṭak, and who was a nephew of Jayanti. (Thus Udayan is introduced to us by four different relationships, first of which states him to be the grandson of king Sahasraṇik. Moreover, in "Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap", Sahasraṇik might be the name proper, and Paraṇatap an additional introductory title.).

(16) See f. n. no. 15 above, relationship No. 1.

(17) Vide chapters on Nanda dynasty for king Nandivardhan's duration of life.

(18) Which we shall prove in another way also.



contemporary of the ninth Nanda king, who is said to have conquered the kingdom of Vatsa. This is impossible; because, as I will prove later on<sup>19</sup>, that the country of Vatsa was annexed to Magadha by the first Nanda king Nandivardhan. It would therefore be more reasonable to affirm that the eighth and the ninth Vatsa kings reigned only for a short time, and that they were both contemporaries of Nandivardhan, who had been very famous for his bravery, and hence who might have also been called Mahānand by ancient writers because he was the founder of the Nanda dynasty.

The corrections being over, we shall now proceed with another similarly perplexing item, i. e. their dates.

(No. 1 to 5). In the above list the first five Vatsa kings have been stated respectively to be the contemporaries of the first five Śiśunāga kings. This means that the tenures  
**How to fix their dates** of the reigns of these kings must have almost been of nearly equal durations.

(6) Though Śatānik has been stated to be a contemporary of the sixth Śiśunāga king Śreṇik, yet he died many years before Śreṇik, who has been proved to have died in 528 B. C.<sup>20</sup>, or 2 B. M. \* Moreover, Śatānik's son Udayan had invaded Avanti, and had carried away by force, Vāsavdattā, the daughter of its king Chaṇḍapadyot, who, in the end, became his father-in-law. This means that Udayan had become king of Vatsa during the life time of Chaṇḍapadyot, and was old enough to carry away the daughter of a cunning and clever king like him.

We shall later on prove that the death of Chaṇḍapadyot had taken place in the November of 527 B. C., i. e. a year and a half later than the death of Śreṇik. This proves that Udayan must have ascended the throne before 527 B. C. Now that Udayan ascended the throne proves that his father Śatānik had died at that time. We shall also prove that when king Śatānik died,

(19) In the coins of Vatsa, signs of the first and second Nanda kings, are found.

(20) For this year 528, vide chapter on Śreṇik.

\* B. M. means before Mahāvīr,



Udayan was only six or seven years old, and hence his widow-mother Mrgāvatī had taken in her hands the reins of the kingdom. If we grant that Udayan was nearly thirty years old at the time of king Chaṇḍ's death, his year of birth will be  $527+30=557$  B. C., and king Śatānik's reign came to an end in 550 B. C., because Udayan's age at the time of his father's death was seven.

(7-8) Queen Mrgāvatī acted as a regent of the kingdom during the minority of Udayan, who was crowned king at the age of fourteen. Thus the Queen's reign lasted from 550 to 543-2 B. C., and then Udayan began to reign.

It is obvious that Udayan's reign lasted long, because he came to the throne at so early an age, and hence he was a contemporary of Śreṇik, of Kuṇik (who was his father-in-law), and of Kuṇik's son Udāyin also. This Udāyin of the Śiśunāga dynasty has ascended the throne in 496 B. C. If we take the year of the death of Udayan of Vatsa to be five or six years after this, it comes to 490 B. C. So Udayan's reign lasted fifty-three years, from 543 to 490 B. C.

(9) Medhavin or Maṇiprabh succeeded him on the throne. This Maṇiprabh belonged to the Pradyota family of Avanti, but had come to the throne of Vatsa, due to certain reasons. He later on took hold of the throne of Avanti, and only a few years after this, Nandivardhan of Magadha, annexed this country to the kingdom of Magadha, in about 467 B. C. This means that reigns of Medhavin, and his two successors Kṣemak and Daṇḍapāṇin, in all lasted twenty-three years, from 490 to 467 B. C. We may distribute these twenty-three years among them any way we like.

Now I give below a correct list of the names and dates of these Vatsa kings:—

- |              |                                       |                 |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Surath    | Contemporary of Śiśunāg <sup>21</sup> | about 60 years. |
| 2. Ruch      | „ „ Kākavarṇa <sup>21</sup>           | about 40 years. |
| 3. Chitraksh | „ „ Kṣemavardhan <sup>21</sup>        | about 45 years. |

(21) Vile the account of Śiśunāga dynasty for the dates of these five kings.



Short accounts of the kings

4. Sukhilal	contemporary of Kśemjit <sup>21</sup>	about 40 years.
5. Sahasraṇik	Prasenjit <sup>21</sup>	about 45 years.
Paraṇatap	„ „	
6. Śatānik	566 to 550 B. C.	<sup>22</sup> 16
7. Queen Mṛgāvatī	550 to 543 B. C.	<sup>22</sup> 7
8. Udayan	543 to 497 B. C.	<sup>22</sup> 54
9. Medhavin or, Daṇḍapāṇin and Kśemak	490 to 497 B. C.	<sup>23</sup> 23
	Total years	340

No information is forthcoming about the first five kings, except that the fifth king Sahasraṇik had a son named Śatānik and a daughter named Jayantī, who was a devout Jain,<sup>24</sup> and was one of the favourite lay-disciples of Mahāvīr.

The duration of the sixth king Śatānik's reign was nearly sixteen years. He did not die very old, because his death was due to an accident<sup>25</sup>. Taking all circumstances into consideration, he may be said to have died at the age of thirty-five<sup>26</sup>. Thus he must have been born in 585 B. C. He was married to Mṛgāvatī, the fourth of the seven daughters<sup>27</sup>

(22) We shall prove the veracity of this date, when we shall come to fixing the age of Queen Mṛgāvatī (Vide the account of Vaiśālī). In Kalpa Sūtra commentary pp. 91, it is stated that when Mahāvīr came to Kauśāmbī in 567 B. C., Śatānik was on the throne. We may safely believe him to have ascended the throne in 570 B. C.

(23) According to my opinion, Medhavin was the last king, but, as I have already stated before, we cannot be quite certain about it, because no list of chronological names of the Vatsa kings, has yet been found.

(24) Vide pp. 341—3 of the translation of "Bharateśvara Bāhubali Vṛtti" 3rd. ed.; wherein she is stated to have given a lodging place to Mahāvīr.

(25) Read f. n. No. 31 below.

(26) Read f. n. No. 27 below. We shall describe it in the account of Vaiśālī.

(27) Read the account of Vaiśālī for the names of all these seven daughters, and also for the names of the kings with whom they were married. I have discussed these things in detail therein, because the dates of many historical events can be fixed with their help.



of King Cheṭak. This queen gave birth to a son named Udayan who succeeded his father on the throne.

Śatānik was very fond of fine arts, and had a favourite painter at his court. Once this painter was driven out of his court by king Śatānik due to some reason<sup>28</sup>. The painter kindled with a mad desire for revenge, went to king Chaṇḍapradhyot of Avanti, and presented to him a lifelike picture of queen Mrgāvati painted by himself. King Chaṇḍapradhyot was bewitched by her beauty and sent a message to king Śatānik that either he should hand over his queen to him or must be prepared for war. No kshatriya would agree to such a mean, hateful demand. Śatānik was a brave king, and though his kingdom of Vatsa was smaller than the kingdom of Avanti, he prepared himself to fight against him<sup>26</sup>. While the war was going on, he succumbed to cholera<sup>30</sup> and died<sup>31</sup>. His death must have taken place in 550 B. C. i. e. some years after Mahāvīr's acquiring Kaivalyagnāna. (Read the paragraph below).

King Śatānik had invaded the country of King Dadhivāhan<sup>32</sup> of the neighbouring country of Aṅgadeśa in 557 \* B. C. Dadhi-

(28) Vide pp. 330 of Bharateśvara. B. Vṛtti (translation). 3rd. ed.

(29) It is necessary here to state that one daughter of Cheṭak, named Śivādevī, was married with Chaṇḍapradhyot, and another was married with king Śatānik. Chaṇḍa paid no attention to the fact that he was trying to get his queen's own sister. (cf. f. n. No. 32; there it is stated that woman is the common cause of quarrel).

(30) That such epidemic diseases existed in those times, is indicated here.

(31) Pp. 331., of Bharateśvara. B. Vṛtti (Translation). It is stated therein that his illness was due to undesirable consequences of the war. But I think this to be far from possible, because, though Śatānik was the king of a small country, yet he was brave. He had once invaded and plundered Champāpurī, the capital of Aṅgadeśa. That such a brave king must have been so seriously shocked as to become so dangerously ill, seems impossible; in the same book, it is stated elsewhere that he died of cholera.

(32) Dadhivāhan was also married to one of the daughters of Cheṭak, king of Vaiśālī. Thus, Śatānik, and Dadhivāhan were related. Cf. f. n. No. 29 above, to see what was cause of war here—woman or land?).

\* This was a mere guess at first; now it appears to be the fact; because, from 3 to 6 months after the plunder, the girl-captive Vasumatī has



vāhan left his capital Champānagarī, and ran away in the forest; while Śatānik plundered and ruined it<sup>33</sup>, and imprisoned queen Dhāriṇī<sup>34</sup> and her daughter Vasumatī, (who was about thirteen or fourteen years old); and after ordering his officers to bring them to Kauśāmbī, returned to his own country. These officers tried to rape Dhāriṇī, who committed suicide for the sake of her chastity. Princess Vasumatī alone was brought to Kauśāmbī; she was later on given the name of Chandanbālā, who only after a short time, became a Jaina nun, when Mahāvīr acquired Kaivalyagnān in 556 B. C.<sup>35</sup>.

After this invasion, king Śatānik must have reigned happily for five to seven years, and then died due to the incident of the painter, already stated above, in 550 B. C.

The responsibility of conducting the administration of the kingdom was taken up by Queen Mrgāvati because prince Udayan was a minor<sup>36</sup>. She had to face many difficulties; Queen Mrgāvati she knew that her beauty was the cause of the enmity between Śatānik and Chandaṇpradyot, and the untimely death of Śatānik; she had to pay attention to

been consecrated as a Jaina nun & made the head of the Nun-order of Lord Mahāvīr, at the time of his getting Kaivalyagnān in May-556 B. C. (see below).

(33) This Champānagarī was in Aṅgadeśa, and it was at the place where at present are the towns of Jubulpore and Satnā. Read the account of Aṅgadeśa for further information. It is necessary to state here that the original Champānagarī was destroyed in 557 B. C. (The one which is at present in the Bhāgalpur district of Bengal is different from this). Three years after Kuṇḍik came to the throne, he got it repaired and rebuilt, and made it his capital. (525 B. C.). So the old and the modern Champānagarī have no connection whatsoever with each other.

Now we can affirm that Champānagarī remained in a ruined condition from 557 to 525 B. C. i. e. 32 years.

(34) This Dhāriṇī was another queen, because the name of Cheṭak's daughter who married Dadhivāhan was Padmāvati.

(35) Vide pp. 260 Bharateśvara B. V.

(36) Vide ibid. pp. 323.



all the affairs connected with the administration of the country; she had to be in constant danger of being again invaded by king Chanda. She kept patience. Only a few months after the death of Satānik, king Chanda besieged Kauśāmbī and again repeated his challenge of either yielding to his animal desires or preparing for war. Mrgāvatī sought safety in deceit and tact. She sent a reply to the effect, that she was ready to do as he wished, but requested him to wait till her son Udayan might attain majority and be crowned king by him. Chanda was appeased by this reply and having raised the siege went back to his own country. Queen Mrgāvatī then hastened to fortify Kauśāmbī strongly with fortresses<sup>37</sup> and ditches. Everything was ready within seven years, when<sup>38</sup> Udayana attained majority and was ready to be crowned. King Chandapradhyot was informed of these fortifications and preparations, and shaking with rage, he again marched towards Kauśāmbī with an army. Mrgāvatī was fully prepared, and ordered the city-gates to be closed. The siege of Kauśāmbī began, and people began to be heavily persecuted. Mahāvīr heard about this ( he had acquired Kaivalyagnān by this time, and so might have known it without external aid ); and he came to Kauśāmbī to prevent the war and the destruction of thousands of men. Both Chanda and Mrgāvatī were very much devoted to him. Mahāvīr persuaded them to stop the warfare, and arranged for the coronation ceremony of Udayan by the hand of Chanda. This event took place in 543 B. C. Queen Mrgāvatī and Queen Śivādevī of Chanda, became Jaina nuns under Mahāvīr<sup>39</sup>, and Chanda, returned to his own capital. The reign of Mrgāvatī thus lasted from 550 to 543 B. C.

When king Satānik died in 550 B. C., Udayan's age was six or seven. This means that he must have been born in 557 B. C., or thereabout. He came to throne at the age of thirteen

(37) Vide *ibid.* Translation pp. 323.

(38) The ruins which we see to-day near the Prabhās hill are the ruins of this fortress.

(39) Vide pp. 325 of Bharateśvara, B. Vṛtti Translation.





Udayan

16



queen. He had also married king Kuṇik's daughter Padmāvati<sup>47</sup>.

(47) "Padmāvati, wife of Udayan, was the sister of king Darśak". (E.H.I. by Smith. 3rd edi. pp. 39). Darśak is but another name of king Kuṇik (Vide chapters on him), whose sister means the daughter of king Śreṇik. They must have been born of the same mother, otherwise Padmāvati might have been introduced as "King Śreṇika's daughter", and not as "Darśak's sister". Udayan married thrice, once in 543 B. C., then in 535 B. C. and then in 520 B. C. When did he marry Darśak's sister? Was it the first or the third marriage? It could not have been the second, because it was with Vāsavadattā. Now king Śreṇika died in 528 B. C. So his daughter must have been married to Udayan in 541 B. C. (because she must have at least been thirteen at the time of her marriage and this was generally the age when princesses were married at that time). Generally a prince is married immediately after he ascends the throne. Again queen Mrgāvati became a nun in 543 B. C. Hence the marriage must have taken place before 543 B. C. i. e. before she became a nun).

Again it is in the fitness of things, that the daughter of the king of Magadha might have been married to the king of a famous country like Vatsa, immediately after his coming to the throne. Now the princess who was married with Udayan in 543 B. C. must have been born in 555-6 B. C. King Kuṇik was born in 557 B. C. Hence we come to the conclusion that both Kuṇik and Padmāvati were born of Chillanā, Śreṇik's queen, and that Kuṇik was a year older than Padmāvati.

Thus Kuṇik's brother-in-law's name was Udayan and his own son's name was also Udayan, who became famous as "Udayāśva". Though these two Udayans (because Udayan and Udayāśva are taken by historians as the same name) were contemporaries, yet the king of Vatsa was many years senior in age to the Udayan of Magadha. Udayan of Vatsa was born in 557 B. C., and Udayan of Magadha was born in 534 B. C. There are two objections to the above conclusions:—(i) Udayan of Vatsa has been stated to have married Śreṇik and Chillanā's daughter Padmāvati. Now Chillanā and Udayan's mother Mrgāvati were sisters. How could they have married when they were cousins? (We have no information about the customs prevailing at that time. We can not find out any similar historical event). (ii) If the first queen was the sister of Kuṇik, who was the third queen? No history-book tells us that Udayan married the daughter of any other king. The only way to remove these two objections is to accept that the third queen was the daughter of the king of Magadha, and not the first. This is possible if we take it for granted that it was the "daughter" and not the "sister" of king Darśak, who was married with Udayan. This last conclusion is supported by the following facts: (i) The



Udayan, thus, in all had three queens<sup>48</sup>. He married the first in 543 B. C., at the age of fourteen, the second in 535 at the age of twenty two, and the third in or about 520 at the age of thirty-six i. e. eight years after Kuṇṭik became the emperor of Magadha.

His death did not take place under normal conditions. King Udayan was very much devoted to religion<sup>49</sup>. Even in his advanced age he had not become the father of a son. He used to spend the major part of a day in religious performances. Once he insulted a servant of his, who went to Avanti and decided to take revenge upon him. For this, he became a Jaina monk and after some time came to Kauśāmbī with his preceptor, and there

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daughter of Udayan who was married to king Nandivardhan, was born in 494 B. C. (Vide the account of Nandivardhan). She must have been born of the third queen, because the first two queens had already become too old to give birth to children by this time, (ii) Secondly, queen Vāsavadattā had adopted a son in 503 B. C., and she was the chief queen, even though she was the second in number; which proves that the first queen was dead by this time. (Vide the account of Nandivardhan in the chapter on Avanti). She would not have adopted any one if she had a daughter, married or unmarried in 503 B. C. This proves that the third queen of Udayan of Vatsa was a daughter of a king of Magadha, and she must have been a daughter of Kuṇṭik, and a sister of his son Udayan. If we want to stick to Mr. Smith's statement that she was the "sister" of Darśak, we shall have to take Darśak to be the name of Udayan and not of Kuṇṭik. But it is a proved fact that Darśak was the name of Kuṇṭik and none else. So this third queen was the daughter and not the sister of Darśak. (iii) That queen Vāsavadattā adopted a new-born child in 503 B. C., proved that king Udayan had no issue upto 503 B. C. Now by 494 B. C., when the princess was born, Vāsavadattā's age must have been 55, (she was married in 535 i. e. born in 549 B. C.), which is not the likely age of becoming a mother. The third queen Padmāvatī was only 40 in 494 B. C.

Hence, we come to the conclusion that the daughter of the king of Magadha was the third queen of king Udayan. Vide the account of king Nandivardhan for more proofs.

(48) C. H. I. pp. 187. "He had three wives". (In E. H. I. 3rd ed., pp. 39, f. n. No. 1.; short notes are given on the first two queens).

(49) For details see Bharateśvara, B. V. Translation.



he began to frequent the "Pośadhaśālā"<sup>50</sup> (place of religious performances) to help the king in religious performances. One night, the king, this deceitful monk, and his preceptor were sleeping in the "Pośadhaśālā". During the night, he murdered the king with a knife and eacaped, throwing the knife there. The king's blood flowed upto the place where the preceptor had slept; who soon awoke to find the king murdered, and his disciple absent. He understood everything, and killed himself with the same knife so that he, as a monk, might not stain his religion by being called the murderer of a king. King Udayan's death took place in or about 490<sup>51</sup> B. C., because he was alive in 496 B. C. When his brother-in-law Udāyin was crowned king of Magadha<sup>52</sup>.

He was born in 557 B. C. and he died in 490 B. C. i. e. the duration of his life was 68 years. He had no issue<sup>53</sup>, except

(50) Some are of the opinion that Udayan of Magadha and Udayan of Vasta were followers of Buddhism. For the religion of the Udayan of Magadha vide his account. About the second Udayan it is stated, ("Purātattva" Vol. II, p. 5). "King Udayan was not a devout Baudha, but his people were". We are not concerned with the people here. But the quotation proves that the king was not a devout follower of Buddhism. Jaina books claim the whole Vatsa family to be in their fold. Not only this, but Udayan's father's (Śatānik's) sister Jayanti has been stated to have been a great devotee of Śree Pārśva (possibly of Mahāvīr. See f. n. No. 24 above). I have used the typical Jaina word "Pośadhaśālā" here, for this reason only. This also proves that he was himself a devout Jain.

(51) I had fixed it as 490 B. C. which was supported by further study. (Vide the account of Avanti to know how Mañiprabh became the ruler of Avanti, after leaving Kauśāmbī).

(52) Vide previous pages of this chapter.

(53) Jaina books state that Udayan of Magadha died without an heir, and Udayan of Vatsa was murdered. There is some confusion here (because the historians have taken both Udayan & Udayāśva as one name—see supra f. n. no. 47 ).

That both the above things happened to the king of Vatsa is supported by the following reasons:—(1) Udayan of Magadha had two sons named Anuruddha and Mund who succeeded him on the throne. (2) Bharateśvara B. V. Translation, it is stated that he went on a pilgrimage after giving the reins of the kingdom



a daughter who was married to Nāgdaśak, or king Nandivardhan the first Nand king, after his death<sup>54</sup>.

He reigned from 543 to 490 B. C. i. e. 53 years.

As king Udayan died leaving no son behind him, the child who was adopted by Vāsavadattā, succeeded him on the throne.

**King Medhavin or Maṇiprabh** But this Medhavin was later on found to be the son of the king of Avanti (who was a cousin of queen Vāsavadattā), and he became the king of Avanti in 487 B. C.<sup>55</sup>. Thus he began to reign peacefully over Avanti and Vatsa both. But in 472 B. C. Nandivardhan came to the throne of Magadha, and he invaded the country of Vatsa<sup>56</sup>. As a result, Vatsa was annexed by him to the empire of Magadha in 467 B. C. Thus the reign of Medhavin over Kauśāmbī lasted from 490 to 467 B. C. i. e. 23 years.

in the hands of his son. Thus the Jaina books contradict one another. (3) Avanti would be nearer to a man who had run away, from Vatsa than from Magadha.

Vide Part II chapter III for further information.

The reason of the Jaina books stating Udayāśva of Magadha instead of Udayan of Vatsa dying without an heir seems to be, that there were three Udayans at that time, and all the three were Jains, and rulers of great kingdoms. Of course the Udayan of Sindh-Sauvīra died when the other two Udayans were minors. The confusion in Jaina books might have been due to the similarity of names. In reality Udayan of Magadha is called Udayāśva that of Sindh, Udāyin; while that of Vatsa simple Udayan.

(54) Hitherto, I am of the opinion that Udayan's daughter was only three or four years old at the time of his death. He died at the age of 67, and hence he must have been 63 at the time of the birth of his daughter which seems a bit awkward. But it is no wonder when we remember and know that Śākyasiṃha Gautama's father's age was yet more advanced at the time of his birth.

(55) Vide the account of Avanti for further information.

(56) It is possible that he might not have invaded Avanti, but annexed it to his own kingdom because the king of Avanti had died without an heir, and because he had claim to the throne.



## (6) ŚRĀVASTĪ

As this country forms a part of the kingdom of Kośala, it needs no separate account.

## (7) VAIŚĀLĪ

### Introductory remarks

According to Bauddha books, the area of this country was nearly 5,000 Li.<sup>57-58</sup>, and the area of its capital was 60 to 70 Li. It is 38 miles in the north of Rājgrhī, the capital of Magadha, and 25 miles in the north of the river Ganges<sup>59</sup>. Vaiśālī consisted of the modern districts of Champāraṇya<sup>60</sup> Saraṇ, Mujfarpur, and Darbhāṅgā in Behār. In ancient times it was all called by the name of Videha<sup>61</sup>, the capital of which was Mithilā, a king of which was the father of Sītā, the wife of Rāma, king of Ayodhyā<sup>62</sup>.

At present we see two small villages at the place where stood the ancient town of Vaiśālī. The name of one is Besārḥ<sup>63</sup> and the name of the other is Bekhār<sup>64</sup>. One writer has fixed

(57) Li=1.10 mile nearly and also 1.7 mile.

(58) R. W. W. Vol. II pp. 66.

(59) B. I. pp. 41.

(60) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 76. It forms a part of the Champāraṇ district.

(61) Bud. Ind. pp. 25. "They include eight confederated clans, of whom Lich-chhavis and Videha were the most important".

Also vide "Purātattva" Vol. I. pp. 147 and further. From the boundaries of Videha given in Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", it becomes evident that Videha and Vaiśālī were the same.

(62) She is called "Videhā" because she was the daughter of the king of Videha. The kings of Videha were called "Videhi". Similarly Chetāk, king of Vaiśālī, is called "Videhapati" (king of Videha), and his sister Triśalādevī, the mother of Mahāvīr, is also called "Videhā" in the Jaina books (Vide pp. 75: Kalpa S. Com.).

(63) For full particulars of excavations of this historical place vide Archeological Survey Report of India by Sir Cunningham 1903-4, pp. 81-122.

(64) Vide Arch. Survey India. 1880-81.







also included in them, the three suburbs called Vāṇijyagrām<sup>70</sup> (in which lived the merchants), Brāhmaṇ-kuṇḍagrām (in which lived the brāhmins), and Kshatriya-kuṇḍagrām (in which lived the kshatriyas).

In connection with the ruling families of certain countries already described, we get a chronological list of the names of their kings from the very beginning, i. e. from the name of the founder of the family. The case with Vaiśālī is different. We do not get even scattered names of its kings, not to talk of a connected list. We have at our command the name of one king only. He was Cheṭak; who was a contemporary of both Buddha and Mahāvīr. From certain descriptions, we can conjecture that the palace of this king must have been in the extreme south of Kshatriya-kuṇḍagrām. He had descended from the Lichchhavi branch of the Vriji kshatriyas.<sup>71</sup> This clan of kshatriyas consisted of nine branches and each was called "Saṃvijja" (Saṃ=together, and Vijja=united), and Cheṭak was considered the leader of all the nine, either due to his belonging to a high family, or due to the greater area of his kingdom<sup>72</sup>. He was also their social leader or headman<sup>73</sup>.

(70) Read my article in "Jaina Dharma Prakāśh" (published from Bhāvnagar) Vol. 47. No. 7. pp. 267 to 268, for the description of Vaiśālī.

(71) R. W. W. Vol. I. pp. 77 f. n. No. 100. "The country of the Vrijis or Saṃvrijiis (united Vrijiis) was that of the confederated eight tribes (According to the Jaina books they are nine—my words) of the people called Vrijiis; one of which (that of Lichchhavi) dwelt at Vaiśālī. Their country is broad from west to east and narrow from north to south". (Vide also f. n. No. 65 on the preceding page).

(72) The area of the kingdom was smaller than the areas of other kingdoms. The respect he commanded must have been due to his belonging to a high family, or to his being very old, or due to the many admirable virtues that he possessed.

(73) Kalpa S. Com. pp. 102 "The kings of Kāśī and Kośala were the vassals of Cheṭak" Politically, this does not sound probable, because neither the king of Kāśī, nor of Kośala were under the sway of Cheṭak. But the king of Kāśī (who was also the king Magadha) was a kshatriya belonging to the



Chetāk was very famous as a skilful archer<sup>74</sup>. He never missed his aim; and it is said that he never aimed twice on the same day<sup>75</sup>. He was highly attached to religion. There also he had taken a vow, not to give any of his daughters in marriage to a king who did not follow Jainism. For this reason only, he had to wage war against Śreṇik, the king of Magadha (Vide the account of Śreṇik). Chetāk had no son, but he had seven daughters<sup>76</sup> who were married to great kings without breaking his vow. The details of these seven princesses would form a very interesting chapter, but they can have no place here, because we are not concerned with them. But I shall have to narrate them briefly here, because every one of them was married to a great king, and thus details about them, help much in finding the ages of these kings, and fixing the dates of the events that had taken place during the reigns of these kings.

King Chetāk had many queens. He had become the father of seven daughters who were born of different queens. We can not say whether any two or three of them were born of the same mother. One of them, Prabhāvati<sup>77</sup> was married with Udāyin of Sindh-Sauvīra. The second, Padmāvati, was married with Dadhivāhan, king of Aṅgadeśa. Chaṇḍapradhyot of Avanti married the third, named Śivādevī. The fourth, Mrgāvati became the queen of Śatānik, king of Vatsa. The fifth, Jyestā

Malla clan, and the king of Kośala belonged to the Śākya branch of the Ikshvaku family. These two clans were again branches of the Samvriji or Lichchhavi kshatriyas, to which king Chetāk belonged. Hence he might have been considered as their family-leader or the headman of the family.

(74) "Jain Sāhitya Saṅgrah Lekhmālā. (Series of articles) pp. 25.

(75) Idid pp. 74.

(76) Bharateśvara B. V. Translation.

(77) Her name must have surely been Prabhāvati, because her sister had an almost similar name "Padmāvati". Hence "Padmāvati" instead of "Prabhāvati" on pp. 315 of Bharateśvara B. V. must be a press-error, because on pp. 325 of the same book, it is again written "Prabhāvati".



was married with Nandivardhan,<sup>78</sup> prince of Kuṇḍagrām<sup>79</sup>. Two daughters, Sujyeṣṭā and Chillaṇā were, as yet, unmarried. Later on Chillaṇā was married with Śreṇik, king of Magadha. Sujyeṣṭā had observed celibacy all her life, and had become a Jaina nun. I have not given these names in order of their seniority in age. That we shall decide in the following paragraphs:—(The reader is requested to judge and then accept whatever conclusions appeal to him.

She was married with king Udāyin of Sindh-Sauvīra, the capital of which was Vīṭtabhaya-paṭṭaṇ. I shall here narrate incidents from the life of this queen, which  
(1) Prabhāvatī would be useful to us as history<sup>80</sup>; the information about these incidents was furnished by Mahāvīr himself, after he had acquired Kaivalyagnāna; and hence we will have to unreservedly accept it as true<sup>81</sup>.

Udāyin was the king of Sindhudeśa, the capital of which was Vīṭtabhaya-paṭṭaṇ<sup>82</sup>. He had married Chetāk's daughter

(78) See further in this book where it is stated to be a suburb of Viśālī. Federal system of government prevailed in those times and rulers of even small territories like this were called "Rājāhs". (Vide Chapter V). All of them were independent. In Vaiśālī alone the number of such small independent Rājāhs was very large.

(79) This Nandivardhan was the elder brother of Mahāvīr and the eldest son of king Siddhārtha.

(80) See f. n. no. 82 below.

(81) Readers other than Jains, might have their doubts about the truth of this statement; but they are historical facts.

(82) Vide pp. 182-83 and 315-25, of Bharateśvara B. V. Translation. "King Udāyin ruled Vīṭtabhaya-paṭṭaṇ which adorned the country of Sindhu-deśa. He had Prabhāvatī, the daughter of king Chetāk as his chief queen; she worshipped a specific idol for long time, and on seeing her death nearing she took Dīkshā and handed over the idol for worship to one of her maid-servants, who was an ugly-looking girl. Once a merchant from Gāndhār went there (to Sindhu-deśa) and fell sick. This maid-servant nursed him very-well; in return of her services the merchant-prince gave her some medicinal conjuring pillets, by eating one of which she transformed her ugliness into damsel-beauty; by eating another a deity appeared before her for service.



Prabhāvatī and had made her his chief queen. This Prabhāvatī daily worshipped an idol for a long time; knowing that her death was nearing, she became a Jaina nun, and handed over the idol to an ugly-looking maid-servant. Once upon a time, a great merchant, who had come to Sindhudeśa, from Gāndhār, fell ill<sup>83</sup>. He was nursed back to health by this maid-servant. The merchant gave her in reward some magic tablets. When she

She begged of the deity to find out a suitable husband for her; the deity arranged her pair with Chaṇḍa of Avanti, who took her away with that sacred and specific idol, all mounted on his Analgiri elephant; after the idol was removed from Vīṭṭabhaya, king Udāyin found out from inquiries that both the maid and the idol were at Avanti. He demanded them back; king Chaṇḍa declined to part with them. So he (Udāyin) invaded the country of Chaṇḍa and defeated him; while the maid-queen took somewhere to her heels; hence the king Udāyin wanted to have only the idol back; but that did not move from the place; meanwhile the soul of queen Prabhāvatī, who was in heavens, appeared before him as a God and said. "Oh king Udāyin, you need not remove the idol to Paṭṭaṇ, as your capital is shortly to be buried under the sands falling in torrents. Let it remain there." So king Udāyin prepared for returning to his country, taking king Chaṇḍa with him as a war-captive and also making him wear on the forehead a tablet of gold-plate bearing the prescription "Mamaḍāsīpati". He encamped at Daśapur on the way, when there was the Paryuṣaṇ-Parva and observed a fast for the day. He, therefore told his cook, not to cook for him, but for king Chaṇḍa alone, whatever he liked. The cook asked king Chaṇḍa, what he wanted to have for his meals. King Chaṇḍa suspecting some intrigue, questioned the cook, why only to-day he was asked of this; the cook said "King Udāyin has the Paryuṣaṇ fast to-day". King Chaṇḍa pretending and surpecting that he will be given poison mixed with food, told the cook that he was also a Jain, and had to observe the same fast, but being afflicted with these calamities, forgot the advent of this auspicious religious holiday. The cook carried the message to his master, king Udāyin. On being told that king Chaṇḍa was also a Śrāvaka, (a lay-brother) king Udāyin instantaneously came before king Chaṇḍa, apologised to him, for not knowing him to be his religious lay-brother; so saying, he removed the golden tablet from his forehead; then performed the Saṃvatsarika-Pratikramaṇ and also released him from bondage; afterwards he returned to Vīṭṭabhaya-paṭṭaṇ".

(83) From the above story we can affirm that trade relations must have existed at the time, between Gāndhār and Sindhudeśa; perhaps both by land and water through the river Indus.



swallowed one tablet, her ugliness was gone for ever and she was transformed into a matchless beauty; when she swallowed the second, a Goddess appeared before her and asked her what she could do for her. The maid-servant requested her to find out a suitable husband for her. The Goddess fixed her marriage with king Chanda of Avanti. King Chanda came there and carried away both the maid-servant and the idol to Avanti on his elephant Analgiri<sup>84</sup>. After some days, this removal of the idol and the maid-servant was brought to the ears of king Udāyin. He demanded the return of both from Chanda who refused to do so. Udāyin invaded his country, and defeated him. The maid-servant sought safety in flight and was lost for good. Udāyin then decided to take back the idol alone. But he or his men could not move the idol from the place where it was.

At this time the dead queen Prabhāvatī's soul appeared before him and said, "O king, do not venture to carry this idol to Paṭṭaṇ, because your capital will be destroyed by heavy showers of sand in a short time. Let it be where it is."

Taking with him Chanda as his war-prisoner, Udāyin started on his journey back to Paṭṭaṇ, and he caused Chanda to wear a thin plate of gold on his forehead, having the words "Mama-dāsīpati" (the husband of my maid-servant) inscribed on it.

On the way he stopped at Daśapur<sup>85</sup> for rest. The day was the Paryuṣaṇ day<sup>86</sup> and Udāyin observed a fast, and ordered his cook to ask king Chanda what he would like to have that day for his dinner. When the cook approached Chanda and informed

(84) "He is named Malgiri". ("Bhārhuṭa-stūpa" by Cunningham pp. 2).

(85) It is supposed that the village named Mandsore, which is situated between Jaora and Neemuch in Rājputānā, was called Daśapur in olden times. (Purātattva Vol. I pp. 269). It was named Daśapur because the army that had encamped there was divided into ten regiments. Vide pp. 79 Vol. III of "Corpus Inscriptiones Indicarum" by Sir Cunningham for the comments of Dr. Fleet.

(86) That the Paryuṣaṇ Parva lasted only for a day in those times is indicated here. At present it lasts for eight days. See f. n. no. 90 below.



him about the fast of Udāyin, Chanda doubted some foul-play like the mixture of poison with his food; he said to the cook that he was also a Jain<sup>87</sup> and he also wanted to observe the fast. The cook took his message to Udāyin, who at once came to him and apologised for his cruel treatment towards a brother-Jain. The gold plate from the fore-head was removed, and both of them said their yearly prayer (Samvatsarika-pratikramaṇ) together. After releasing king Chanda, he returned to Viṭṭabhaya-paṭṭaṇ<sup>88</sup>.

From the above story we come to the following conclusions:—

(i) Prabhāvatī had worshipped an idol for a long time after her marriage with Udāyin. (ii) Knowing that the time of her death was approaching near, she had become a Jaina nun, and handed over the idol to her maid-servant. (iii) This idol remained with this maid-servant for many years. (iv) Due to the help of a Goddess she was able to marry king Chanda and she had carried away the idol with her to Avanti. (v) After some time Udāyin came to know the disappearance of this maid-servant and the idol and their being in Avanti. (vi) He had to wage war against Chanda to regain the idol. (vii) Udāyin was the victor. The maid-servant sought safety in flight. King Chanda became the war-prisoner. The idol did not move an inch from where it was. Queen Prabhāvatī's soul predicted the destruction of his capital by heavy showers of sand<sup>89</sup> and advised him not to carry the idol with him. Udāyin started on his journey back to his own country taking with him Chanda as his war-prisoner. (viii) On the Paryuṣaṇ<sup>90</sup> day, he halted at Daśapur for rest. He ordered his cook

(87) From this it becomes evident that king Chanda had not accepted Jainism as his faith, upto this time.

(88) This event has taken place a few years before Mahāvīr acquired Kaivalyagnāna in 556 B. C. We may reasonably fix the date of the event to have been 561 B. C.

(89) Vide the account of Sindh-Sauvira for the details regarding the destruction of Viṭṭabhaya-paṭṭaṇ, and for what is found at that place to-day.

(90) These are the greatest religious holidays of Jains. Their duration was only one day in those times. Now they continue for eight days. c. f. f. n. no. 86 above.



not to prepare any dish for him as he wanted to observe fast; and further ordered him to ask Chaṇḍa what he desired for his dinner. Chaṇḍa doubted some foul-play like the mixture of poison, and said that he was also a Jain and wanted to observe the fast<sup>91</sup>. When this was reported to Udāyin, he apologised<sup>92</sup> for his ill-treatment of him<sup>93</sup>, removed the gold plate, released him, and returned to his own country.

The year in which Udāyin apologised for his conduct, might have been 561 B. C.<sup>94</sup>, which must have also been the year of the war between Udāyin and Chaṇḍa. Because the distance between their countries is long, he must have started his march over Avanti a year earlier i. e. in 562 B. C. Four years must have elapsed before he got the information about the disappearance of the idol. The maid-servant might have kept the idol in her possession for five years after the death of Prabhāvatī. Thus Prabhāvatī's death must have taken place in 572 B. C., and she must have become a Jaina nun in 573 B. C. If we take her married life to have lasted ten years, her marriage must have taken place in 584 B. C. At the time of her marriage she must have been thirteen, because that was generally the age of marriage for girls, and because she was the chief queen, she must have been the first queen of Udāyin; because generally the first queen is made the chief queen. Hence, at the time of his marriage with Prabhāvatī, he must have been three to five years senior to her in age, i. e. nearly 18 years old.

(91) This makes it evident that Chaṇḍa had not become a Jain upto this time (i. e. upto 561 B. C.).

(92) There are specific words for this yearly apology. "Khamāvum Chhum".

(93) It is a tenet of Jainism that every Jain forgives the trespasses and offences of every one in the world on the Paryuṣaṇ day. They say their yearly prayers (Pratikramaṇ) after uttering these apologetic sentences.

Savva jīva karuṇā sāsanaṁ rasiṁ ।

Aisiṁ dayā bhāvaṁ manaṁ ullāsiṁ ॥

Khāmemi savva jīvā, savve jīvā khamantu me ।

Mittime savva bhūesu, vera majjhimaṁ na kepaṁ ॥

(94) See I. n. no. 88 above.



According to this conclusion, he must have been born between 598 to 600 B. C.<sup>95</sup>. The above is admittedly not a sound method of fixing years and dates, but I have acted on the principle that something is better than nothing. (That these dates have been historically proved to be true, we shall see in the account of Sindh-Sauvīra ). Thus Udāyin was born between 600 to 598 B. C., and Prabhāvatī was born between 597 to 598 B. C. The date of her marriage we take to be 584 B. C., and the date of her adopting the life of a Jaina nun, 574 B. C.

In the list of the names of the seven sisters given above, Padmāvatī is the second member. But as we have referred to

- Chanda, time and again, in the paragraphs above,  
 (2) Śivādevī it would be better to describe here the life of the princess who was married with him.

Both king Chanda and king Śreṇik are said to have already ascended their respective thrones before 568 B. C.<sup>96-97</sup>. King Chanda's death took place on the same night on which Mahāvīr died<sup>98</sup> in 527 B. C. Thus the duration of Chanda's reign was at least 41 years. It is possible that king Chanda might have come to the throne a few years earlier than 568 B. C. His reign might

(95) ( Vide C. H. I. pp. 188, and see further in this volume the account of Udāyin ). It has been proved later on that Udāyin was born in 600 B. C. All the dates given above have been more or less proved.

(96) Because in this year Mahāvīr had given up his relation with the world, and had taken to the life of a Jaina monk. (See f. n. no. 97 below). The year of his death is 527 B. C. He had acquired Kaivalyagnāna 30 years before his death, and he had led the life of a monk for 12 years; after which he acquired Kailvalyagnāna. This means that he renounced the world in  $527 + 30 + 12 = 569$  B. C.

(97) It is stated on pp. 96 of Kalpa. S. Com. that "Kings like Śreṇik and Chanda-prodyot served him when he adopted the life of a Jaina monk". He became a monk in 569 B. C. ( See f. n. above). So Chanda and Śreṇik had ascended the thrones before 569 B. C. ( Śreṇik is proved to have come to the throne in 580 B. C.) (Vide his account. We have yet to find out the exact date of Chanda's ascension to the throne.)

(98) For support, vide the account of Chanda in the description of Avanti.



have lasted 47 years<sup>99</sup>, and he must have come to the throne in 574 B. C.

We have also proved that Chaṇḍa had not accepted Jainism as his faith upto the time when he was made a war-prisoner by Udāyin in 562 B. C. King Chetāk had taken a vow not to give his daughter in marriage to any king who was not a Jain. Hence we come to the conclusion that Śivādevī was married with Chaṇḍa after 561 B. C. Again, Śreṇik married with Chillaṇā in 568 B. C. and at that time only two daughters of Chetāk-Chillaṇā and Sujyeṣṭa-were unmarried<sup>100</sup>. This means that Śivādevī was married between 561 and 558 B. C. Possibly in 560 B. C. Now king Chaṇḍa ascended the throne in 574 B. C., and must not have remained unmarried for fifteen years after coming to the throne, because usually a king is married at the time of or immediately after he comes to the throne. This proves that Chaṇḍa had other queens before his marriage with Śivādevī<sup>101</sup>, which means that she was not his chief queen. If Śivādevī married in 560 B. C., she must have been born in 574 B. C., because she must have been fourteen by the time of her marriage. In 543 B. C. Chaṇḍa placed the crown of the kingdom of Vatsa on Udayan's head in the presence of Mahāvīr, and Śivādevī and Udayan's mother Mrgāvatī became Jaina nuns<sup>102</sup>. It follows therefore that she must have been 574-543=31 years old, by this time.

Her name itself suggests that she must have been the eldest. She was married to Nandivardhan<sup>103</sup>, the elder brother of

(99) Further study reveals that he reigned for 48 years (Vide the account of Avanti).

(100) Vide Bharateśvara B. V. Translation pp. 326.

(101) Once there was a great fire in Ujjaini, which was put out by Śivādevī by the power of her chastity. She might have been made the chief queen from that time; the people also loved her very much. (Vide the account of Avanti.) That she was made the chief queen, means that there were other queens also.

(102) See f. n. no. 39 above.

(103) At the time of his marriage he had not yet ascended the throne.



**Mahāvīr<sup>104</sup>.** Mahāvīr died in 527 B. C., at the age of 72. Hence he must have been born in  $526-72=598$  B. C. Nandivardhan

was two or three years his senior, and must have been born in 601 B. C. Jyestā must have been two or three years his junior in age, and must have been born in 599 B. C. Now Prabhāvatī's year of birth has been fixed as 598-9 B. C. This means that there is a difference of a year and a half between their births.

She was married to king Śreṇika in 558 B. C., hence she  
(4) **Chillaṇā** must have been born in  $558+14=572$  B. C.

She remained a virgin throughout her life, and was a year  
(5) **Sujyestā** and half Chillaṇā's senior. Hence she must have been born in 573-4 B. C.

She was married to king Śatānik of Kauśāmbī. In the account of Vatsadeśa, we have proved that Śatānik was born in 585 B. C. and died in 550 B. C., and that Udayan was  
(6) **Mrgāvatī** born of Mrgāvatī in 557 B. C. (because he was seven years old at the time of his father's death). King Chaṇḍa had invaded Kauśāmbī because he was bewitched by the beauty of Mrgāvatī who must have been thirty years old at that time. Hence the year of her birth must have been  $550-30=580$  B. C. In this way the difference between the ages of Śatānik and Mrgāvatī was five years which is not much. She became a Jaina nun at the age of 37 in 543 B. C. after the coronation ceremony of Udayan by the hands of Mahāvīr.

If we accept that queen Mrgāvatī was born in 580 B. C., she must have been married to Śatānik in  $580-14=566$  B. C. when Śatānik must have been 19 to 20 years old. Now we know that

(104) In Kalpa S. Com. it is stated that Trislā, the mother of Nandivardhan and Mahāvīr, was a sister of king Cheṭak. This means that Nandivardhan and Jyestā were cousins. In those times, marriages of cousins must have been allowed among kshatriyās. This custom prevails among the kshatriyās even to-day. In Ahmedābād, such marriage took place in the family of richest man (Nagar-sheth) who says that they have descended from kshatriyās.



a king marries at the time of, or immediately after he comes on the throne. Śatānik ascended the throne in 570 B. C. Hence he must be married once, before he married Mṛgāvatī, who, consequently, must not have been made the chief queen immediately after her marriage.

She was married to king Dadhivāhan of Aṅgadeśa, the capital of which was Champāpurī, where the twelfth Jaina Tīrthaṅkar

Vāsupūjya died. The account of the life of

(7) **Padmāvati** Padmāvati is given in many Jaina books, but

we shall take up incidents from her life which

are relevant to our history<sup>105</sup>. It is said that when she was pregnant, she had gone to sport in a forest, riding on an elephant with the king. The elephant began to run wildly due to some reason. The king took hold of the branch of a tree on the way. The queen was pregnant and she could not do so. The elephant ran with the queen on its back a great distance. King Dadhivāhan returned to the city, but the queen was taken to a distant and strange country by the elephant<sup>106</sup>. Later on, she gave birth to a son in a safe place. This son became famous with the name of Karkaṇḍu<sup>107</sup>. He became the ruler of the territory in which he was born, and later on invaded Aṅgadeśa. Thus the father and son, Dadhivāhan and Karkaṇḍu, not knowing the relation between them, waged war against each other, and one of them would have been killed by the other, if Padmāvati, who had by this time taken to the life of a Jaina nun, had not by chance come on the scene of war and informed and convinced them that they were father and son. They embraced each other and returned to their respective countries. Jaina books here have committed a mistake<sup>108</sup>

(105) Vide pp. 102–6 of Bharateśvara B. V. Translation.

(106) Vide the account of Chedi-deśa for further information.

(107) Vide the account of Chedi-deśa and the foot notes given there; Kara=a hand, Kaṇḍu=itching. His hands were constantly itching and so he was called Karkaṇḍu by the people. We shall know later on his real name in the account of Chedi-deśa.

(108) We shall notice this mistake in the account of the life of king Karkaṇḍu in the description of the Chedi dynasty.



and have stated that king Dadhivāhan gave up his kingdom and retired into the forest. I believe that he remained on the throne for some years. After a few years king Śatānik of Vatsa had invaded his country and plundered Champānagarī. We know the result of the war, which has already been described. All the above details are taken from Jaina books.

King Śatānik plundered and destroyed Champānagarī in 556 B. C. as proved in the foregoing pages. Hence king Dadhivāhan must have died within a short time after that i. e. in 555 B. C. He must have fought against Karkaṇḍu in 559 or 560 B. C., when Karkaṇḍu must at least have been 18 to 20 years old. So he must have been born in  $559+18=577$ ; also this must be the year of the separation of Dadhivāhan and Padmāvatī. Padmāvatī must have at least been sixteen years old when she was pregnant. Hence she must have been born in  $557+16=593$  B.C.

We have tried in foregoing pages to fix the dates of the births, deaths, and of many other events in the lives of these seven daughters. Let us now arrange them as follows:—

No.	No. according to seniority	Name	Birth	Death	Duration of life	Married with whom and the year of marriage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	Prabhāvatī	598 B.C.	573 B.C.	25	With Udāyin of Sindh in 585 B. C.
2	5	Śivā	574 B.C.	became a Jaina nun 543 B. C.	31	With Chaṇḍa of Avanti in 560 B. C.

(109) We shall see whether there is any place for correction in this matter in the account of king Karkaṇḍu.

(110) In "Jaina Sāhitya Lekhsangraha" pp. 79. the order of names is different : (i) Prabhāvatī, (ii) Padmāvatī, (iii) Mṛgāvatī, (iv) Śivā, (v) Jyestā (vi) Sujyestā, (vii) Chillapā. The author has stated no reason for arranging names in this order. We have stated enough reasons for our order of names.



3	1	Jyeṣṭhā	600 B.C.	became a Not	With Nandi-
				Jaina nun known	vardhan pri-
					nce of Ksha-
					triyakuṇḍ in
					586 B. C.
4	7	Chillaṇā	572 B.C.	—do— 44	With Śreṇik
				in 528 B.C.	of Magadh
					in 558 B.C.
5	6	Sujyeṣṭhā	573 B.C.	—do— 21	Remained a
				in 552 B.C.	virgin through-
					out her life.
6	4	Mrgāvatī	580 B.C.	—do— 37	With Śatānik
				in 543 B.C.	of Vatsa in
					566 B. C.
7	3	Padmāvatī	593 B.C.	—do— 17	With Dadhi-
				in 576 B.C. <sup>111</sup>	vāhan of
					Aṅgadeśa in
					579 B. C.

Looking to the names of the kings with whom these princesses were married, we shall be able to affirm that kings gave their daughters in marriage to kings of distant countries.

The youngest daughter of Cheṭak, (Chillaṇā) was married to Śreṇik of Magadh. She had given birth to three sons, (1)

King Cheṭak's death and the end of his dynasty Kuṇik (2) Halla, and (3) Vihalla. Kuṇik was the heir to the throne, while the other two were given a bracelet and an elephant of gods, named Sechanak. Kuṇik, thus had no reason

to envy his brothers, because compared to the kingdom of Magadh, which he got, his brothers' gifts were just nothing. Even if he was envious he could not have been able to take by force those gifts from his brothers. But no sooner did he ascend the throne, than he ordered Halla and Vihalla to hand over that Sechanak (elephant) to him under the pretext that it

(111) whether it is proper to make any change with regard to this date, we shall discuss in the account of Chedi-deśa.



was required for his son Udāyan (Udayāśva) to ride over it<sup>112</sup>. Halla and Vihalla ran away with the elephant to Cheṭak, their mother's father. Kuṇik sent a message to Cheṭak that either he should hand over the two brothers and the elephant to him, or he should prepare for war. The brave king Cheṭak accepted the latter alternative and a bloody warfare began between them<sup>113</sup>. Kuṇik had thought it easy to conquer Cheṭak, but actually found it next to impossible. He thought that it was impossible for him to defeat them, as long as they had in their possession the elephant of gods. He decided to obtain or kill the elephant by deceit. He ordered his soldiers to dig a ditch in the middle of the field of battle, filled it with live coals, and then began the fight. Halla and Vihalla rode into the forefront over the elephant, who saw the ditch full of live coals. He lifted the princes with his trunk and after gently placing them on the ground plunged himself into the fire and died.

At this time, gods came down from heaven and carried away both the princes to that place, where Mahāvīr was staying. They were deeply impressed by his preachings, renounced the world, and accepted the life of Jaina monks. The battle between Cheṭak and Kuṇik continued. Cheṭak, as I have stated before, was a very skilful archer who never missed his aim. But he thought it better to starve himself to death by a vow of not eating and drinking, than to kill his daughter's son for the sake of a kingdom<sup>114</sup>. He plunged himself in a well and died. Some are of the opinion that he was killed by Kuṇik while fighting<sup>115</sup>. This event took place in 525 B. C.

As king Cheṭak had no son, his kingdom of Vaiśālī was annexed to the empire of Magadh by Kuṇik.

(112) This was due to the instigation of the daughter of king Viduratha of Kosal,

(113) Vide pp. 263. "Purātattva" Vol. I.

(114) "Jain Sāhitya Lekh Sangraha, Vide pp. 74, f. n. no. 2. It is stated therein that this was suicide. Cheṭak who was devoutly religious, was not likely to commit suicide. He brought himself to death for a noble purpose,

(115) Vide pp. 75. Jain Sāhitya L. S.



Thus Chetāk's death took place in 525 B. C. We have already proved that his eldest daughter was born in or about 600 B. C. Hence he himself must have been born not later than 616 B. C. Thus the duration of his life would be  $616 - 525 = 91$  years. That all the kings respected him, might have partly been due to his seniority over them in age. Of course his high family was the greater reason.

Thus with death of Chetāk ended his dynasty and the independence of Vaiśālī in 525 B. C.<sup>116</sup>.

### (8) MAGADH

The empire of Magadh was the most powerful of all the kingdoms of that time. We get more information about its rulers, their lives and historical events in connection with them, than we get about any other kingdom. Each king deserves a chapter. They were emperors of the whole of India. Their lives will be described in special chapters devoted to them.

Of the many families and dynasties that ruled over Magadh, Śiśunāg was the first. The kings of this dynasty were formerly the kings of Kāśī and then became the kings of Magadh. They were succeeded by the kings of the Nanda, and then the Maurya dynasties.

I shall first finish off the accounts of the other countries, and then devote myself to the account of Magadh.

### (9) BAṄG

There were many small kingdoms in this country. Over them all, was the power of the emperors of Magadh. No further details are available about them.

### (10) KUŚASTHAL<sup>117</sup>; MAHĀKOŚAL; AṅGA.

Kuśasthal etymologically means a region in which grass grows in great quantities. Vidarbha has an exactly opposite mean-

(116) Vide pp. 35. E. H. I. 3rd. ed.

(117) For the meaning of these words vide previous pages of this book, footnotes No. 26-27-41-51-52 Chapter III.



ing. It means a region in which no grass grows<sup>118</sup>. Politically Kuśasthal and Vidarbha formed parts of one kingdom. Sometimes they were also ruled by independent kings.

**Meanings of these** These were the only two names in use in very old time. But in the time with which we are concerned "Mahākośal" was also in use. In Jaina books we get yet another name "Aṅgadeśa".

Mahākośal means a "large country". (Mahā=large, and Kośal=Kośal country). That Mahākośal was the name given to a larger country means that there was a country with a smaller area, and it must have been called Kośal. This Kośal was a country in northern India and we have already given an account of it in the previous pages of this book (Pp. 72-90). Because Kośal was in the north, it might have been called North Kośal, and because Mahākośal was in the south, it might have been called South Kośal. From the view point of area, North Kośal can be called Kośal and south Kośal can be called Mahākośal.

I have not yet known the meaning of the word Aṅgadeśa.

Just as the boundaries of this country differed at different times, so it had different capitals at different times. Champānagarī was its capital in the 6th century B. C.<sup>119</sup>. We can get some idea

(118) It is stated in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India", that Berār or Vidarbha was called South Kośal in the time of Buddha.

Vi=Without, darbha=a kind of grass. Vidarbha=a country where no grass grows.

Kuśa=a kind of grass, Sthala=place. Kuśasthal=a country in which much grass grows.

Thus the etymological meanings of Vidarbha and Kuśasthal are opposite. How can they be the names of the same country? It would be proper to say that Kośal was divided into two parts, one in which grass grew profusely (eastern portion which was therefore called Kuśasthal), and one in which grass was scarce (western portion which was therefore called Vidarbha).

(119) It must have been situated at the place, where now is found the rock-inscription of Rupaṇṭha in the province of Jubbulpore in C. P. For further information vide the account of emperor Priyadarśin, and previous page of this book.



about the area of Mahākośal, if we identify the Central Provinces of to-day with Kuśasthal, and Berār with Vidarbha. For a detailed study the reader is referred to the map of India given in the foregoing pages and the footnotes given, to explain the numbers put on it.

Historians of to-day have come to the conclusion that Aṅga deśa consisted of the province of Bhāgalpur in Bengāl. This assertion is not supported by any of the ancient books. They might have come to this conclusion, because in the above-mentioned region is a town named Champāpurī, and because Champāpurī was the name of the capital of Aṅga-deśa. They forget the fact that the year in which Champāpurī which was re-built by Kuṇik was 524 B. C.<sup>120</sup>, while the Champāpurī, which was the capital of Aṅga-deśa, was a much older city, and was brought to ruins by Śatānik of Kauśāmbī in 556 B. C.<sup>121</sup>. In short, these two Champāpurīs are different from each other, were situated on different places, and existed and flourished in different times<sup>122</sup>.

I have explained above, how the situation of Aṅgadeśa is located wrongly, on account of the confusion about two Champāpurīs. I now shall clear out below another mistake of the same type.

The country<sup>123</sup>, with the account of which we are concerned

(120) If we grant that the Champāpurī built by Kuṇik was the same as Champāpurī which is now in Bengāl, we shall have to believe that it was newly built and not on the ruins of an old city of that name. If we grant that Kuṇik re-built Champāpurī which was plundered and almost destroyed by king Śatānik, we shall have to admit that it was in Mahākośal.

It is not certain, at which of these two places Champāpurī stood in those times. It is more probable that it might have been in Kuśasthal as I have explained in the account of Kauśāmbī.

(121) Vide pp. 110 and pp. 131 and f. n. No. 120 of this book, above.

(122) This old Champāpurī was brought to earth in 556 B. C. King Kuṇik rebuilt it after thirty or thirty-two years.

(123) See f. n. No. 129 below.



here, was once<sup>124</sup> under the rule of the kings of Chedi dynasty, and hence it was called Chedideśa, though its original name was Mahākośal. I shall give details in the account of Chedi dynasty, and here I shall give only a short note on it.

The countries of Aṅga, Vamśa and Kaling were situated near one another. Aṅga was in the extreme west and Kaling in the extreme east, and Vamśa was in the middle. I am of the opinion that this Vamśa was called Chedi in ancient times, though both the names were in use since very old times; and though I have almost no evidence to put forth to the effect, that both the names belong to one and the same country, or they were the names given to the same country at different times. But looking to the description of their boundaries<sup>125</sup>, we can affirm, that they might have been the names of the same country. At the time about which we are writing, Dadhivāhan was the king of Aṅgadeśa, while if we take them to be separate countries<sup>126</sup>, we do not know who ruled over Chedi and Kaling at the same time; but we know that, Karkaṇḍu<sup>127</sup> ascended the throne after this king,—whose name we do not know,—died. We have proved above that Karkaṇḍu was the son of king Dadhivāhan. Thus all these three countries were brought under the rule of the same kings, and they were together called “Tri-kaling”<sup>128</sup>. Because Karkaṇḍu

(124) The king of the Chedi dynasty ruled over this province during the 3rd and the 9th centuries A. D. (For further information vide the account of Chedi dynasty).

(125) Vide the account of Chedi dynasty.

(126) See f. n. no. 148 below.

(127) See f. n. no. 107 above, for the reason why this name was given to it. For the real name vide the account of Chedi dynasty and further in this chapter.

(128) In the word “Tri-kaling” Kaling is the principal word. The king of Kaling was also the ruler of the two neighbouring countries. These three countries combined together were called Tri-kaling. This means that the word “Tri-kaling” means a combination of any three countries and not the same three countries. Once the word meant a combination of Aṅga, Chedi and Kaling (in the time



ruled on Chedi, his dynasty was given the name of Chedi dynasty. Thus, Chedi-deśa<sup>129</sup> is a very old name of a particular region, while Chedi dynasty is of a comparatively much later origin. This dynasty began in the 6th century B. C. when Karkaṇḍu was on the throne. Thus Chedi-deśa and Chedi dynasty are not so closely connected with each other as to represent one country, ruled by one dynasty throughout, for a very long time.

Aṅga-deśa consisted of the great part of the Central Provinces, while Chedi-deśa or Vamśa-deśa consisted of the modern districts of Bilāspur, Rāipur, Udepur, Chhattisgaḥ<sup>130</sup>, southern portion of the state of Rewā<sup>131</sup> and Śohanāgpur. The capital of Aṅga-deśa was Champāpurī, while the capital of Vamśa-deśa was Kañchanpur<sup>132</sup>.



of king Karkaṇḍu). At another time it consisted of Kaling, Cholā and Pāṇḍyā (in the time of Khārvel). Still another time it represented the combination of Kaling, Baṅg (Samtā) and the coastal portion of Burmā. (Vide the account of Kaling).

(129) Mr. Dey in his A. I. states that Tripurī is the ancient name of Jubbulpore in Central Provinces. It was also called Chedi. This means that Central Provinces were once called Chedideśa.

J. B. A. S. pp. 15 (According to Colonel Todd, Chanderi in Mālvā, was the capital of Śisupāl who was put to death by Kṛṣṇa. Mr. Fuhrer (quoting from Dey's A. I. pp. 14) states that Dehal Maṇḍal is the ancient Chedideśa.

(130) In the introduction Pp. IX of "Ancient Erās" by Sir Cunningham it is stated that Boramdev which was the capital of the district of Chhattisgaḥ (Mahākosal) was also the capital of Chedideśa or Kalchūries. In J. B. A. S. pp. 257 it is stated that the name of the region which is near the eastern (it should be western) boundary line of Bhojkat or Avanti was called Chedi. (Vide pp. 35 of Dr. D. R. Bhaṇḍarker's "Sabhāparva and Aśoka" in which it is stated that the eastern boundary line of Chedi and Pulind embraced each other.

(131) Vide pp. 14 of Dey's A. I. Chedideśa included within its precincts the southern portion of Bundelkhanda and northern portion of Jubbulpore. In the time of Gupta kings, the capital was Kalinger (Rewā). Tripurī was another name of Chedi (vide f. n. no. 129 above, and the account of Kaling for my opinion).

(132) Bharateśvar B. V. pp. 103.



We possess the chronological lists of the names of the kings of Kāśī, Kośal and Vatsa. We know the names of the founders of the dynasties which ruled over them. We know the names of the six generations of kings who ruled over them before 6th century B. C. Unfortunately, we have no such wealth of information about Aṅga-deśa. Only Jaina books supply some details<sup>133</sup>. At a certain time king Raṇvir's son Dadhivāhan ruled over it. Looking to the description given about him in these books, this Dadhivāhan must have been the same individual as the Dadhivāhan about whom we are going to write here.

**The family of  
Dadhivāhan**

In the account of Kāśī we have stated that the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkar's, Pārśvanāth's father Aśvasen was the king of Kāśī, and that Pārśvakumār<sup>134</sup> was married to the daughter of king Prasenjit of Kuśasthal. This means that the name of the king who ruled over Kuśasthal in the 8th century B. C. was Prasenjit. Now six generations of kings have been found to have ruled over Kāśī, Kośal, Magadh and Vatsa from the 8th century B. C. to 6th century B. C. Naturally, we come to the conclusion that the king Dadhivāhan who was ruling over Kuśasthal in the sixth century B. C. must have been the sixth king from the first king Prasenjit (who ruled in the 8th century B. C.)<sup>135</sup>.

We do not know anything else about Prasenjit except that he was the father-in-law of Pārśvanāth. Of course, I was once of the opinion that this Prasenjit must have been the same who

(133) Ibid pp. 107.

(134) Pārśvanāth was the name given to this Tīrthaṅkar after he attained salvation. Before he had renounced this world, and before his marriage, he was called Pārśvakumār. I have used this word here in this sense.

(135) The list may be arranged as follows:—

- (1) Prasenjit
- (2) "
- (3) "
- (4) "
- (5) Raṇvir
- (6) Dadhivāhan,



erected the Prasenjit pillar in Bhārhut-stūpa which is near Champāpurī<sup>136</sup> in Kuśasthal. But as I have already stated, I had

**Short notes on  
their lives**

to change my opinion on account of further study. We do not get even the names of the second, third, and the fourth kings. We know only the name of the fifth king, and we have given it, (Raṇvir). Dadhivāhan must have succeeded him. We know some details about Dadhivāhan, which are given below.

He had three queens. The name of the chief queen was Abhayādevī<sup>137</sup>, the name of the second was Padmāvatī or Padmādevī<sup>138</sup>, and the name of the third was

**Dadhivāhan**

Dhāriṇī<sup>139</sup>. This makes it clear that Padmāvatī was surely not the chief queen. Padmāvatī might

have been married to Dadhivāhan five years after Abhayādevī was married to him. Hence the difference between the ages of Dadhivāhan and Padmāvatī, must have been eight to ten years instead of the normal difference of two to five years. We know that Padmāvatī was born in 593 B. C. (Vide the previous pages of this book for the list of the names of the seven sisters and their ages). Hence Dadhivāhan must have been born in 601-603 B. C. We also know that king Dadhivāhan died in 556 B. C. i. e. he died at the age of  $603-556=47$ . If we grant that he might have come to the throne at the age of fifteen, his reign must have lasted for thirty-two to thirty-four years.

We need not enter into details about all the incidents in the life of Dadhivāhan. We may only note here, that he had to be

(136) Because Champāpurī will have to be located near the rock-inscription of Rupnāth. (I shall discuss this in details in the account of emperor Priyadarśin).

This is a good instance of the mistakes committed due to similarity of names). Bhārhut is just near the Rupnāth rock-inscription.

(137) Bharateśvar B. V. pp. 103.

(138) Some information about this queen is given in the previous pages of this volume,

(139) Details about the life of this queen are given in the previous pages of this volume.



separated for good from Padmāvatī, with whom he had gone to sport in a garden on an elephant, that he had to wage war with his own son (who had become the ruler of Chedi at that time) and that the father and the son were prevented from killing each other by the accidental arrival of Padmāvatī who had become a Jaina nun<sup>140</sup>. After some years, when Śatānik of Kauśāmbī invaded Aṅga, Dadhivāhan's death took place. His queen Dhāriṇī was imprisoned with her daughter Vasumatī by Śatānik who started on his journey back to his country with him. Dhāriṇī committed suicide on the way to keep in tact her chastity, when some officers of Śatānik tried to rape her. Vasumatī was sold to a merchant of Kauśāmbī<sup>141</sup>. The merchant gave her the name of Chandanbālā. She became a Jaina nun by the hands of Mahāvīr himself. Such in short, is the account of Dadhivāhan.

The dynasty of Dadhivāhan ended with him. Though Karkaṇḍu was his son, yet he had to adopt the race and family names of the king whom he succeeded, and give up his own, because such was the custom prevailing at that time. Thus, though he was the son of the king of Aṅga, yet, because he ascended the throne of Chedi, his name is included in the list of Chedi dynasty. We shall describe his life in the account of Chedideśa. I shall give here some details about his birth, because these details are also connected with the lives of Dadhivāhan and Padmāvatī.

We know how the elephant ran away madly with the pregnant queen Padmāvatī on his back. After running over a great distance, he stopped near the hermitage of an ascetic. Padmāvatī got down and stated her condition before the ascetic, who was very kind-hearted by nature. The ascetic showed her the way to Dantpur<sup>142</sup>, and told her that it would be easy for her to reach

(140) Vide further pages of this book and f. n. no. 143 infra.

(141) I have not mentioned this detail before-hand because it was not necessary.

(142) Dantpur might have either been the capital of a small kingdom at the foot of Vindhyā mountains, or it might have been a small kingdom situated between Aṅgadeśa and Vamśadeśa.



Champāpuri from there. Padmāvatī started on her way to Dantpur. On the way she met a Jaina nun, and told her everything in details. The nun told her that this world was full of illusion, and that the human body was to perish in the end. Padmāvatī felt a strong desire to renounce the world, and became a nun herself under her preceptorship. Her pregnancy began to be more and more manifest day by day. She had not told the nun anything about this. When, however, she came to know of her pregnancy, she was angry and asked her the reason why she had made a secret of it. Padmāvatī replied that she would not have accepted her as her pupil, had she told her this, and that her condition would have been miserable without her protection in a strange country like that. The nun was a practical woman, and arranged for privacy upto the time of delivery. After due time, a son was born, who was brought up by her upto the necessary age for leaving him alone. Then she put some signs<sup>143</sup> on the child's body for future recognition, and left him in a cemetery.

The keeper of the cemetery saw the child and gave to his wife who had no children. When the child was eight years old, and was playing with other children in the street, he was seen by two Jaina monks who were passing on the way. They were talking between themselves that whoever will cut the bamboo<sup>144</sup> on the opposite side of that road, will become a king in future. This was heard by the child and a brahmin child-friend of his.<sup>145</sup> They at once ran and cut the bamboo and began to fight. One said that he would be king and the second said that he would.

(143) It is stated that a ring was put on her fingers: but this is not possible because no Jaina nun ever puts on any ornament of any metal, not to talk of gold. It is possible that she might not have become a nun upto this time.

(144) The country might have possibly been given the name of Vamśa due to this incident; or it might have been given that name, because the growth of bamboos (Vamśa=bamboo) in it was excessive.

(145) This proves that there was nothing like untouchability in ancient times; (The man who is the keeper of a cemetery is always a chaṇḍāl, who is now considered an untouchable). Otherwise a child of a brahmin would not have been allowed to play with the child of a chaṇḍāl.



The guardians and parents of these two children approached the king for the settlement of the quarrel, the statement of which excited much laughter in the court. The king laughingly delivered the judgement that Karkanḍu<sup>146</sup> would have to give a village to the brahmin child, when he would become king. The people of the town began to tease Karkanḍu and his guardian, and mockingly demanded a village from them. Being tired of this, they left Dantpur. On their way they halted at Kañchanpur<sup>147</sup> which was a large city. Exactly at this time, the king of this city died leaving no son behind him, and the ministers were in search of a man who was fit to become a king. They saw Karkanḍu and were thoroughly impressed by his appearance. They placed him on an elephant and crowned him king. From thence Karkanḍu became the king of Kañchanpur which was the capital of Chedi<sup>148</sup>. No sooner did the brahmin family of Dantpur hear this news, than they came there to get a village from Karkanḍu. These brahmins told the brahmins of Kañchanpur that Karkanḍu was born of parents who belonged to the caste of untouchables. The brahmins were furious when they heard this, but they heard

(146) See f. n. no. 107 above. This child's whole body was constantly itching, and he was constantly scratching his body with his nails. People therefore called him Karkanḍu. (This is one more instance of the peculiar habit of Jaina writers who always gave a characteristic name to a person, over and above his real name. I have discussed this habit of theirs in details in the previous pages of this book. *Śreṇik*, *Samprati*, *Kuṇik* are names of this type).

(147) This proves that Dantpur and Kañchanpur are cities belonging to different kingdoms. Kañchanpur was in Kaling, and Dantpur was in Vamśa, or Dantpur might have been the name of a region which now forms a part of Orissā. (cf. f. n. no. 142). In short, Orissā might have been included within Kaling at a later date, but it formed a separate kingdom in ancient times. They were then separate kingdoms (Vide C. H. I. pp. 601). "Early literature however distinguishes the Kalingās from Odrās or natives of Orissā (meaning hereby that the Odrās people inhabiting the provinces of Orissā did not probably belong to Kaling) (what else can it be then?). The reply is quite simple, to Vamśadeśa, between the countries of Aṅga and Kaling.

(148) This mistake is clear because Aṅga and Chedi are different countries.



a voice from the sky saying that "no man is low or high because he is born in a particular family. It is his actions that make him high or low. Karkaṇḍu might belong to any family, but he deserves to be respected because he has become a king". The brahmins were appeased. King Karkaṇḍu also duly respected them and ordered that all the chaṇḍālās (untouchables) of the city were to be uplifted and included in the brahmin caste. These new brahmins were given the name of Janaṅgama Dvij<sup>149</sup>, while the original brahmins were called only "Dvijs". Then Karkaṇḍu jokingly said to the members of the brahmin family of Dantpur to go to king Dadhivāhan to ask for a village. Poor, simple brahmins! They approached king Dadhivāhan and told him the message. Dadhivāhan sent a reply to the effect that he would give a village to these brahmins after killing Karkaṇḍu on the field of battle. He acted thus because he was told that Karkaṇḍu was born of a chaṇḍāl family, and again because he was an independent king; he was not in any way bound to do as the king of Chedi told or ordered him to do. The brahmins delivered this message to Karkaṇḍu who on hearing it, began to shake with fury. He marched with an army upto the outer precincts of Champāpurī and challenged Dadhivāhan to a battle. His mother Padmāvatī, who had become a nun as we have already stated, came to know

(149) Vide pp. 104 of Bharateśvar B. V. Translation. "Dadhivāhan's son Karkaṇḍu converted the Vāsi Chaṇḍālās of Vātdhānak into Brahmins",

I have two explanations to offer about this:—

(i) Are these new brahmins in any way connected to Goad and Sārasvat brahmins? It is just possible that these Goad and Sārasvat brahmins might have their origin here, because these brahmins are called "Tapodhan" in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, and in many other places; and are considered to be low types of brahmins by other brahmins. The word "Goad" has degenerated into "Garodā" in Kāthiāwār. These "Goad" (Garodā) brahmins act as preceptors to lower castes of hindu society to-day. If this is a fact, then the origin of Goad brahmins must be Central Provinces or a part of Orissā, and not Bengāl (cf. f. n. no. 129-130 etc. above). (ii) These people are also known by the name of "Vātdhānak" while a race named "Vātkātak" ruled over the Central Provinces during the 4th and 5th century of Christian Era. It is possible that these names with similar sounds might have some connection with each other.



of this dreadful development of affairs<sup>150</sup>, and arrived on the scene of battle. She convinced (by the signs on Karkaṇḍu's body) both of them that they were father and son. Dadhivāhan then made Karkaṇḍu enter his city in full pomp and procession. After some time Karkaṇḍu returned to his own country<sup>151</sup>.

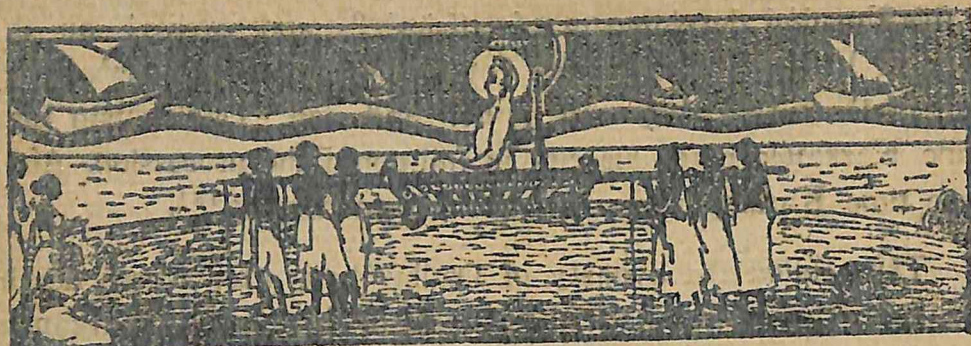
Thus ended the dynasty of Dadhivāhan, after whose death, Aṅgadeśa was annexed to the empire of Kaling by Karkaṇḍu, and thus was formed the kingdom of Trikaṅging.

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(150) This happened twenty years after Padmāvatī had become a nun. It is possible that she might have acquired the power to know before-hand the events to happen in future, due to her leading an ascetic kind of life. Else she might have been informed of this, during her travelling from one place to another. I believe that she might have acquired the power to know future events.

(151) Vide pp. 105 Bharateśvar. B. V. Trans. pp. 105. "Now Karkaṇḍu became the ruler of two countries and was called the king of Kaling" (But we know, that several years after this battle had taken place, Dadhivāhan fought against Śatānik who had invaded Chāmpāpurī. This proves that Karkaṇḍu had not become the ruler of Aṅgadeśa, otherwise the king of a small kingdom like Vatsa, might have thought twice before raising his head against him. We shall discuss all this in detail in the account of Chedi).





## Chapter VI

### Accounts of the kingdoms ( contd. )

**Synopsis:—**(11) *Dhankatak:—*Its real name was *Bennākatak*; distinction between two different rivers, both named *Bennā*—Its capital *Bennātatnagar* which was a fine sea-port—Significance of the word *Amarāvati*—New light on *Amarāvati* stupa—Refutation of the opinion held by some historians that *Śuṅgbhrtya* dynasty or *Kaṇva* dynasty had any connection with this country—Information about the region over which kings of *Kaṇva* dynasty ruled.

(12) *Āudhra*—It is described as a separate country.

(13) *Kaling*:—Definitions of *Kaling*, *Trikaling* *Chedi-dēsa* and *Chedi* dynasty—Their relation to one another and the circumstances under which its founder was born—Determination of the time in which *Chedi* dynasty was founded—An account of the life of king *Karkaṇḍu* or *Meghvāhan*—More discussion about his dynasty—A short account of *Kaṇchanpur* and the gold idol—A chronological list of the names of kings of *Chedi* dynasty—More light on the gold idol—Accounts of the lives of *Chedi* kings other than *Karkaṇḍu*.

(14) *Avanti*:—New and important information about its different names at different times, and about its different capitals—More details about *Ujjaini*—Confusion of the events of the life of *Bhoj* of *Kanoj* with the events of the life of *Bhoj* of *Ujjaini*, because they were contemporaries—Explanation of the different names of the capital and its historical account.



## (11) DHANKATAK ( BENNĀKATAK )

Of the sixteen countries that I have undertaken to describe, Andhra and Dhankatak were considered to be Anārya (uncivilized) countries. But this division of countries into Ārya (civilized) and Anārya is based on civilization and culture in a country, both of which increase and decrease at different times in the same country. There were times when both these countries were highly civilized and cultured. They were as much civilized as other countries at the time with which we are concerned.

In chapter III we have stated the boundary of this country from the geographical point of view. It encircled within its precincts the major portion of the region which lies in the west between the rivers Godāvarī, and Kṛṣṇā. To be exact, in the north was the river Godāvarī, in the south was the rivulet named Guṇḍākāmā, in the east the straight line that can be drawn between the cities of Varāṅgul and Kārnul, and in the west the Arabian sea.

We have stated that in the south was only a rivulet named Guṇḍākāmā. But the flow of the Kṛṣṇā river became so broad near its mouth that it formed a delta which was extremely fertile, and needed no water supply from Guṇḍākāmā, the name of which was stated above to give to the reader exact details about the southern boundary line.

Historians have given the name of Dhankatak<sup>1</sup> to this country on the strength of Bauddha books. But this is a misleading word. The real word must have been Ben-katak (or Benākatak)<sup>2</sup>. I give following reasons for this:—The river Kṛṣṇā has been given the name of Benā in ancient books like Mahābhārat and Rāmāyaṇa.

(1) This has been taken directly from the Bauddha books by the historians. I request linguistic experts to study the script of these books again and find out the truth.

(2) Benā-Katak; Benā=river Kṛṣṇā; Katak=a region surrounding. Benākatak=the region round which river Benā is flowing. See the paragraph above in connection with this.



The word "Katak" means "Surrounding"<sup>3</sup>. So "Benā-katak" means "the region surrounding the river Benā" or the country watered by the river Benā. This description applies exactly to the country with the account of which we are here concerned.

I shall now draw the reader's attention to another mistake committed by some historians. On account of this mistake they have fixed up a capital for this country which was never the capital of this country. (We shall discuss this in detail later on). Again, there are rivers in the neighbourhood of the river Kṛṣṇā, the names of which resemble in sound the word "Benā"<sup>4</sup>. The names of these rivers have misled several historians, because these rivers flow near one another and have names with similar sounds. We know that the other name of river Kṛṣṇā is Benā; similarly the names of two tributaries of the Godāvarī are Bain (Gaṅgā) and Pain (Gaṅgā). Prāṇhit, again, is the name of the river which is formed by their confluence, which meets the river Godāvarī<sup>5</sup> near the famous city of Chinur. These Bain and Pain might have been taken together to be called Bennā by the historians who have stated as the capital of Dhankatak, a town which is situated between these two rivers<sup>6</sup>, because this town happens to possess

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

(4) The river on which Kāśī—Benāres is situated is called Vāṇārasī; sometimes it is also called Veṇā or Vāṇā.

River Yamunā has also two tributaries named Veṇā, and Reṇā. Two tributaries of river Godāvarī (described in the paragraph above) are also named together Benā. Hence there are many rivers, the names of which are same as or similar to Benā.

(5) None of these rivers is called either Veṇā or Beṇā. How, then, can we call the name of Benākatak to the region surrounding them?

(6) Scholars are of the opinion that Amarāvati was the capital of Dhan-katak (Vide f. n. no. 11 below, and the paragraph connected with it). None of the ancient books states that this Amarāvati was the same as Chinur, and scholars have given no evidence in support of their statement, that both these are the names of the same city. The sources of these two rivers are in Berār and they might have fixed up modern Umarāvati, which is near Nāgpur, as Amarāvati, the capital of this country.



What are the facts about it?

remains of an ancient city. Now these ruins may represent any ancient city, because there are so many places in this region which possess remains of ancient cities, because this region was ruled by powerful kings in ancient times. It is not reasonable to fix up a town as the capital of an ancient country, just because it possesses remains of an ancient city.

As I have stated above, Benākatak was the real name of this country. I have also stated its boundary.

No information is available as to what was the real name of its capital, but Jaina books supply a characteristic or symbolic name according to the habit of Jaina writers to give characteristic or symbolic names to persons and places<sup>7</sup>. The name given by them

**What are the facts about it?**

is Bennātaṭ-nagar, (Ben=River Kṛṣṇā, taṭ=bank, nagar=city i. e. a city which is on the bank of the river Bennā). This was a very flourishing port with a fine harbour on the east coast of the Indian Peninsula, in the 6th. century B. C. Ships from various foreign countries anchored in its harbour for trade purposes. It had a strongly built harbour which protected ships from storms in the sea. Bennātaṭ-nagar had a situation similar to London, which is on the river Thames, and which, though many miles away from sea<sup>8</sup>, is called a port, while it is free from the danger of sea storms, or similar to Hāmburg on the river Elb in Germany. It was twenty-five miles away from sea, on the river Bennā. Numerous ships from Magadh entered the river Bennā after voyaging through the river Ganges, the Bay of Bengāl, and the coast-line of Kaling, and the harbour of Vizāgā-paṭṭaṇ (Government of India are planning to develop this harbour). Then these ships circled round the cape which is near the place,

(7) Vatsa-paṭṭaṇ, Deva-paṭṭaṇ, etc., vide f. n. no. 1 Chapter V.

(8) Calcuttā on the Huglī, Broach on the Narmadā, and Karāchī on the Indus, are also similarly situated—many miles away from the sea proper. Though Bombay is not situated on any river, it may be cited as a port of similar nature, because its harbour is a ditch on the east, while the sea proper is in its west, to safeguard the steamers from the sea-storms (see above paragraphs).



What are the facts about it ?

where this river flows into sea, and landed the goods on the coast, just as the steamers from western countries at present have to circumscribe a circle, southwards, to enter the harbour of Bombay, which is in the east. Thus Bennā-taṭnāgar was a great business and trade centre. The famous king Śreṇik, son of king Prasenjit, had come to Bennātaṭ-nagar<sup>10</sup> by the route described above, in the first quarter of 6th century B. C. when he had quarrelled with his father. He had stayed in the city for two years and a half, and had then returned to Magadh to ascend the throne. (The father's house of the mother of Abhay-kumār, son and prime-minister of Śreṇik, was in this city). It might have been now clear to the reader that Bennātaṭ-nagar was as prosperous and flourishing as at present London, Bombay and Hāmburg are. In support of my statement, I draw the reader's attention to a report published by the Government of Madrās, containing an account of this city, compiled by the Archeological Department, on 29th. January 1930. It is stated therein, that it was situated on a large area near modern Bezwāḍā.

The city must have been full of majestic mansions, the tops of which might have been lost in the sky due to their height. On account of such extraordinary prosperity, it might also have been given the name of Amarāvati<sup>11</sup>. It is possible that scholars might have confused this Amarāvati with another Amarāvati (Umarāvati) in Berār, because they believe that Berār was called Dhankaṭak in ancient times.

(9) Cf. no. 8 for some explanation of the importance of this city.

(10) For the details of his journey, and the route by which he travelled, vide pp. 38 and onwards, Bharateśvar B. V. Translation.

(11) Amarāvati etymologically means a city of gods=meaning thereby, "a prosperous city".

The name of this place is Amarāvati which is confused with another Amarāvati in Berār, giving rise to the mistaken idea that Berār was called Dhankaṭak in ancient times, and that Bennā is the name of the two rivers Pain (Gaṅgā) and Bain (Gaṅgā) combined together, because they are flowing in this region. Vide f. n. no. 6 above and the paragraphs above connected with it.



Who might have been the rulers of this country ?

It is found that this country was independent upto 6th. century B. C., but no details are available as to who were its rulers and to what dynasty they belonged. Jaina books state that Bimbisār, the son of the king of Magadh, had stayed as a visitor in Benntāt-nagar for two years and a half, when he had quarrelled with his father. From what is stated about the life of Bimbisār during these two and a half years, we can only infer that this country might have been independent at that time.

Who might have been the rulers of this country ?

Historians have hitherto believed that this country was ruled by the brāhmin kings of the Kaṇva dynasty, and that the last king Suśarman was killed by Śimukh<sup>12</sup> a king of Āndhra dynasty, who then ascended the throne of this country. As to the origin of Kaṇva dynasty, they state that its founder Vāsudev had become the king of this country after killing Devbhūti, the last king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Now because these kings of Śuṅga dynasty were rulers of Avanti, the king of Kaṇva dynasty are also called the kings of Avanti. Again Vāsudev, the first king of Kaṇva dynasty was at first the prime minister of Devbhūti, the last king of Śuṅga dynasty, and hence his dynasty has also been given the name of Śuṅga-bhṛtya<sup>13</sup> (servant of Śuṅga kings). In support of all the above statements they have stated the account of Puṣyamitra<sup>14</sup> which is as follows:—It is stated in the Hāthīgumafā inscription which is in a cave of mountain Udayagiri, and for which the emperor Khārvel of Kaling is responsible; that (i) Khārvel had defeated Śimukh, the founder of Āndhra dynasty; (ii) later on, he subdued king Brhaspatimitra of Magadh. This means that Khārvel, Śimukh,

(12) See Pargiter's Dynastic List of the Kali Age.

(13) Bhṛitya=a servant; Śuṅga bhṛitya=a servant of the Śuṅgas (E. H. I. pp. 205). For the real meaning of the word, vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty in the volume; for the real meaning of the word Āndhrabhṛitya vide the account of the country of Āndhra.

(14) Some write "Puṣyamitra"; while others write "Puṣpamitra". I have used both the names, but the more possible name is Puṣyamitra.



and Brhaspatimitra were contemporaries. But when they could not trace any signs of this Brhaspatimitra of Magadh, they declared that "Brhaspatimitra" meant "Puṣyamitra" of the Śuṅga dynasty because the etymological meaning of the word "Brhaspatimitra" is as follows:—Brhaspati means a planet who is the master and friend of a constellation named Puṣya, and Mitra=friend. On the other hand, they state that Devbhūti, the last king or Śuṅga dynasty (Puṣyamitra was the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty) was killed by his prime-minister Vāsudev (the first of Kaṇva dynasty), who then became the ruler of Avanti, and that Suśarman, the last king of this Kaṇva dynasty was killed by king Śimukh of Āndhra, who founded his own dynasty<sup>15</sup>. Now they had nothing to do but to fix up all these names and events chronologically and reasonably. They have done it thus:—Puṣyamitra, king of Avanti, was the first king of Śuṅga dynasty; the last king Devbhūti of the same dynasty was killed by his minister Vāsudev, who founded the Kaṇva dynasty and proclaimed himself as the ruler of Avanti. Then they said that the other name of his dynasty must be Śuṅgabhr̥tya<sup>16</sup> because Vāsudev was a servant of a Śuṅga king. Then, the last king, Suśarman of this Kaṇva dynasty was killed by Śimukh, who then became the king of Avanti. The names of the dynasty of Śimukh are two:—Śātavāhan and Andhra. Thus the first king of Andhra dynasty is fixed by them to be the king of Avanti also; and because Puṣyamitra, Śimukh, and Khārvel were contemporaries, they fixed up their time to be 2nd century B. C. Thus these historians have built up an imaginative edifice on the strength of Hāthīgumāfā inscription. But this edifice has no foundation<sup>17</sup>. I agree that due place must be given to imagination and guess-

(15) J. B. B. R. A. S. New series 1928. Vol. III. pp. 46; "It is evident that the king of Śātavāhan dynasty (11th, 12th, or 13th) had murdered the last king of Kaṇva dynasty" (No reasons are given for this statement by the author).

Also vide pp. 250 Vol. 2 of "Bhārat no Prāchin Rāj Vamśa."

(16) C. H. I. Vol. I. pp. 224.

(17) I mean here to say that the facts given in Hāthīgumāphā inscriptions have been twisted and misunderstood by them.



work; but at the same time our method of deducing conclusions must be strictly logical, which is not so in the case stated above. Śuṅga kings, beginning with Puṣyamitra, ruled for 112 years; while Kaṇva kings, beginning with Vāsudev, ruled for 40-45<sup>18</sup> years; and the latter dynasty had succeeded the former. In all, kings of these two dynasties ruled over Avanti for  $112+45=157$  years. This makes it clear that Suśarman, the last king of Kaṇva dynasty, ruled over Avanti nearly 150 years after Puṣyamitra, the first king of Śuṅga dynasty. Now historians have stated that Khārvel, Puṣyamitra, and Śimukh<sup>19</sup> were contemporaries, i. e. Śimukh also lived in this world nearly 150 before Suśarman, the last Kaṇva king. How, on earth, then, could this Śimukh have killed Suśarman, as these historians say he had? Did he live in this world for 220 years? (157 years of difference+30, the age at which he might have killed him+33 years of his own subsequent reign). This brings the whole edifice to the ground. Brhaspatimitra was surely not the other name of Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra, who is taken to be a contemporary either of Khārvel, or of Śimukh; neither the kings of Kaṇva dynasty have any connection with the country of Dhankaṭak, or of Avanti<sup>20</sup>, nor king Śimukh is in any way connected with the murder of Suśarman. The facts are as follows:—(i) Śimukh and Khārvel were contemporaries; (ii) king Brhaspatimitra of Magadh and king Khārvel of Kaliṅg were also contemporaries; (iii) Vāsudev murdered his master and king, but he never became the ruler of Avanti, and so he cannot be said to have founded an independent dynasty<sup>21</sup>.

(18) "Pargiter's Dynastic List of the Kali Age" states it to be 45 years. J. B. B. R. A. S. New series, 1928 Volume III pp. 46, states it to be 40 years.

(19) Cf. f. n. no. 15 above.

(20) It had no connection either with the throne of Avanti or with the throne of Dhankaṭak. Vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty in Vol. III.

(21) I was at first of the opinion that kings of Kaṇva dynasty might have ruled either over Avanti, or over Dhankaṭak (in Berār), and its last king might have been killed by the Andhra king Śimukh, who might have annexed their country to Andhra. But further study caused me to change my opinion, which I have stated above.



I have stated above, only a summary of some of the misappropriations of historical events. I shall give details in proper places where they will be useful for understanding further facts.

I have stated above that this country was independent when Śreṇik, prince of Magadh, had gone to Bennātaṭnagar. It is possible that the country might have preserved its independence from that time ( 580 B. C. ) upto the death of Kuṇik (496 B. C.). After that emperor Udāyin Bhata<sup>22</sup> ascended the throne of Magadh, and his sway extended upto the cape of Kanyākumārī ( cape Comorin ) not to talk Bennā-kaṭak. Thus this country lost its independence, and the prosperity of Bennātaṭnagar began to decline. It remained under the sway of Magadh hardly for ten years, after which kings of Chedi dynasty became its rulers<sup>23</sup> (475 B. C.). They ruled over it for nearly a century. We need not attach much importance to these changes in its rulers. I state here the names of various kings and dynasties who ruled over it after this time. After being ruled over by the ninth Nanda king, it came under the sway of emperor Chandragupta. Kings of Andhra dynasty ruled over it for the next half a century ( during the reigns of Bindusār and Aśoka on Magadh ). Emperor Priyadarśin again subdued it and brought it under the sway of Magadh. After his death, it again reasserted its independence and then remained independent for a long time. Thus many kings of various dynasties have ruled over it. This makes it unnecessary for us to give a list of chronologically arranged names of its rulers, because every one of these dynasties ruled over other countries also, and their lists are given in the accounts of the countries with which they were directly connected.

On the west of Bennākaṭak was the country of Āndhra, on the west of which lies Mount Sahyāndrī, stretching from north to south. When Bennākaṭak was under the sway of Andhra kings, these two countries of Āndhra and Bennākaṭak might together

(22) Vide the accounts of the kings mentioned here for further details.

(23) Vide the account of this dynasty and specially the paragraphs on Kśemrāj.



have been called "The greater Āndhra"<sup>24</sup>, the capital of which must have been a city, situated in the central region of these two countries combined together. Varaṅgul, which is situated near the confluence of rivers Godāvarī and Prāṇhit or Chinur, which is just near it, or any other city<sup>25</sup> in the same region, might possibly have been selected as the capital.

We have seen above that Kaṇva dynasty had some connection with Śimukh of Śātvaḥan dynasty, and with Śuṅga kings of Avanti.

**The country over which kings of Kaṇva dynasty ruled and their time** Now Śimukh had, as stated above, direct connection with the country of Dhankatak; while kings of Avanti were connected with Avanti; hence kings of Kaṇva dynasty (or anything like that) must also have connection with any of the above two countries.

We are here concerned with the account of Dhankatak. Naturally we should here state what connection Kaṇva dynasty had with it. But an attempt to give a separate account of the connection between them, would result into ambiguity. The reader is therefore requested to read the account in the chapters on Nanda dynasty. If we take the Kaṇva dynasty to have been founded at that time, its duration would be 472 B. C. to 427 B. C. But if we take it to have been founded during the time of Śuṅga kings of Avanti, the reader is requested to read discussion about it, in the chapters devoted to them.

Here I think it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to one fact. Neither the Jaina books nor the Bauddha books make any mention of Kaṇva dynasty; while in Purāṇās, a very interesting account is given of it. We have reasons to believe, that none of the four members of the Kaṇva dynasty might have been independent crowned kings; but they might have been as powerful as

(24) Greater Āndhra (Amarāvati Stūpa A. S. Imperial Vol. 6 pp. 13). It is used in the same sense in which we use words like greater London, greater Bombay, greater Britain etc.

(25) According to some, its capital was Chandā, which is on river Pāin, some miles from Chinur.



kings, or even more powerful; and because they were the followers of the vedic religion, the authors of the Purāṇās might have exaggerated the fact and described them as independent kings.

If we can show, that they were contemporaries of king Śimukh, their period of rule would be 472 B. C. to 427 B. C. i. e. 45 years<sup>26</sup>; but if we take them to be contemporaries of Śuṅga kings, their period of rule would be second century B. C. The duration of the rule of Śuṅga kings is 112 years. Out of these, for the first 22 years they were commanders-in-chief and for the remaining 90 years they were independent kings. (Vide their account in Vol. III). Out of these 90 years, the first 50 years were the time of powerful kings. When we have powerful kings on the throne, their ministers cannot lord over them. So, these Kaṇva ministers (because they were not kings) must have enjoyed full power during the last 40 or 45 years of the rule of Śuṅga kings, because during that time, there were weak Śuṅga kings on the throne. Hence their time would be 159 to 114 B. C.<sup>27</sup>. Thus we have two different periods of the rule of Kaṇva kings. (i) 472 to 427 B. C. (ii) 159 to 114 B. C. If we take their founder Vāsudev to be a contemporary of Śimukh, all difficulties would be over except two, which are as follows:—(i) the last Kaṇva king Suśarman ruled from 437 to 427 B. C. Now Buddharāj<sup>28</sup>, king of Kaling must have ruled over Kaling upto 430 B. C. His heir-apparent Bhikhkhurāj or Kharvel of the famous Hāthīgumfā inscription is stated to have marched towards south after subduing his kingdom. So king Suśarman must at that time have yielded to his authority or must have been killed. But he was not killed because his reign lasted upto 427, i. e. he was alive for 3 years after his country was conquered. This means that Bhikhkhurāj allowed Suśarman to rule his country even after he was defeated by him, because the federal system of government prevailed at that time, and because it is stated in Hāthīgumfā inscription of Bhikhkhurāj that he brought

(26) I have proved the time of Śimukh to have been 427 B. C. in Vol. V.

(27) For the period of rule of Śuṅga dynasty, vide its account. Vol. III.

(28) Vide the account of king Buddharāj, in Vol. IV.



much wealth to his treasury from the many kings of southern countries like Pāṇḍyā. Thus king Suśarman was under the protection of the powerful king of Kaling, which would have made impossible for a young king like Śimukh to have defeated or killed him (ii) secondly the king who was killed by Vāsudev was a licentious man. Suśarman also met his death due to the same vice, and almost all the members of the Kaṇva dynasty were men of loose character. In short, there was an atmosphere of lechery among all those kings and ministers. But neither during the rule of Buddharāj nor of Bhikhkhurāj, has the society been found to be generally loose in morals. The above two objections make it impossible for us to believe that Kaṇva kings, ever ruled on Dhankatak.

Let us take these members of the Kaṇva dynasty to have been powerful and overlording prime-ministers of the kings of Avanti, and examine the pros and cons of the problem.

(A) Points which prove that they were prime ministers:—

- (i) It is clear that the people of Avanti were loose in morals at that time<sup>29</sup>, because during the rule of Śuṅga kings many Aśvamedha sacrifices were performed and indecent scenes were presented in public places<sup>30</sup>.
- (ii) The five last Śuṅga kings were weak and their prime ministers were all powerful.
- (iii) Some scholars have called Śuṅga kings and Kaṇvas to have been "contemporary rulers"<sup>31</sup>.
- (iv) The tenure of their reign (45 years) coincides with the tenure of the last five Śuṅga kings.
- (v) It can be clearly shown that the last king Devabhūti did not die naturally but was murdered, i. e. whoever had become the ruler of Avanti must have

(29) Cf. the life of king Gandharvasen, the founder of Gardabhil dynasty, Vol. IV (incident of Sarasvatī); also cf. the story of Pīṅgalā, the queen of king Bhartṛhari, the brother of Śakari Vikramāditya.

(30) Vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty.

(31) Ibid.



killed both the last Śuṅga king and his Kaṇva prime minister.

(B) Points which go against:—There is only one point; which is, that Śimukh ascended the throne after murdering Devabhūti. This contains little truth, because on the one hand it is stated that he was murdered by Śimukh, and on the other it is stated that he was killed by a courtesan who was bribed to do so<sup>32</sup>. Even if we take it for granted, that he was murdered by Śimukh, we have no evidence to prove it. It is a figment raised by historians by twisting facts stated in Hāthīgumfā inscription and thus declaring that Brhaspatimitra and Puṣpamitra were one and the same individual, and that Śimukh was his contemporary, because he was defeated by Khārvel. Really speaking Śimukh and Puṣpamitra have no connection whatsoever with each other and lived in different times<sup>33</sup>. In short, the statements that Kaṇva dynasty ruled over Dhankāṭak and that its period was the same as that of Śimukh are mere guess work, while the two difficulties that arose, if we took them to be contemporaries of Puṣyamitra, were solid and based on historical facts. Consequently, looking to all pros and cons of the matter we come to the conclusion that the period of Kaṇva dynasty was the same as that of the last five Śuṅga kings.

An incident narrated in Jaina books, supports the above conclusion<sup>34</sup>. It is clearly stated therein that the Śuṅga king Bhānumitra, at the instigation of his minister<sup>35</sup> had forced a great

(32) Vide Vol. III; of course, I have stated there, that the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti was killed by Vāsudev, the first of the Kaṇva dynasty, but it is more reasonable to believe that the last member of the Śuṅga dynasty was killed, by the last member of the Kaṇva dynasty. The five points stated above support this.

(33) Vide accounts of Khārvel, Puṣpamitra, and Śimukh. I have discussed these things in details there.

(34) Vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty.

(35) Though we are not given the name of the ministers, yet we have reasons to believe that, these Kaṇva ministers were, like their Śuṅga kings, followers of the Vedic religion. It is an open fact that all the Śuṅga kings



Jaina monk named Kāliksūri to leave Avanti during monsoon<sup>36</sup>. Now, no king probably dares to interfere with religious rites and ceremonies of a faith, even if he himself belongs to another faith. Even if we take for granted, that such impossible event really took place, yet a Jaina monk might be persecuted by a king who is not a Jain, but not by a Jaina king. Now, if Dhankatak may be taken to have been under the rule of Kaṇva dynasty, this would have been impossible because Dhankatak was under the sway of the paramount power of emperor Khārvel, who was a Jain. Hence Kāliksūri must not have been persecuted by a king who was under the power of a Jaina emperor. Thus Kaṇva dynasty was connected with Avanti and not with Dhankatak.

Taking all these difficulties into consideration, it would be more reasonable to consider Kaṇva dynasty to be contemporary of the kings of Avanti, instead of Śimukh. I request the reader to act according to his own sense of judgment.

I have already stated that this Amarāvati, and the Amarāvati in Berār, are different cities. I here concern myself with that Amarāvati which was the capital of Bennākatak or Dhankatak.

At present this Amarāvati is a small village. It became famous in history when the famous Amarāvati stūpa was discovered while digging a hill near this village.

Information about  
Amarāvati and its  
stūpa

The chief of Chintāpale district, which is just near this village, had got a palace built on this hill two hundred years ago. Because this Amarāvati is only a small village, historians have thought, that it represents only a suburb of the great old city. Now exactly half a mile in the west of this village, is another village named

were adversaries of Jainism, and missed no opportunity of persecuting Jains (Vide the account of Agnimitra and Patañjali in Vol. III). The Purāṇās also have stated that the members of Kaṇva dynasty were almost like kings, which proves that they must have been the cause of persecution of the Jains, even though the orders may have been issued in the name of the king; and that they have persecuted the Jains means, that they themselves were not Jains.

(36) It is a tenet of Jainism that monks should stay in the same place from the 14th day of Ashādh to the 14th day of Kārtik, i. e. 4 months.



Dharnīkoṭ, which, then was thought to be the capital of Dhana-kaṭak. Finally historians have come to the conclusion that the old capital of Dhankaṭak or Bennākaṭak, must have spread between these two villages, and that its length or area was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles<sup>37</sup>. The stūpa which has been discovered here, is believed by the historians to be belonging to Bauddhās. I hold different opinions about the situation of the capital, and about this stūpa. I request the reader to read them in the account of emperor Khārvel, because they are connected with Hāthīgumfā inscription.

## ( 12 ) ĀNDHRA

The forest of Daṇḍka, which is often mentioned in Rāmāyaṇ and Mahābhārat, was included in the country of Āndhra, which stretched from the boundary line of Bennākaṭak to Mount Sahyāndri in the west. In very old times it was full of dense and impenetrable forests. In the 8th century B. C. the number of such forests had already decreased; while during the three succeeding centuries they were rapidly destroyed due to famines, and due to people find it necessary to cut them down, because they required more land, fit for human habitation<sup>38</sup>. The process of colonization began and thus Āndhra became the residence of civilized people. Further information about this country ( as about Magadh ) will be given in separate chapters.

## ( 13 ) KALING

I shall describe the boundaries of this country in the account of Chedi dynasty which ruled over it. I shall here attempt to explain the meaning of the word " Trikaliṅg ", which is much used and discussed by historians.

(37) A. R. S. I. Vol. I. ( New. Imp. Series No. VI ). 1882 pp. 13. " The town of Dharnīkoṭ is the ancient Dhānya-kaṭak or Dhanyakaṭak the capital of Mahā Āndhra, and lies about eighteen miles in a direct line to the westward of Bezawādā on the south bank of the river Kṛṣṇā. It is said to have extended  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length and half a mile to the east, of the modern town of Amarāvati. A large town no doubt surrounded it.

(38) Vide f. n. no. 9 on pp. 50. Chapter III; and paragraphs in the text connected with it.



The etymological meaning of the word is "Tri=three, and Kaliṅg=the country of Kaliṅg". This does not mean that there were three different countries bearing the name of Kaliṅg, which is improbable. It may mean a group of three neighbouring countries under the sway of Kaliṅg. It is not reasonable to believe that the sway of the rulers of Kaliṅg was over the same region at all times. The area of their kingdom might have increased at times, as well might have decreased at other times. Different neighbouring countries might have come under their sway at different times. Hence the word Trikaliṅg might have meant a combination of any three countries, which at a particular time, were under the sway of Kaliṅg kings i. e. the word does not mean a combination of the same three countries at all times. If thus the meaning of this word is rightly understood once for all, many confusions might be cleared up—confusions which perturb many historians.

Due to the reason stated above, Trikaliṅg meant a group of three countries, Aṅga, Vamśa,<sup>39</sup> and Kaliṅg during the reign of king Karkaṇḍu (or Mahāmeghvāhan<sup>40</sup>), the founder of Chedi dynasty; while during the reign of Khārvel, who is famous for his Hāthīgumfā inscription, it meant a group of three countries named Kaliṅg, Cholā and Pāṇḍya. At still another time it meant a group of three countries named Kaliṅg, Vaṅga (coastal region of Baṅga deśa, or which was called Samtaṭ) and Suvarṇabhūmi (coastal region of Burmā)<sup>41</sup>. It is possible that during the reign of some Andhra king, it might have meant a group of three countries named Kaliṅg, Āndhra and Cholā.

(39) See the previous pages of this volume.

(40) Cf. f. n. no. 144 in Chapter V, and the paragraphs in the text connected with it.

(41) Cf. f. n. no. 128 Chapter V, and the paragraphs in the text connected with it. Journal of Bihār Research Society, Vol. XIV, pp. 145. "It has been discovered that the Kaliṅg people went to Burmā long before the Christian era and established a kingdom which comprised three districts and hence called Muḍu-kaliṅg (Muḍu means three in the Telugu language) or Trikaliṅgās. Whole country was a part of the Trikaliṅgās. Tri-kaliṅg=Kaliṅg, Kongaḍ and Utkal."

J. S. I. Vol. II, pp. 111, 164 Kaliṅga provinces of Telugu".



We have explained in the previous pages of this volume, that "Chedi deśa" is a time-old name, and existed even in the time of Mahābhārat; while Chedi dynasty began in the 6th century B. C. Chedi deśa and Chedi dynasty, thus were not connected from the very beginning. Like the word "Triakaling", "Chedi deśa"<sup>42</sup> and Chedi dynasty had different meanings at different times.

Emperor Khārvel belonged to a Chedi dynasty which began at quite a different time from the Chedi dynasty which began with Karkaṇḍu. There have been later on, still two more Chedi dynasties (one of them ruled it about 243 A. D. and the second during 10th century A. D.). Thus many different Chedi dynasties have ruled over Chedi deśa, which has been the same throughout. Again the areas of the kingdoms of different Chedi dynasties also differed from one another. One has to be very careful in the use of these words.

It has been already stated that king Karkaṇḍu was born of Padmāvatī, queen of king Dadhivāhan of Aṅga<sup>43</sup>. But his birth-place was a forest near Dantpur, the capital of Vamśa or Chedi deśa. He was forced to leave this country, and had, by a fortunate coincidence<sup>44</sup> become the king of Kañchanpur, the capital of Kaling. Afterwards he had become the ruler of both Kaling

Pp. 37 Vol. I of "Bhārat no Prāchin Rājvamśa", It is stated on the authority of Sir Cunningham that it consisted of Dhankaṭak, Āndhra and Kaling.

Dey's A. G. I. pp. 32; the whole coastal region on the south of Orissā.

This will make it clear that Triakaling meant a group of three countries which were different at different times.

(42) Though Chedideśa has represented the same region throughout, different opinions prevail as to its boundaries.

(43) Vide the comments on Chap. IX of the Jaina Āgamsūtra "Uttarādhyayan".

(44) The reasons for my holding this opinion are as follows:—(1) In Jaina books it is stated that (Vide pp. 88 Kalpa S. Com.). Mahāvīr stayed in Vajrabhūmi. (i) (Vajra=hard, Bhūmi=soil. It means hard soil, that is such country in which religious preaching has very little effect on the minds of the audience),



and Chedi. Some time after this, Aṅga deśa was also annexed by him to his own kingdom, due to the death of Dadhivāhan, his father. Thus he became the ruler of three countries, which were

during the monsoon of the ninth year of his life as a monk. (i. e. in 559 B. C.). The king of this region was a friend of Mahāvīr's father Siddhārtha. (2) Secondly, we have the account of king Karkaṇḍu's birth in a forest after the elephant had run away with queen Padmāvatī, and his getting the throne of Kaling by a fortunate coincidence. We have proved the time of his getting this throne as a young man, to be 528 B. C. (3) Mahāvīr, being a Tīrthāṅkar might, have possibly gone on pilgrimages to places where the former twenty-three Tīrthāṅkars had attained salvation (Vide the account of Priyadarśin). One of these places is Sametsīkhar, which is now called Pārśvanāth hill by non-Jains, and at the foot of which (ii) is a rock edict erected by the great Jaina Emperor Samprati, who has erected similar rock-edicts at all the other places of Tīrthāṅkars. Taking all these things into consideration one is induced to conjecture that the king of Vajrabhūmi, who was a friend of Siddhārtha, must have died shortly leaving no son behind him, and that Karkaṇḍu might have ascended the throne of Kaling at the same time. (4) This conclusion is further supported by the fact that Vajrabhūmi means a country where religious preaching has very little effect on the mind of the people but not an uncivilized or Anārya (iii) country as some historians believe. A writer (iv) supports this opinion of mine : "In B. C. 7th century Kaling was known as the kingdom of Āryāvarta". (v) Again it is not reasonable to believe that twenty of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthāṅkars might have selected an uncivilized region (vi) (Sametsīkhar), as a fit place for releasing their souls for the attainment of salvation. (5) Kṣemrāj was a king of Kaling; Karkaṇḍu was also a king of Kaling. If we take Kṣemrāj to be the third in the line, (and the time of his rule is about 472 B. C.) the interval between his reign and that of Karkaṇḍu, who was the first, is quite reasonable (vii) (6) The time of Karkaṇḍu also agrees with the time given in a list of Kaling kings which is prepared by a writer (see above). I have conjectured Karkaṇḍu to be the founder of Chedi dynasty, after paying due attention to all these reasons. I would not wonder if it is accepted as a fact after some time.

Foot notes to f. n. no. 44.

(i) There is no mention of either the death of the king of Vajrabhūmi, or of his having no heir.

(ii) At the foot of Sametsīkhar, was the city of Dhauli Jagudā (for further details vide the account of Priyadarśin), just as at the foot of Aṣṭāpad was Kālsi, at the foot of Girnār Jirṇanagar, at the foot of Chāmpāpuri, Rupnāth and at the foot Pāvāpuri, Sāñchī (?).





together called Trikalīṅg<sup>45</sup>. We would naturally want to know the reason why he called his dynasty Chedi instead of Kālīṅg of which he had become the ruler first of all. The reason for this preference might be his desire to commemorate the name of Chedi<sup>+</sup> in which he was born and was brought up as a child. Again he had no blood relation with the former king of Kālīṅg. An adopted ruler generally begins a new dynasty with his own name. Karkaṇḍu<sup>46</sup>

(iii) It is supposed that this country was the hilly region of Himālaya on the north of Śrāvastī, because it was uncivilized.

(iv) Vide pp. 13 part I Vol. II. J. O. B. R. S.

(v) For the explanation of Ārya and Anārya countries vide paragraphs on it, in the first and second chapters.

(vi) Jaina monks prefer unhabited places to populous places in order to be as less in touch with worldly life as possible. Hence Mahāvīr might have selected this place which is on the boundary line of Orissā, (which was the boundary of Chedi or Vamśa deśa in olden times) instead of Dhaulī Jagudā. Writers might have called it Vajrabhūmi because it was less civilized.

(vii) Vide the account of Chedi deśa for the length of this interval.

(45) Vide previous pages of the book.

+ J. O. B. R. S. XIII, P. 223. We know the Chedis, as the well-known Vedic and classical ruling family which seems to have migrated into Orissa from Mahakośal (J. N. I. Pp. 147, fn. 2).

(46) A writer (Pp. 9 to 14 of "Jaina Jāgṛti" (monthly;) no. 4 Vol. I published from Sāṅgli, Mahārāṣṭra) has supplied us the following list:—

(1) Sulochan; Surath.

(2) (Son-in-law) Śobhanrāj (Cheṭak's son) 508 B. C.

(3) 0

(4) 0

(5) 0

(6) Chandarāj...Contemporary, Nandraj of Magadh; Vira Era 149.

(7) 0

(8) 0

(9) Kśemrāj. 262 B. C. (Vira Era 265) conquered by Aśoka.

(10) Buddharāj—Independent king of Kālīṅg.

(11) Emperor Khārvel Bhikhurāj.

(All the dates and vacant places in the above list are based on the assumption that Puṣpamitra—Bṛhaspatimitra was defeated by Khārvel, and therefore are wrong. The writer has given no proofs to support his list. I think there is some truth here, in the name of the founder).



might have founded a new dynasty due to any of the above stated motives. Hence Karkaṇḍu was the founder of the Chedi dynasty<sup>47</sup>.

Thus Karkaṇḍu must be taken to be the founder of the Chedi dynasty. It is difficult to fix the year in which it was founded. We have taken 577 B. C. to be the year of the birth of Karkaṇḍu. In 558 B. C. he became the king of Kaling<sup>48</sup> and when his father Dadhivāhan died in 556 B. C., he became the ruler of "Trikaṇḍ", and began to call himself Meghvāhan in accordance with his father's name. Thus we can take either 558 B. C. or 556 B. C. to be the year in which Chedi dynasty was founded.

It is possible also to fix a third date of the founding of this dynasty. Some historians say that emperor Khārvel was the third king of Chedi dynasty, some say he was the sixth, and some state even a further number<sup>49</sup>. If we take him to be the third king, we shall have to take his grand father Kṣemrāj as the founder of Chedi dynasty. (Khārvel's father was Buddharāj). Now Kṣemrāj's reign is said to have begun in 472 B. C.<sup>50</sup>. So in all, we have three dates : (1) 558 B. C. (2) 556 B. C. (3) 472 B. C.

We have seen how, a boy brought up in the house of the keeper of a cemetery, became king of Kaling, and then of Trikaṇḍ, by sheer luck and fortunate coincidences. He must have adopted the name of Meghvāhan, because there was a great

(47) Karkaṇḍu can also be called "Pravṛtta Chakra"; and it is stated in the 17th line of Hāthigumfā inscription that Khārvel was a descendent of "Pravṛtta Chakra". (for the meaning of "Pravṛtta Chakra" vide the account of Khārvel).

(48) We have stated its date to be 563 B. C. elsewhere, but 565 B. C. is more probable.

From the list given above, if we omit the vacant numbers, we will have six numbers, and the sixth is Khārvel. Do they mean 6th in this way?

(49) Cf. f. n. no. 46 and 48 above.

(50) Separate chapters will have to be written about all these details of Chedi dynasty.



amount of rainfall in his country due to its having dense forests; (Megh=rain, Vāhan=inducer). Again this name was in accordance with the name of his father<sup>51</sup> as he found later on, when he became the ruler of a large territory; because he got the kingdom of his father, he began to call himself "Mahāmeghvāhan"<sup>52</sup>.

We have stated how he had jokingly asked the brahmin boy of Dantpur (whom he had promised a village if he became a king) to approach Dadhivāhan. As a result, he came to know his parents and his family. Only a short time after this, Champānagarī was invaded and plundered by Śatānik of Vatsa, and Dadhivāhan after running away to an unknown place, died. In 556 B. C. he became the ruler of Trikalīṅg, because of the union of Chedi, Kalīṅg and Aṅga.

Because he came to know of his real parents from his mother Padmāvati, who had become a Jaina nun, he became devout Jain himself. He got a fine Jaina temple built in his capital Kañchanpur<sup>53</sup> and set up in it a gold idol<sup>54</sup> of Pārśvanāth<sup>55</sup>. No further information about his life is available, except

(51) His father's name was Dadhivāhan: Meghvāhan is in accordance with it.

(52) His first name might have been different. He might have adopted the name "Mahāmeghvāhan" from this time.

(53) Kañchanpur=A city of gold. It might have been given this name because (1) The region surrounding it might have contained gold mines, (2) The city might have been a great trade centre. (3) It might have been so called to indicate the significance of that gold idol and hence Meghvāhan might have given this name. But this third reason is not possible, because Kañchanpur was its name even before Karkandū ascended the throne. It is possible that the gold idol might have been there, even before Kurkandū's time, and hence it might have derived its name from it. (We do not know the time, since when the idol was there). (Cf. f. n. no. 54, 65, 67 below).

(54) Mahāvīr was yet alive and had not acquired Kaivalyagnān. so he could not have been called a Tīrthaṅkar. Hence all the Jains can be called the devotees of Pārśvanāth, and hence worshipped him (see further).

(55) This is the first time in the history of Jaina religion when an idol



that how his reign ended. He had a favourite bull, which died. The king from thence began to feel that all things were transitory in the world, in which his interest was lost. He became a Jaina monk and then became Pratyek-buddha<sup>56</sup>. This took place in 537 B. C.<sup>57</sup>. His reign must have been peaceful, and for the good of the people.

Some have called Kṣemrāj, the grandfather of Khārvel, to be the third king of the Chedi dynasty<sup>58</sup>. We have proved Meghvāhan to be the founder of the dynasty. We do not know the name of the second king.

Further details about  
his dynasty

Meghvāhan's reign ended in 537 B. C.; while Kṣemrāj's reign began in 472 B. C. So the intervening 65 years will have to be ascribed to the 2nd king. But it must not have happened so; (see the paragraph below) so we shall have to conclude that for a time, either between the second and the third, or between the third and the fourth, Kaling's independence might have been lost and the rule of the Chedi dynasty destroyed.

It is clearly stated in the Hāthīgumfā inscription that Nanda, king of Magadh, had invaded Kaling during the reign of Kṣemrāj, had defeated him, and had carried away the famous Jaina idol to Magadh. This proves that Kaling was an independent

of a Tirthankar was set up (557 B. C.). Though Vijayāyanandsūri has stated that at Bhadrēśver in Cutch an idol was set up in Pārśvanāth Era 23 (754 B.C.); we are not certain whether 23 really denotes Pārśva Era. (Ānanda; Bhāvnagar).

(56) Bharateśvar B. V. pp. 105-106 & 213: Pratyek-buddha=Self-made monk, one who has not followed any preceptor. Again it is a rule that a Pratyek-buddha acquires Kaivalyagnān first and then salvation. The reader will see in the account of Sindhu-Sauvīr, that Udāyan was the last king, to attain salvation. Hence monk Karkandū died before monk Udāyan. One who acquires Kaivalyagnān is called a "Pravṛtta Chakra" (Vide the account of king Khārvel, and paragraphs of Hāthīgumfā inscription).

(57) Vide the account of king Śreṇik.

(58) If we take Khārvel to be the sixth, Kṣemrāj should be taken to be the fourth and Buddharāj to be the fifth; but no one has taken Khārvel to be the fifth, so Kṣemrāj can be taken to be the fourth but not to be the 3rd, definitely. (cf. f. n. no. 64).



country at the time of invasion, otherwise, it would not have been necessary for Nand to invade it. This Nand was Nand the first or Nandivardhan<sup>59</sup>. This means that Kaling was an independent country during the reign of Nand the first. (473-456 B. C.) Again emperor Udāyin of Magadh (who ruled from 496 B. C. to 480 B. C.), had conquered the whole southern India upto Cape Comorin; i. e. Kaling was under the sway of Udāyin<sup>60</sup>. In short Kaling was not an independent country from 496 B. C. or 492 B. C. (M. E. 31 or 35<sup>61</sup>), to 475 or 472 B. C. (M. E. 52 or 55) which is the year of the beginning of the reign of Kṣemrāj<sup>62</sup>. For 17 years it was under the sway of the king of Magadh.

We can, thus, arrange the chronological list of the Chedi dynasty as follows:—

	B. C.	B. M. E.
(1) Meghvāhan.	558-537 21	31-10
(2-3) Members	537-492 45	10-35 M. E.
Kaling lost its independence.	492-475 17	35- 52
(4) Kṣemrāj.	475-439 36	52- 88

Now we shall make an attempt to find out the names of the second and third rulers and the tenures of their reigns. In foot note no. 46, Sulochan or Surath is stated to be the first king, who was followed by his son-in-law Śobhan-ray. Though the writer has given no evidence<sup>63</sup> in support of his names, yet his list seems to contain some truth, if not the whole. So we shall accept his names. Now let us think out the relation between them. The second king in the list has been called the son of

(59) Vide the account of his life further in this book.

(60) This event is known in history—as “Angamagadhā” (Purātattva Vol. II pp. 233. because Anga was a part of the kingdom of Kaling.

(61) Udāyin changed his capital to Pāṭliputra. Then he conquered Kaling. B. C. 492. (Vide the account of his life).

(62) Vide the account of Chedi dynasty for Kṣemrāj, Buddharāj and Bhikhurāj.

(63) “Anekanta” monthly from Delhi 1930, Vol. I, no. 376.



**Chetāk.** But Chetāk died leaving no son behind him, and his kingdom of Vaiśālī was annexed to the kingdom of Magadh by Kuṇṇik<sup>63</sup>. So he must not have been the son of Chetāk. He must have been related with the family of Chetāk because Karaṇḍu's father Dadhivāhan was a son-in-law of Chetāk. It appears that the writer has committed some mistake while adopting his material from the original book. (It might have been a mistake in the script of the original book). Let us rearrange the list as follows:—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) (Son of Dadhivāhan,<br>son-in-law of Chetāk <sup>64</sup> ) | Sulochan or (Karkaṇḍu the<br>founder of Chedi dynasty)  |
| (2) (Son-in-law?)   | Surath (Karkaṇḍu died leaving<br>no son behind him. So<br>his son-in-law might have<br>succeeded him.)                          |
| (3) (Son)   | (Śobhan-rāy) Then the throne<br>was vacant for some years<br>(M. E. 35 to M. E. 52)<br>and then Kṣemrāj ascended<br>the throne. |

Let us now fix up their years of rule. The writer states the time of Śobhan-rāy as Vīra E. 18. We have stated that Kaling lost its independence in Vīra Era 35. So the tenure of

(63) Vide pp. 133, Chapter V.

(64) If we take Sulochan to be Dadhivāhan, he is the son-in-law of Chetāk. If we take him to be the founder, we shall have to take his son to be Surath, or Karkaṇḍu, or Meghvāhan, as follows:—

- |                             |              |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| (1) Surath                  | (3) Chaṇḍrāy |
| (2) Śobhan-rāy (son-in-law) | (4) Kṣemrāj. |

If we arrange the list thus, the interregnum will have to be dropped, and the continuity of the Chedi dynasty would be preserved, and Chaṇḍray would have to be taken to be a vassal of Udāyan Bhat. Then Kṣemrāj, after Chaṇḍrāy's death, took advantage of the weakness of Magadha kings, and declared the independence of Kaling. We shall have to arrange facts thus. Which of the two theories is better, we leave to the scholars to decide?



the reign of Śobhan-rāy would be 18 to 17 years. Hence Surath's time would be from 537 B. C. (B. M. 10) to 509 B. C. (M. E. 18). Let us restate the list to avoid the possibility of mistake.

(1) Sulochan : Karkaṇḍu : Mahāmeghvāhan.

558 B. C. to 537 B. C. 21 years. (B. M. 31 to B. M. 10).

(2) Surath. (Son-in-law)

537 B. C. to 509 B. C. 28 years. (B. M. 10 to M. E. 18)

(3) Śobhan-rāy (Son)

509 B. C. to 492 B. C. 17 years. (M. E. 18 to 35).

Interregnum (under the sway of Magadh 492 to 475 B. C.  
(M. E. 35 to 52)

(It is better to ascribe this seventeen years to the rule of  
Chandrāy; while taking Śobhan-rāy & Chandrāy to be  
the same, his total tenure of reign will be 34 years.

(4) Kṣemrāj. 475 B. C. to 439 B. C.=36 (M. E. 52 to 88).

(5) Buddha-rāj  
(6) Bhikkhu-rāj } Vide the account of Chedi dynasty.

We already know that emperor Karkaṇḍu was the lord of the trio of countries named Aṅga, Vamśa, and Kaliṅg. Again, Śreṇik had annexed his kingdom to the empire  
**Another alternative** of Magadh, when Karkaṇḍu died without a son. On the other hand, evidence given in succeeding pages, will lead us to believe that he was succeeded by his son-in-law. When Ajātsatru became the emperor of Magadh he changed his capital from Rājgrhī to Champāpurī which was situated in Aṅgadeśa. This fact makes us conclude that Aṅgadeśa must have been under the direct power of the Magadha Empire. Hence Śreṇik must have placed the remaining two countries, namely, Kaliṅg and Vamśa, under the power of the son-in-law of Karkaṇḍu. This must have been the reason of the people speaking of Aṅga and Magadh in the same breath as "Aṅga-Magadhā".

Due to the prevalence of the federal system of government in those times, Kaliṅg, though under the suzerainty of Magadh must have been a semi-free country, right from 537 B. C. to



492 B. C. when emperor Udāyan who made Pātliputra his capital came to the throne. Udāyan subjected it to his direct rule, and this condition continued upto the sudden death of emperor Anuruddha in 474 B. C. The next emperor Muṇḍ was not much interested in the affairs of his kingdom; hence, Kṣemrāj, a descendant of Karkaṇḍu took advantage of the opportunity and proclaimed himself the independent king of Kaliṅg. Thus we come to the conclusion that both Surath and Śobanrāj were semi-independent vassals of the emperors of Magadh under a federal regime. After the death of the latter, there followed an interregnum of seventeen years, (or we may take the other alternative of considering Chaṇḍa-rāj as a vassal-king for these years).

Thus we have three alternatives for Kaliṅg during 537 to 475 B. C.=62 years.

(1) As a part of Magadha Empire for all the 62 years.

(2) For first 45 years according to the federal system of government, and for last 17 years as a part of the Magadha Empire.

(3) For first 45 years according to the federal system, and as a vassal of the Magadha Empire for last 17 years. I am inclined towards the second alternative.

We know that Karkaṇḍu was a Jain. It was one of the conventions of Jainism that all the Jains considered themselves to be the followers of the preceding Tīrthaṅkar as long as the next Tīrthaṅkar did not acquire "Kaivalya" gnān; after obtaining which, only he can preach his gospel among the Jains. Karkaṇḍu, thus, was a follower of Pārśvanāth, because during his lifetime the next Tīrthaṅkar, Mahāvīr, had not acquired "Kaivalya gnān". It is but natural that he might have established an idol of Pārśvanāth on account of his devotion to him; and we know that he had established<sup>65</sup> an idol of Pārśvanāth in his capital.

(65) It is not known whether he got this idol newly made or brought it from some other place because of its majesty. The second alternative is more possible than the first; cf. f. n. nos. 53 and 68).



The efforts of kshatriyās to vindicate their self-respect under all circumstances need no new introduction here. They are known to have sacrificed their lives even for the protection of things temporal; the more they would do so, for things religious and spiritual. Again, in those times, even an ordinary man, not to talk of these kshatriya warriors, considered all worldly things to be of less value than religious or spiritual things, and was ready to sacrifice anything, even his life for the sake of his religion. Hence Kśemrāj must have felt the insult very deeply, when the emperor of Magadh, Nanda the first, invaded Kaling and took away by force that gold image; he must have made several efforts in vain to regain the idol from Nand, who was very powerful. But he had no alternative but to swallow the insult, as he was only a small king, (we know that he was the reviver of Chedi dynasty). The insult was too deep to be forgotten by his descendants; and his grandson, emperor Khārvel, as we read in the Hāthīgumfā inscription, not only recovered the idol from Brhaspatimitra, the successor of Nand, but made him lie down prostrate before that same idol (a very great insult for an emperor like him.) Then he re-established the idol in his capital.

Perhaps some of my readers will think it foolish on the part of these great emperors to shed blood of innumerable men and beasts for a trifling<sup>66</sup> and life-less<sup>67</sup> thing like an idol. But the readers must realise that these kshatriya kings were great worshippers of such idols. Again the idol itself, even to-day, is so majestic and awe-inspiring<sup>68</sup>, that whoever sees it even to-day will feel, that those emperors were justified in shedding so much blood for it. (We shall have to discuss this matter in detail in the account of Emperor Khārvel).

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(66) Trifling, because kings are generally found to be fighting for territories and not for idols.

(67) Certainly there is no real life in an idol, its devotees invest it with a sort of divine life because they are inspired to do so.

(68) This idol must have been of a very ancient origin; Karkaṇḍu might have established it in his capital because of this.



**Successors of  
Karkandū**

Little is known about the lives, or the events during the reigns, of both Surath and Śobhanrāy. After Śobhanrāy, either there was an interregnum of seventeen years, or Chandrāj reigns as a vassal of Magadh. Then, some historians have called Kṣemrāj to be the reviver of the Chedi dynasty, and some have called<sup>69</sup> him the fourth in the line. It is more reasonable to believe that Kṣemrāj was not the fourth but the fifth in line, because it would have been almost impossible for him to have revived the Chedi dynasty, had Udāyan<sup>70</sup> whose power spread to the farthest southern end of India, exterminated the dynasty and annexed Kaling to the empire of Magadh. Hence we must admit the possibility of Chandrāj nominally ruling over Kaling during these seventeen years, because kings of those times had no great fascination for increasing their territories<sup>71</sup>, their ambition being satisfied when other kings acknowledged their suzerainty<sup>72</sup>. Again, Hāthīgumfā inscription<sup>73</sup> informs us that emperor Nand has been very angry when Kṣemrāj revived his dynasty<sup>74</sup>. All the details about how he established his claim and independence will be given in the chapter on the account of the Chedi dynasty.

(69) Kṣemrāj really deserves a tribute because he revived the Chedi dynasty after a long period, during which both Śobhanrāj and Chandrāj were content to be vassals of the emperor of Magadh. (Cf. f. n. 64).

(70) Vide the account of Udāyanbhat for details.

(71) Historical events show us that this desire for territorial expansion increased very much among kings after the death of emperor Priyadarśin.

(72) Inscriptions by Priyadarśin prove this, as clearly as day-light.

(73) In line 17, emperor Khārvel declares himself to be the descendant of "Pravṛttachakra"; for the meaning of which vide the account of emperor Khārvel.

(74) An emperor Muṇḍ of Magadh was weak-minded, hence Kṣemrāj took advantage of the opportunity and revived his dynasty. Nandivardhan, the prime minister and the commander-in-chief of Magadh, murdered the emperor, and himself became the emperor of Magadh; he then invaded Kaling. (for details vide the account of Nandivardhan).



## ( 14 ) AVANTI-MĀLVĀ

The descriptions of the famous Chinese traveller Hu-en-Chāng have been translated into English, and have been published as the "Records of the Western World"<sup>75</sup>. In them, Mālvā and Ujjayinī have been stated to be separate provinces having equal areas<sup>76</sup> i. e. 3,000 Lis., and their capitals also having equal areas, i. e. 30 Lis. It is further stated that the river Mahī flowed both to the south and to the east of the capital of Mālvā<sup>77</sup>, that on the N. W. of Mālvā was the country of Bhṛgukachchha with an area of 2,000 Lis.; that on the S. E. of Bhṛgukachchha was the country of Gurjar with an area of 2,800 Lis.<sup>78</sup>. The above statements make it very clear that at sometimes (i. e. in 634 B. C.) Ujjayinī and Mālvā were separate provinces. In support of this, we can quote Mr. Rhys Davis, who says<sup>79</sup>, "It was called Avanti at least as late as the second century A. D. (Vide Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh) but from the 7th or 8th century, it was called Mālvā<sup>80</sup>."

Hence we come to the following conclusions:—(i) Upto the time when the inscription was made at Junāgaḍh both the provinces were known by only one name of Avanti (divided in to East Ākarāvanti and West Ākarāvanti)<sup>81</sup>. (ii) From 533 A. D. (It

(75) Vide pp. 260 to 270 of volume II, and f. n. no. 32, 61 and 62.

(76) 1 Li. =  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile (sometimes it is  $\frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a mile).

(77) Dhārā-nagarī must have been the capital of Mālvā at this time.

(78) Vide Chapter III for the boundaries of these two countries.

(79) "The Buddhistic India" pp. 28.

(80) In the monthly named "Jaina Dharma Prakāś" (No. 43 Pp. 420-24 of 1928 A. D.) the present writer has proved, that the Mālava Era began in 517 A. D., (533 A. D. is another alternative, because the Vikrama year at that time was 589), and that the founder of the Parmār dynasty was king Yaśodharman or Vikramāditya (Vide Pre. CCXIX of "Goḍvaho" by Mr. Hall), or Śilāditya. It is a well-known historical fact that from 533 A. D. onwards Rajputs were divided into four families, or dynasties.

(81) This word has four meanings as explained below:—

(a) The word "Ākara" means a "mine" or a "collection". In the eastern portion of Avanti there were many rock and pillar inscriptions; hence the



ought to be really 517 A. D.), when the Parmār dynasty was established, they were known by two separate names of Mālvā and Ujjayinī with areas already stated above; they continued to

eastern portion might have reasonably been called "Eastern Ākarāvanti". In the western portion, however, there are no such inscriptions; hence it can be called only "Western Avanti" but not "Western Ākarāvanti".

(b) The word "Ākara" might have been the name of a particular region. (Vide the account of Sindh Sauvira). Perhaps the region of Sāñchī and Bhilsā might have been given this name.

(c) In E. I. Vol. VIII, (in the rock-inscription of the lake Sudarśan), the words "Purvāparākar" and "Avanti" have been used as if they were separate words. Scholars have said that here "Apara" means the "West" because the preceding word is "Pūrva", which means the "East". This is not a proper meaning, because it would thus have a grammatical error. The word "Avanti" has been used in the singular. If the word "Purvāpara" had meant Eastern and Western Avanti, Avanti must have been used in the dual number i. e. Avantee and not Avanti, which is singular. Again, in that case, instead of "Purvāparākar", which is in the singular, the correct grammatical form should have been "Purvāparākārau" which is the dual form; and the whole would have been written as "Purvāparākārau Avantee"; or better still, as the word "Ākara" in this case, becomes rather superfluous, it would have been "Purvāparau Avantee". Had the writer wanted to use one compound word for both the words, he would have written "Purvāparākāravanti". But as the writer has written in none of the above stated ways, but has chosen to write "Purvāparākar" and "Avanti", the word "Apar" means the "hind part", just as "Apara-rātri" means the "hind part of the night". Thus it would mean "that eastern region of Avanti in the hind parts of which" are situated the numerous pillar inscriptions.

(d) The eastern portion has two names, "Ākar" and "Daśārṇa" [1].

The present writer finds the meanings given in (b) and (c) to be more satisfactory than those in (a) and (d).

[1] (Vide Purātattva Vol. I pp. 52. The word "Daśārṇa" is said to have meant "ten parts". When king Udāyin of Sindh Sauvira was returning from Avanti, he had encamped himself near a city named Daśpur, and had divided his army into ten parts. Hence the place was named "Daśārṇa". But this seems hardly possible, because, in that case, "Daśārṇa" must have been in the west of Avanti, towards which direction Udāyin was going to his country. We are talking here about the east of Avanti and not of the west. The word "Daśārṇavṛt", however, has been used in Jaina books, and there it means the "eastern mountainous region of Avanti".



have two names upto the coming of Hu-en-Chāng in India in 634 A. D. (iii) In the beginning of the 8th century<sup>82</sup> these two names combined into one, i. e. Mālvā.

All the present historians of ancient India hold the opinion that the capital of Eastern Ākarāvanti was Vidiśā<sup>83</sup>, and that the capital of the Western Ākarāvanti was Ujjainī. I differ from them in one point. I believe that the capital of the Eastern Ākarāvanti was Sāñchī, the present Sāñchīgām where many pillar inscriptions are found even to-day.

The population of this city was spread over a large area, and its north-east portion was called Vidiśā<sup>84</sup>. The city proper was in the west of Vidiśā (see the map, below) and was called Sāñchīpurī<sup>85</sup>. Thus

(82) I believe that this event took place during the reign of the famous king Bhoj of Mālvā (620-680 A. D.). Hu-en-Chāng visited Mālvā during his reign. In his court flourished the two famous Sanskrit poets Bāṇa and Mayur, and also the famous Jaina monk "Māntuṅgsūrī". This Jaina monk was imprisoned by the king, as he was envied and intrigued against by those two Sanskrit poets. But the monk broke open the locks of 44 cellars by composing 44 verses in praise of his highest god. These 44 verses are collected together and known as "Bhaktāmar-stotra". Even to day the Jains take pride in committing them to memory.

(83) Scholars are of the opinion that the origin of Vidiśā was Besnagar, or Bhilsā of to-day. Sir Cunningham, however, says, (Arch. Sur. Ind. 1874-75 Vol. X pp. 34), "Bhilsā is said to have been founded after the desertion of Besnagar, but it seems more probable that the foundation of Bhilsā led to the abandonment of the old city".

(84) In Sanskrit literature as well as in Śāstrās, the word "Vidiśā" has been used in the sense of a corner between any two directions. (Kal. Sut. Com. pp. 131.)

Hence that portion of the capital which might have been in a particular corner, might have been given the name of "Vidiśā because it was situated in a "Vidiśā, (i. e. between any two directions).

"Kalpasūtra commentary pp. 59 tells us that the word "Ākar means "the place where iron is found. If we have a look at the map of the region about Vidiśā, we shall be convinced of the truth of the above statement.

(85) Either Sāñchīpurī might have been the city proper and Vidiśā its suburb or vice versa; but it is certain that one of the alternatives is true (for details vide further pages).



Vidiśa was a suburb of a city and not an independent city. Similarly the capital of Videha, Viśālā, was divided into three parts, namely, Kshatriya-kuṇḍagrām, Vaṇijyagrām, and Brahman-kuṇḍagrām, and that, out of these, Brahman-kuṇḍagrām was Viśālā proper. Vidiśa was the place of residence of the rich people of Sāñchīpuri, while Sāñchīpuri itself contains most of the pillar inscriptions, gardens, and recreation grounds<sup>86</sup>. It began to be thickly crowded by rich people, when the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta<sup>87</sup> got his royal palace built there and decided to reside there for a certain period of every year<sup>88</sup>. It grew in importance to such an extent that either the heir to the throne or a very near relative of the king, used to be appointed as the governor of the city and the surrounding district<sup>89</sup>. This continued upto the end of the reign of Aśoka. The next emperor, Priyadarśin, made it the capital of his empire. Sāñchīpuri has played a unique part in the history of Jainism; details about which will be given in the accounts of Chandragupta<sup>90</sup> and Priyadarśin. It will suffice here to say that Sāñchīpuri and the pillars about it, are connected with Jainism<sup>91</sup> and not with Buddhism, as the scholars believe to-day.

(86) It was that hilly region which was frequented by saints and sages. (Vide pp. 175 fn. [1] and pp. 49 fn. [24] for the description of Daśārṇa).

(87) It had ceased to be the capital from M. E. 60 to M. E. 155 (95 years) i. e. from the time of the annexation of Avanti to Magadh upto the ascension of Chandragupta to the throne.

(88) It was in this city, that Chandragupta had dreamt dreams which he had related to the Jaina monk Śree Bhadrabāhu (Vide the account of Chandragupta).

(89) For instance, Aśoka was appointed the governor while Bindusār was the king, and Kuṇāl was appointed when Aśoka was the king.

(90) Vide pp. 154 "Bhilsā Topes" by Cunningham. It is stated therein, that the donation of Chandragupta to that tope, amounted to 25 thousand Paṇas (name of a coin) every year (i. e. 250 thousand rupees). It has already been proved beyond doubt that Chandragupta was a Jain and that he had become a Jaina monk in his old age, which makes it clear that the pillar inscriptions made by him near Sāñchīpuri are connected with Jainism.

(91) See f. n. above.



This city has been considered to be one of the seven ancient and famous cities of India<sup>92</sup>. It was a place for pilgrimage<sup>93</sup> as well as a centre of political activities, Its importance in Western India was as much as that of Takṣilā in northern India<sup>94</sup>.

Upto the beginning of the rule of the kings of Pradyota dynasty on Avanti, Ujjain played an important part as its capital, but just as king Prasenjit of Magadh<sup>95</sup> had to change his capital from Kuśāgrapur to Rājgrhī (Girivraja), because the former was a frequent prey to great fires,<sup>96</sup> similarly, Chanda was often thinking of changing his capital from Ujjain to some other safer place, because Ujjain, too, was time and again attacked by fire. Moreover a great fire broke out during his own reign. His queen, Śivādevī<sup>97</sup>

Some more details  
about Ujjain

(92) C. H. I. pp. 531. "It is held as one of the most famous of all the cities of India.

(93) These seven are recorded in the following couplet:—

Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñchī Avantikā,  
Purī, Dvārāvātī chaiva saptaitā mokṣa-dāyikā ||

Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñchī, Avantikā, and Dvārāvātī:—These seven cities are givers of heaven.

For the changes that can be made in this couplet (both according to Jainism and the Vedic religion), vide the account of emperor Khārvel.

(94) E. H. I. (V. Smith) 3rd. edi. pp. 155.

"Ujjain, the capital of western India, was equally famous (like Takṣilā) and equally suitable as the seat of viceregal governments".

"Ujjain the capital of Avanti". (Pro. Hultz. Cor. Inscr. Ind. Vol. I. Intro. XXXVIII).

Rec. West. World, vol. II. pp. 270 f. n. no. 82;—"Ujjain is probably the capital of Avanti in Mālvā, the capital of Chastan".

E. H. I. pp. 166:—"Ujjain began to play an important role in the history of India from the time of Aśoka" (it ought to be Priyadarśin).

(95) The name of Emperor Śreṇik's father was Prasenjit. Vide the account of Magadh for details.

(96) In building up the cities in those times, wood was much used, because there were many dense forests in those times.

(97) Vide pp. 127 above.



### Some more details about Ujjain

however, put out the fire wholly, with the spiritual strength of her character<sup>98</sup>, and hence the king dropped the idea of changing his capital. This was the last attack of fire on Ujjain, which was seriously damaged by it, though it continued to be the capital. King Chanda died in 527 B. C. For the next sixty years, Ujjain remained in the same condition. After that, Avanti was brought under the rule of the Magadha Empire (467 B. C.), and the importance of Ujjain was on the way to its decline. In its place Bhilsā, which was situated 120 miles to its east<sup>99</sup>, and which was surrounded by hilly regions, began to be inhabited by rich merchants<sup>100</sup> and in a short time, it became a place of greater importance. When Chandragupta became the emperor of Magadh he got a palace built there, and decided to reside there for a particular period of each year, due to his devotion to religion. Ujjain was almost forgotten, and the importance of this new city increased by leaps and bounds. Then Avanti was divided into two parts<sup>101</sup>; Ujjain was fixed up as the capital of the western division, while this Vidiśā (or Besnagar) was declared to be the capital of the eastern Avanti, which was regarded as so important a province of the Magadha Empire that either the throne of Magadh or a very near relation of the king used to be appointed its governor. Bindusār was the first prince to be appointed as the governor of this division. When Bindusār succeeded Chandragupta on the throne, appointed his son Aśoka, who, when he came to the throne, appointed his son Kuṣāl. From the time of his son, Emperor Priyadarśin Sāñchīnagar (Vidiśānagarī) was made the capital of the whole of India. During the rule of the kings of Śuṅga dynasty, it seems that the old Ujjain was revived, and Sāñchīnagar began to decline. These kings being the followers of the Vedic religion, Jainism and hence Jaina places of pilgrimage, had

(98) Bharateśvara B. Vritti. Trans. pp. 333.

(99) "Coins of Ant. India". pp. 94. "Ujjain, the present town 36 miles N. of Indore, 120 miles nearly due west of Bhilsā".

(100) Read further in this chapter.

(101) This is to be taken to be true of it: it was really divided into two parts,



to suffer much, during their rule. During the reign of Vīr Vikramāditya of the Gardabhil dynasty, Ujjain was again made the capital of the whole of India. In the first century B. C. Ujjaini was also called Viśālāpurī<sup>102</sup>. Again, it was also called Ayodhyā (Ayuddhā). We do not know why it was so called. We can only guess that as word Ayuddha means "a city the king of which was invincible," Ujjaini might have been so called.

During the rule of the kings of the Chasthana dynasty and Gupta dynasty, Ujjaini maintained its prosperity. Then it began to decline with the decline of the Guptas. Though we are not concerned with Ujjaini's later history, yet the writer wants to throw some light on it, so that it might be of help to students of history. Ujjaini declined steadily upto 517 A. D. when it was again revived by the Parmār kings of Mālvā<sup>103</sup>, who established their power over the whole of Avanti, except its northern portion which was under the rule of the king of Kanoj of the Pratihār dynasty<sup>104</sup>. Both Ujjain and Dhārānagarī were made capitals of Mālvā, in the time of king Bhoj whose court was visited by Hu-en-Chāng.<sup>105</sup>

The above-stated details give us to understand that Vidiśa-Sāñchīpurī, Ujjaini, and Dhārānagarī were very important places in those times; they were prosperous and flourishing centres of trade and political activities. Trunk roads united them with the capitals of other countries<sup>106</sup>. One of such trunk roads existed between Ujjaini and Kauśāmbī via Godhi, Diviśā<sup>107</sup> and Vālsevat.

It is but proper that the description of Avanti should include all available information about its capital. As stated above, most of the modern historians of ancient India are of the opinion that

(102) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX. pp. 140 by Dr. Bhāu Dāji.

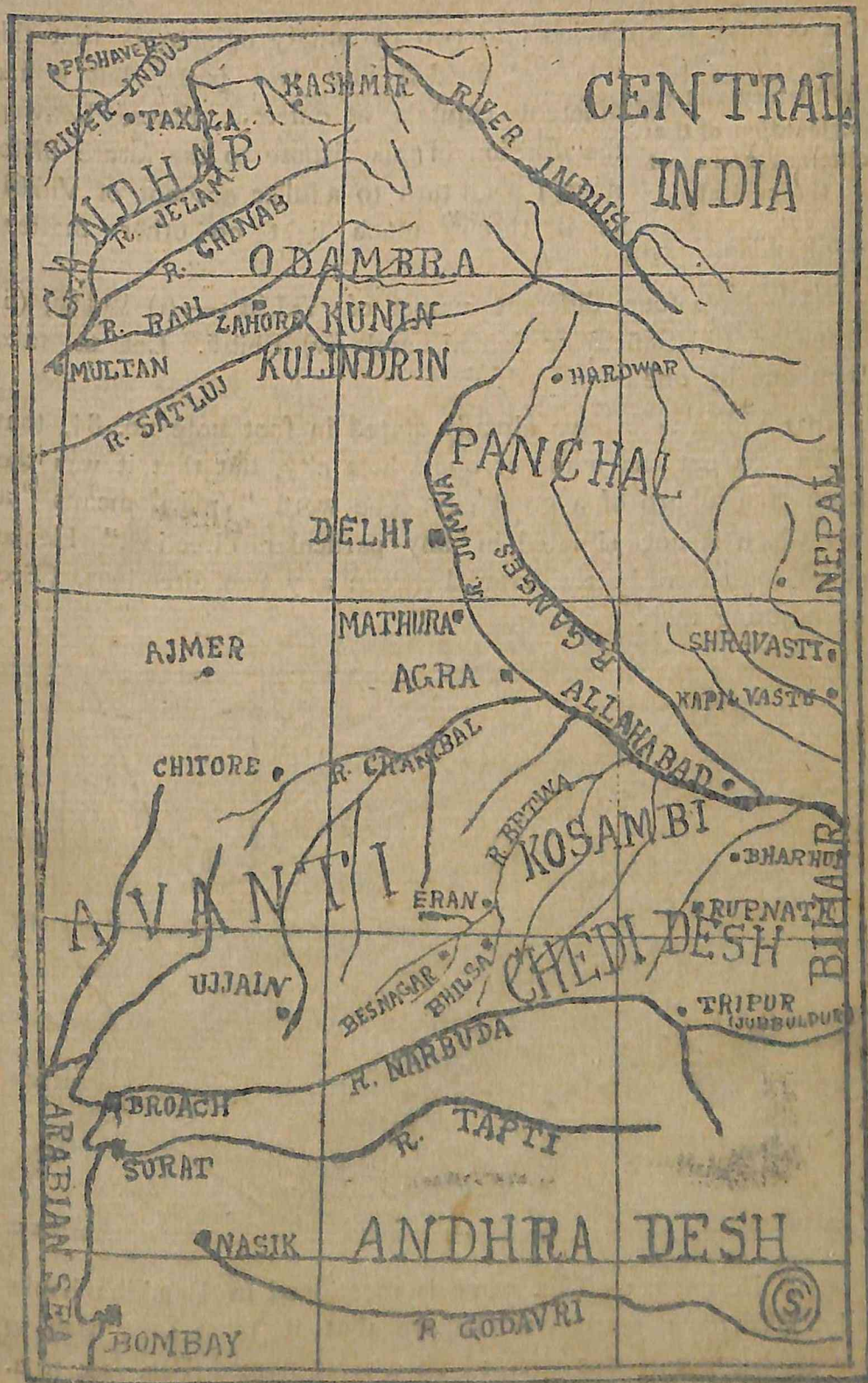
(103-104). See the geneological lines of the Parmār and the Pratihār dynasties further on.

(105) See f. n. nos. 80 and 82.

(106) Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism" pp. 333-34.

(107) "Here Diwiśā is most probably a corrupt form of Vidiśā or Besnagar near Bhilsā ("Stūpa of Bhārūta" by Sir Cunningham p. 2).



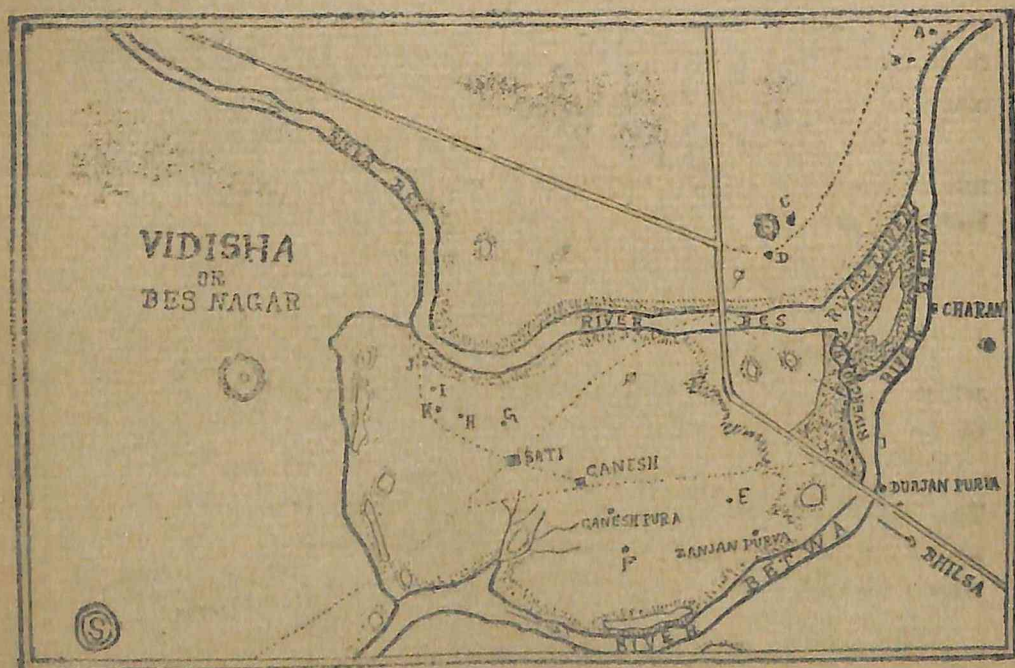




this country was divided into two parts. My opinion is that this was not divided into two parts, but it had different capitals at different times. Leaving the decision of this dispute to the future historians, I shall turn to a fuller account of Vidiśā, as it throws much light on other matters pertaining to history.

We have four different names of Vidiśā :— (i) Vidiśā, (ii) Besnagar, (iii) Sāñchī or Sañchī, and (iv) Bhilsā. Let us take them one by one :—

(i) Vidiśā :—I have already stated in foot note no. 84, that Vidiśā was not the name of one whole city, but that it was the name of a suburb of a great city. The word “Vidiśā” means “a part which is not situated in any particular direction.” Hence Vidiśā must have been situated between any two directions. (See the adjoining map.



(ii) Besnagar :—This name is mentioned in Baudddha books only. We have reasons to believe that it must have been so named, because it was situated on a river named Bes. (see f. n. no. 112).



(iii) Sāñchī :—This name is mentioned in Jaina books, where it is called "Sachcha-purī". Sāñchī might have been derived from "Sachchapurī". I will later on prove that both are the names of one and same city, which was a great centre of pilgrimage for Jains.

Though this name is time and again mentioned in the Jaina books, yet two instances will suffice here<sup>108</sup>. In the more ancient

(108) The two instances are given below. They are time and again repeated by the Jains:—

(a) There is a Jaina psalm named "Jaga chintāmaṇi", which is to be daily repeated by Jains while saying their morning prayers (called Pratikramaṇa). One of the verses is given below:—

"Jaya u sāmi, jaya u sāmi, Rṣahaśattunji,

Ujjinta pahu Nemijiṇam cha, jaya u Veera Sachcha-urimaṇḍanam".

The word "Sachcha-uri" means "Sachchapurī" Satyapurī. The meaning of the couplet is, "May Rṣabhadev who resides on mount Śatruñjaya, and Neminaṭh who resides on mount Ujjayant (Girnār), and Śree Mahāvīr who resides in Satyapurī, be victorious". The date of the composition of this psalm is many years before the beginning of the Christian Era.

(b) The second psalm was composed in the sixteenth century A. D. During rule of the great Mogul emperor Akbar, there lived a great Jaina monk named Samayasundar who composed this psalm. One of the verses is:—

"Purvadiśi Pāvāpurī, ṛdhhe-bharī re,

Mukti gayā Mahāvīr, tīrath te namu re."

The meaning is:—"I offer my salutations to that sacred city Pāvāpurī, which is in the east and where Mahāvīr obtained absolution". The first line of the above given couplet should be really read as follows:—

"Purva vidiśi Pāvāpurī (Pāpāpurī) ṛdhhe bharī re."

The scribe must have made a mistake in writing "diśi" instead of "Vidiśi", and Pāvāpurī is also called Pāpāpurī, in Jaina books. This was the place where Mahāvīr's life has ended; meaning thereby, that he has obtained Mukti.

The above-stated two verses give us to understand that Mahāvīr breathed his last at a place called "Sachchīpurī" or "Pāvāpurī". Hence Sachchīpurī and "Pāvāpurī" are names of the same place. Perhaps they might be names of different suburbs of the same city. (Look at the map of Bhilsā).

If we do not replace "diśi" by "Vidiśi", as suggested by me, even then the meaning would have to be taken as:—"In the east of Avanti there is a prosperous city named Pāvāpurī where Mahāvīr obtained absolution."



of the two books, it is mentioned as "Sachchipurī", while in the later it is mentioned as "Vidiśā". It is necessary to look into the meanings of these two words and their mutual connection.

The word "Sachchipurī" belongs to the Māgadhī language, its Sanskrit form can be taken as "Satyapurī". The original word could not have been "Sāñchī" because it is contrary to the rules of Sanskrit grammar<sup>109</sup>. This city might have also been called "Sāñchaya-purī" (i. e. a city around which there is a collection of something, which obviously here means a collection of pillar inscriptions). Some one might have made a compromise between "Sachchipurī" and "Sāñchaya-purī", and thus called it "Sāñchipurī".

I have already stated above, that this was a great centre of pilgrimage for Jains. A glance at f. n. no. 108 will give the reader some idea of its religious importance. Though majority of the Jains of to-day believe that Pāvāpurī, where Mahāvīr obtained Nirvāṇa, was situated in Bengal, I can prove it convincingly that it was in Avanti. I have discussed in details and

On pp. 58 of A. S. I. (Imp. Ser. Vol. X, 1874-75 and 76-77) Sir Cunningham states that the words "Purvadiśi putāndānam" are inscribed on one of the rock-inscriptions of Sāñchī stūpa. These words might possibly mean "Purvadiśi Pāvāpurī".

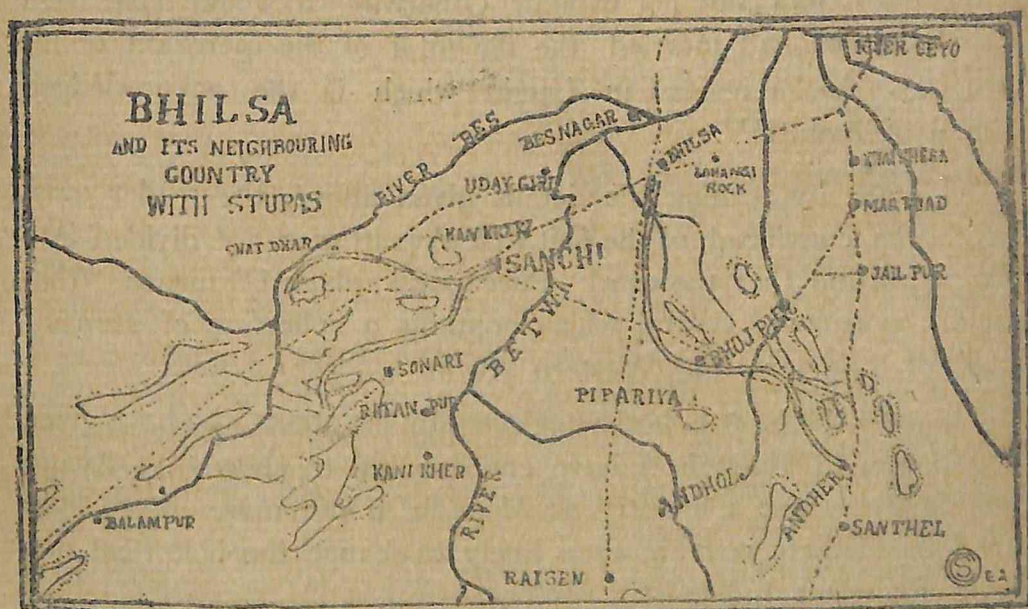
[My remarks:—Just as immigrants into America have named their new settlement-cities (e. g. New York etc.) after their old similar names in England (e. g. York etc.), similarly it is possible & believable that the immigrants from this old Satyapurī-Sachchapurī in Mālwa, gave the same name to their new settlement of Satyapurī-Sachchapurī (converted by rule of grammar into Sāchore) in Mewār; because both the cities are connected with the life of Mahāvīr; the old city is the real place where Mahāvīr obtained absolution while the new one is the place where the immigrants sanctified and erected the idol of Mahāvīr for their worship. Similar is the case of Sauripur near Agra, where Nemināth the 22nd Jain Tīrthankar was born, while the new settlement-city in South Kathiawar, where his ancestors resorted in after life was named Sauripur—changed into present Chauripur-Chorpur or Chorwad (a maritime place under Junāgaḍh State) (vide f. n. no. 10 on pp. 47) ].

(109) It is a rule of Sanskrit grammar that the preceding consonant is changed to the corresponding consonant of that class to which the following



proved the whole thing in my book named "The Life of Mahāvīr" which I intend to publish within a short time.

(iv) Bhilsā<sup>110</sup> :—This name is of later origin than the other three names. A glance at the map will show the reader that it is about a mile far from Besnagar. It is a different question whether Bhilsā flourished on the ruins of Besnagar or vice versa. Sir Cunningham is of the opinion that Bhilsā<sup>111</sup> flourished on the ruins of Besnagar; whatever may be the truth, one thing is certain that Bhilsā and Besnagar are names of different places, though they were not far from each other.



A glance at the map of Vidiśā will show the reader a river named Trivenī and other two places named Charaṇa Tīrth,

consonant belongs. The following consonant in the present case is of the palatal class (chi). Hence the preceding consonant which is changed to the palatal class here, must have originally been n, or ñ or ṇ or m. Whether there could have been any such awkward name is open to doubt. So "Sāñchi" must not have been derived according to this rule.

(110) Mr. Hall pointed out, Bhā=light, Li=to throw; Bhilsā=thrower of light; (Arch. Sur. Ind. 1874-75 Vol. X p. 34).

(111) See f. n. no. 83 above.



and Durjanpurva. Dr. Hall believes that the word Bhilsā means "the thrower of light". All these matters are fully dealt with in my forthcoming publication. "The Life of Mahāvīr".

Maps given here will show that this city was situated in a hilly region, and thus was an ideal place for hermits and recluses to study, think and meditate upon God and His creations. The wealthy persons in the city readily offered them food and other necessities of life.

It has been stated in historical books that Aśoka had married with the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Vidiśā. This means that Vidiśā was not his capital. Otherwise it would have been stated that he had married the daughter of the merchant of his own city. Aśoka resided in Ujjain which is the acknowledged capital of Avanti<sup>112</sup>.

I hope, by reading the details given above, the reader must have been convinced of the fact that Avanti was not divided into two parts and that the word "Purvāparākarāvantī" means "that eastern portion of Avanti which contains a collection of stupas" and not "Eastern and Western Avanti".

Avanti has been hitherto neglected by historians who have given importance to Magadh. I have endeavoured to show that Avanti was as important a country as Magadh, if not more. More light upon its history, is more than likely to change the historical outlook of ancient India.

(112) This suggests that the capital of Avanti was Ujjain, it continued to be the capital of Avanti from 527 B. C. when king Chandpradyot ruled, to 57 B. C. when Śakāri Vikramāditya ruled over it. During the reign of king Chand, however, fire frequently broke out in it. So he might have decided to change the seat of his capital to a safe place. As the majority of his subjects were Jains, he might have selected Besnagar, it being a place of pilgrimage for the Jains, and also being surrounded by two rivers and fully protected by a fortress. Again it was very near Ujjain, thus facilitating political and business communications.

Bhilsā, on the other hand, must have begun to be inhabited after the end of the reign of Vikramāditya. It remains to be decided just exactly when it began to be inhabited.



(103) Parmar dynasty	(104) Parihār dynasty (of Kanoj)	Solanki dynasty of Gujarat
1 Vikramāditya Śilāditya Yaśodharman A. D. 534-575	Emperor Harṣavardhan (A.D.630)	
	Gṛhavarman ( brother-in-law )	
2 Vṛddha Bhoj-dev (In whose time flourished Māntung-sūri, Hu-en-Chāng, Bāṇa, and Mayur). A. D. 575-640	Bhog-varman (A. D. 705)	
	Yaśovarman (contemporary of Bhav-bhūti and Vākpati- rāj). 744 A. D. (possibly 715 A. D.) to 755 : Vikra- māditya, the contemporary of Siddhasen-divākara.	
3 — 0		
4 — 0		
5 Devśakti, 700 to 780 (contemporary).	Āmarājā : Indrāyudhdha (contem- porary of Bappabhatta- sūri) Nāgāvalok-Nāg- bhat II 755 to 834 (79)	
6 Vatsa-rāj, 780-810		
7 Nāg-bhat, 810-840	Daṇḍuk-834 to 840 (6)	
8 Rām-bhat (Rāmdev) 840-872	Bhojdev I; 840-885 (historians have confused him with Bhojdev of Parmār Dynasty)	
9 Bhoj II, Adivarāh: Prabhās (contemporary of Siddharṣi) author of Upmīti Bhava Prapañchā; 872-915 (Same as Vairsiṃh I?).	Mahendrapāl; : Mahīpāl 885-890	Mūlraj 942-997
10 Kṛṣṇa-rāj; Upendra. 915-935		Chāmuṇḍ 997-1010
11 Vairsiṃh II 935-955	Bhojdev II 910-913    Mahīpāl: Kṣitipāl 913-945	
12 Śiyakṣiṃh : Siṃhbhat, Harṣadev : 955-970		Vallabh-sen 1010-1017
Sindhurāj (13) Muñj; Lord of the earth: 970-996	Devpāl 945-50    Vijaypāl I 950-975	Durlabh-sen 1017-1022
14 Bhojdev III : Vairsiṃh III Śilāditya: Pratāpāl, con- temporary of Vādivetāl Śānti-sūri 996-1055 and also.....	Vijaypāl II 975-1000. Jayapāl 1000-1020 contemporary of Mahomed of Gīzni.	Bhimdev I 1027-1072 (50) Contemporary of Bhojdev III of the Parmār Dynasty.





## Chapter VII

### Account of the sixteen kingdoms (continued).

**Synopsis:—**(14) *Avanti (continued)*—New light on the history of *Sānchīpurī*—The connection of *Chandragupta* and *Priyadarśin* with the innumerable *stūpās* situated in the region about *Sānchī*—The establishment, as well as the duration of rule, and the chronology of the kings of the *Pradyota* dynasty—comments on them—Chronologically arranged names of the kings of *Avanti* for five hundred years—clarification of the many mistakes committed therein by many scholars—Accounts of the lives of the five kings of the *Pradyota* dynasty—The union of *Avanti* with *Magadh*.

(15) *Sindh-Sauvir*:—Whether these were names referring to different regions or not and opinions of scholars about their areas—An account of the life and dynasty of Emperor *Udayin* of this country—His friendship with the *Persian Empire*—His chief position among all Indian emperors—Detailed descriptions of the main events of his life—How his nephew succeeded him and how his capital was destroyed during his reign—The time of the formation of the great desert of *Jesalmir* which is situated in the east of *Sindh*—New light on the ruins of *Mohan-jā-Dero* which has aroused so much interest in the archeologists of to-day—The change in the flow and direction of the river *Indus*; disappearance of the rivers *Hakra*, *Vahind*, *Mihraj*, *Sarasvati* and others. Discussion on the problems whether the peninsula of *Kāthiāwar* was formerly an island—Chronology of the events in the life of Emperor *Udayin*.

(15) A short description of *Saurāstra*.



(14) AVANTI (continued)

Though historians have written volumes and volumes on the construction, painting, and the sculpture of the stūpās around this city, yet none of them seems to have dwelt on the importance of the city itself<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, no mention has been made in any of these volumes of the religion which is directly and intimately connected with this place and these stūpās. I believe it to be my duty to enlighten the reader upon these two points, though the account will be a detailed one.

(1) In the first place, we have to bear in mind that the kings of the Pradyota dynasty ruled over Avanti, (in which Sāñchīpurī<sup>2</sup> is situated), in the 6th century B. C. All these kings were Jains, and specially among them king Chaṇḍapradhyot was a devout follower of Mahāvīr, the prophet of Jainism. When the last king of this dynasty was killed by Nand I or Nandivardhan in A. M. 60 or 467 B. C. this country was annexed to the Magadha empire<sup>3</sup>. I will prove later on that the kings of Nanda dynasty too were Jains. The kings of the Maurya dynasty succeeded the kings of the Nanda dynasty, on the throne of Magadh. The founder of this dynasty, Chandragupta, was even a more devout follower of Jainism, than his predecessors; he had become a Jaina monk in his old age. One of his successor Priyadarśin or Samprati<sup>4</sup> was a still

(1) It has been mentioned in one Jaina psalm only. Vide f. n. no. 108 of the preceding chapter.

(2) As I shall have to explain later on, the name Sāñchīpurī seems to have been derived from Sachapurī, which must have been the real name of the city. "Sachapurī" becomes "Sachchapurī" in the Māgadhi language, later on Sachachapurī was changed into Sāñchī-or-Sāñchayapurī.

(3) Vide further pages of this chapter.

(4) As this is not the proper place for a detailed discussion, I have left untouched the subject of the religion of Chandragupta's successors to the throne, namely, Bindusār and Aśoka. (Vide their accounts for this). I have chosen to refrain from the discussion of the relation between Aśoka and Priyadarśin, about which a wrong belief has continued to exist among all present historians of those times. (Vide their account for this).