

greater follower of Jainism. In short, for four centuries, (from 600 B. C. to 204 B. C.<sup>5</sup> when the Mauryan dynasty ended, Jaina kings ruled over this country—kings who were devout followers of Jainism.

(2) Chandragupta used to stay for a certain part of every year in Avanti where he had got a palace built for himself<sup>6</sup>. On the authority of Sir Cunningham's "Bhilsā Topes"<sup>7</sup>, we can say that Chandragupta had made an yearly grant of twenty-five thousand gold paṇas (coins) for the illuminations of the cups (windows) of the dome of the greatest stupa, which is surrounded by many other great and small stupās. This fact proves that this very stupa is undoubtedly connected with Chandragupta, and the religion he followed (Jainism).

(3) The Sāñchī stupa has four lion-shaped gates<sup>8</sup> facing the four directions. The Bhārḥuta Stūpa, which is of a similar structure<sup>9</sup>, also has four gates of the same design. The big Simha Stūpa<sup>10</sup> of Mathurā is also similarly constructed, and has gates of the same design. Indeed these gates resemble one another so much, that any

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(5) Vide the chronological dynasty of the Mauryās.

(6) It has been stated in the Jaina books (specially this incident is clearly stated in the book of Digamber sect of Jains) that the great Jaina monk Bhadrabāhu had once upon a time come to Ujjain. Chandragupta's residence was in Ujjain at this time, and he had requested the monk to enlighten him upon the real significance of the sixteen dreams that he had dreamed. (Bhilsā Topes pp. 154). This proves that Ujjain must have contained palaces fit for the residence of the emperor.

(7) The Bhilsā Topes by Sir Cunningham, pp. 154.

(8) I am referring here to the lion-shaped gates only, but (Vide the account of Khārvel for a description of the Amrāoti Stūpa) an archeological expert has gone to the length of declaring that Sāñchī, Amrāoti, Mānikyāl, Bhārḥut, and some others are all of the same type.

(9) "The Bhārḥuta Stūpa" by Sir A. Cunningham.

(10) E. I. Vol. VIII. Read the article—entitled, "The Lion Stupa of Mathurā". Vide f. n. no. 11 below also. Vide pp. 162-164 of "The Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum"; Vide f. n. no. 12 below.



two must have been copied from the remaining third.<sup>11</sup> Now the Simha Stūpa of Mathurā has been unanimously accepted by scholars to be connected with Jainism<sup>12</sup> while the other two are assigned to Buddhism. This is a great blunder. Really speaking all the three Stūpās are connected with Jainism<sup>13</sup>.

(4) Kumārpāl is one of the most famous of the Solatūki kings of Gujarāt. His religious preceptor was that famous and learned Jaina monk Hemachandrasūri. He was a great philosopher and historian also. Scholars of all climes and ages have praised his works. We may well base our statements on his authority. He has written a historical work entitled "Pariśiṣṭaparva", in which, while giving an account of the life of Mahāvīr, he has connected Mahāvīr's name with Avanti<sup>14</sup> and not with any other country of India. Does this suggest anything in particular? It surely does. Many events of Mahāvīr's life were connected with Avanti.

(5) There are several scriptural books<sup>15</sup> of Jainism, composed

(11) V. A. Smith; E. H. I. 3rd. ed. See the front-piece of this volume. c. f. the pictures referred to in f. n. nos. 7, 9, and 10.

(12) More details about this will be given in the account of Kṣātrap Rājuvul. Vide also "Muttrā and its Antiquities".

(13) Not only do the Stūpās mentioned above, are connected with Jainism, but many others which are similar in construction and design, must be connected with Jainism. More details about this, will be given in the account of Amroāti Stūpa, which is included in the account of emperor Khārvel, third king of the Chedi dynasty.

(14) Vide the account of Avanti a little further in this chapter, and foot notes concerning it.

(15) There lived a poet named Samaya-sunder during the reign of the Mogul emperor Akbar. In one of his poems which gives us a list of the centres for Jaina pilgrimages he writes :

"Purva Vidiśi Pāvāpurī, Iddhe bhārī re;

Mukti gayā Mahāvīr, tīrath te namuṃ re".

(Meaning :—"I bow to the prosperous Pāvāpurī, in which Mahāvīr obtained absolution"). In the above couplet "Vidiśā"—is my own substitution of "diśā", which is commonly found in the books and which, as I have already explained, seems to have been a scribe's slip of pen. In support of this correction read the couplet quoted from a very ancient psalm, in f. n. no. 108 of the preceding chapter, and the point sixth below.



in very old days, when there was no occasion for twisting facts or misrepresenting them, because there were no religious sects in those days. On the authority of these books<sup>16</sup> we can assert that this Vidiśā or Sāñchī was a centre of pilgrimage for the Jains.

(6) Before emperor Aśoka had ascended the throne of Magadh, he was appointed as the governor of Avanti. During his governorship he had married the daughter of a wealthy Jaina merchant<sup>17</sup> of Besnagar—Vidiśānagarī. This is a proved historical fact, which, again proves that many rich Jaina merchants<sup>18</sup> dwelt in that city at that time.

(7) Hitherto, Aśoka and Priyadarśin have been believed to be the names of one and the same individual. I, on the contrary am of the opinion that they are two different individuals. Priyadarśin was the grandson of Aśoka, and succeeded him on the throne<sup>19</sup>. He has been called Samprati<sup>20</sup> in the Jaina books. He had dedicated his life to the cause of the spread of Jainism throughout the world. A great number of rock-inscriptions and pillar-inscriptions, which have stood the test of time, and which have been erected by Priyadarśin,<sup>21</sup> affords an eloquent testimony to the above statement. Again they quite agree with his account in the Jaina books. This great emperor had spent the last years of his life in Avanti and had changed his seat of capital from Pāṭliputra to Vidiśānagarī. (For details, vide the account of Priyadarśin). There might have been some political causes behind this change, but the main cause was Jainism. In short, Avanti was the centre of Jainism during his reign.

(16) Cf. f. n. no. 15 above.

(17) Vide the account of Aśoka for this.

(18) Vide the paragraph entitled "More light on Ujjain" in the preceding chapter.

(19) This matter is fully discussed in the account of Aśoka.

(20) Eng. translation by Prof. Herman Jacobi etc. etc.

(21) Many archeological experts have assigned their authorship to Aśoka, and thus connected them with Buddhism which he followed. Really speaking they have been erected by emperor Priyadarśin, who was a devout Jain. I have tried to disillusion these experts in my account of Aśoka.



(8) This region can boast of not one or two but of more than two dozen stūpās, large and small. The smallest of them is large enough to attract the eye of any modern visitor to the place<sup>22</sup>. These Stūpās are to-day in a ruinous and shattered condition; but they must have been in a good condition when the famous Chinese traveller Hu-en-Chāng visited this country thirteen hundred years ago<sup>23</sup>. It is not possible that they might have escaped his notice altogether. Here we must bear in mind that Hu-en-Chāng was a follower of Buddhism, and had come to India specially to visit and make a note of Bauddha religious places. The descriptions of his travels in India have been translated into English and published in two volumes. They contain detailed descriptions of very small Bauddha stūpās which were in Avanti<sup>24</sup> at that time. But we notice it with great astonishment that he has not even mentioned these great stūpās, which were many times larger than those he has described, and which are greatly superior to them in art and sculpture. Does this omission not suggest the fact that these stūpās had no connection with Buddhism and hence were passed over without notice by him? And if these stūpās are thus not connected with Buddhism, with which religion can they possibly be connected? Undoubtedly with Jainism. Hence Hu-en-Chāng has not omitted them through oversight, but because they were not connected with his religion.

(9) Scholars have experienced many wearisome difficulties in trying to find out the meanings of the inscriptions on these

(22) "Bhilsā Topes". The following details are given in it:—

	Diameter.	Height.	Circumference.
Smallest Size	30 ft.	20 ft.	
Biggest Size	70 ft.	80 ft.	

(23) This traveller was in India from 630 A. D. to 640 A. D.

Another traveller, Fa-he-yān had come two centuries before this, and a third, It-Sing twenty-five to fifty years after this.

(24) Vide "Rec. of the West World" Vol. I and II for the descriptions of the regions surrounding Bhilsā, Sāñchī, and Bhārhut, about which not a word is mentioned there in. (These regions are referred to as Mālvā, Avanti, Vatsa, Chikīto, Mahesvar, Anga, Kuśa-sthal etc. Vide Chapter III).



stūpās. Many a time, most fanciful and ludicrous interpretations have been made of these inscriptions. The main cause of all these, is their rooted-belief that these stūpās are connected with Buddhism. Many of the riddles would be easily solved if they connect them with Jainism, with which they are, in fact, connected. Similarly the inscriptions of Priyadarśin have also been much misinterpreted because he is said to be none else but Aśoka, and because of the groundless belief that he was a follower of Buddhism. But discussion about him is out of place here<sup>25</sup>. The only thing I want to assert is that all these stūpās are connected with Jainism and not with Buddhism.

The founder of this dynasty was Punik<sup>26</sup>. In some of the Purāṇās his descendants are called "Paunikās" also, from his name.

There is a diversity of opinion about the duration of this dynasty. A few historians are inclined to believe its duration to have been 154 years<sup>27</sup>; but most of them are inclined to agree to 118 years as its period of duration, which opinion, as we shall see presently, is more akin to truth.

The second king of this dynasty, Chaṇḍ by name, is said to have ruled for 47 years<sup>28</sup>; he died in 527 B. C.<sup>29</sup>. We can calculate from this that he must have ascended the throne in 527+47=574 B. C. He was succeeded by his son Pālak. He and his descendants are said to have ruled for 60 years, after which the dynasty ended in 557-60=467

The establishment  
of the Pradyota dynasty,  
its duration and  
chronology

(25) This matter will be fully discussed in the account of Priyadarśin in this volume. Readers, who are more interested, are requested to read the "Account of Priyadarśin," which will be published by me within a short time.

(26) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 106, and f. n. no. 193 below it:—

Sunik (Pulik) swāminam hatwā putram samabhiṣekṣyati. = Pulik (Matsya) or Munik (Vāyu) killed his lord and set up the son on the throne of Avanti.

(27) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 108. "According to the Matsya it is 155, but it includes Nandivardhan, while others put it to 128".

Ibid. Vol. I, pp. f. n. no. 83, "The Jaina books do not fix any length for it, but the calculation leads us nearly to the same result".

(28) It is 48 years instead of 47. See further.

(29) Vide f. n. no. 33 below.



B. C. <sup>30</sup>. Thus Chaṇḍ, Pālak, and their descendants together ruled for  $47+60=107$  years (from 574 B. C. to 467 B. C.). If we agree to 128 years as being the period of the rule of the whole dynasty Punik must have ruled for  $128-107=21$  years. We can quote a very good authority in support of this hypothesis; though therein Punik is said to have ruled for 26 years, a small difference looking to the scarcity of clear testimony. In Purāṇās, however, the dynasty is said to have lasted for 155 years, thus affording Punik  $155-107=48$  years of long rule<sup>32</sup>, which is not probable, as his son has definitely ruled for 47 years.

We shall now try to find out how many kings succeeded Pālak. Professor Jacobi has translated a Jaina historical work named "Parīṣiṣṭa Parva". (Published in Leipzig in 1879 A. D.)<sup>33</sup>. In this work of undoubted authority it has been stated that:—

"(1) Pālak, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night, in which the Arhat and Tīrthaṅkar Mahāvīr entered Nirvāṇa (2) Sixty are (the years) of his (Pālak and his descendants) but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas, one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pusamitta, (3) Sixty (years) ruled Balamitta and Bhanumitta, forty

(30) Parīṣiṣṭa Parva, VI, 243: Ind. His. Quarterly Vol. V. Sept. 1929, p. 399. "Anantraṃ Vardhamān swāmi nirvāṇāvasarāt gatāyāṃ ṣaṣṭhivatsaryāmeṣa nando bhavanīpab!" "Nand became a king sixty years after Mahāvīr entered Nirvāṇa".

The above-stated statement can be supported by the evidence derived from coins of those times. In Coins of Ant. Ind. p. 96, bears the figure of a king exactly similar to Nandivardhan in appearance. Vide the chapter on coins in the third part of this volume.

(31) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106.

(32) Chaṇḍa, and not Punik, ruled for 48 years.

(33) Jaṃ rayapaṃ kālagayo Arihā, Tīrthaṅkar Mahāvīr !

taṃ rayapaṃ Avantivai ahisato Pālago rāyā ||1||

Saṭṭhi Pālagoṇo paṭavannasayantu hoi, (Nāgāpaṃ ?) Nandāṇa !

Aṭṭhasayam Muriyāṇam, tisam va Pusamittasa ||2||

Balamitta Bhānumitta saṭṭhi vari sāṇi chatta !

Nabhavahane taha Gaddabhila rajjam torasa variṣṭa Sagass achau ||3||



Nabhovāhan. Thirteen years like-wise lasted the rule of Gardabhila and four are the years of Saka (on Avanti)".

All the above-quoted three verses are rich in historical material. Though we are here concerned with the duration of the Pradyota dynasty, reference about which is contained in verse No. I and the beginning of verse No. II, yet I have decided to discuss below the meaning of all the three verses, as this interpretation will throw much light on other historical problems. I hope the readers will excuse me for this digression.

In J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 78 f. n. 4a; it is stated that, "Pradyot was the most powerful king in the north of India, having a son at Matturā and a son-in-law at Kauśāmbī. He made preparations to take Magadh (Bud. Ind. pp. 13). His death occurred in or about the seventh year of Ajātsatru's reign"<sup>34</sup>. We have just proved above that king Chaṇḍ died in 527 B. C.; and Ajātsatru had ascended the throne in 528 B. C. Consequently Chaṇḍ must have died in the second, and not the seventh year of Ajātsatru's reign. The writers of Purāṇās have been found to have the habit of confusing the events that might have occurred during the reign of a king with the events that might have occurred during the reign of his predecessor or successor. This habit leads us to believe that Pālak and not Chaṇḍ, must have died during the eighth year of Ajātsatru's reign<sup>35</sup>. Again, as we shall see later on, the events that are described to have taken

(34) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 78 f. n. no. 4a. (quoted above), Vide f. n. no. 35 below. The writer has not forwarded any evidence as to why he has stated seven years. According to my opinion the period is of nine years. Vide a page or two further in this volume.

(35) Instances of such confusion are not difficult to find. In the life of Chaṇḍ himself several things have been wrongly connected with him. For instance :— (a) Vaidehi was really the queen of Chaṇḍ; But Purāṇās have made her the mother of Chaṇḍ and the queen of his father Punik. (b) Pālak died during the eighth year of Ajātsatru's reign. Purāṇās confusingly say that Chaṇḍ died at that time. (f. n. no. 34 above). (c) As stated in f. n. no. 34 above, the Purāṇās say that Pradyot's son was the governor of Matturā; Thus Purāṇās and their writers have confused many things.

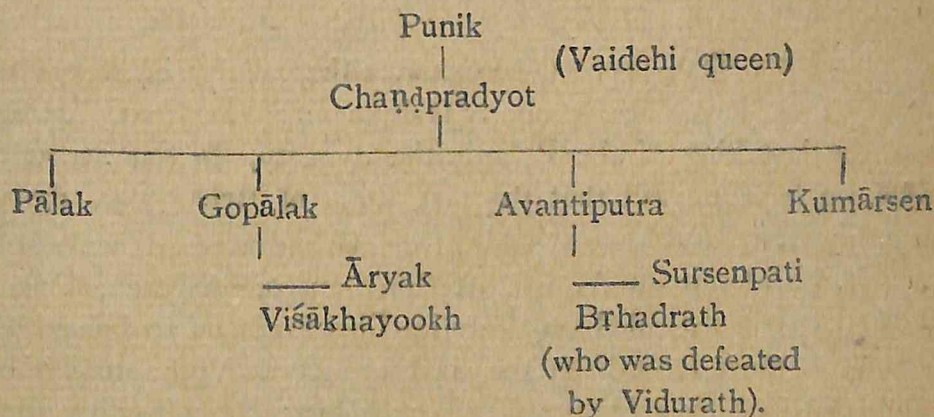


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place during these seven years can quite reasonably be connected with Pālak's life. This means that Pālak ruled for seven years only.

It is very difficult to decide how many kings succeeded Pālak and for how many years every one of them ruled. I have given below the chronology which I have borrowed from the Purāṇās. I have also quoted references from other books. The reader is requested to build his own conclusions about facts<sup>36</sup>.

Some more information about the chronology of the dynasty



Now in H. H. pp. 494-95 it is stated that, "Ripuñjay the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty was profligate, worthless and despotic during his long reign of fifty years. At length Sunak, prime minister, killed his master and secured the throne for his son Pradyot, who began to rule about B. C. 779. The Pradyota dynasty, a short one of five kings, ruled for 124 solar years."

"The Userper ought to have been a good king, but he proved to be reverse. He was a hypocrite. The nobles of the states showed no regard for him. The Matsya Purāṇ does not even mention his name. (1) He ruled for 15 years. (2) His successor Pālak ruled for 23 years. (3) Viśākhayookh for 35 years. (4) Janak 30 years and (5) Nandivardhan 20 years. The last three were despots<sup>37</sup>."

(36) Vide the accounts of the kingdoms concerned.

(37) Vide H. H. pp. 494-495. The authors of both the books, namely, H. H., and J. O. B. R. S. (Vol. I vide f. n. no. 27 above) have based their accounts on Purāṇās. If we compare them we shall find that both have committed mistakes.



Some more information about the chronology of the dynasty Chapter

From this statement we can draw the following nine conclusions:—(1) Ripuñjay was the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty. (2) He ruled for 50 years. (3) His prime-minister Sunak killed him. (4) He set his own son Pradyot on the throne. (5) This event took place in 779 B. C. (6) This Pradyota dynasty had five kings. (7) They ruled for 124 years. (8) Pradyot ruled for 15 years. (9) Four kings succeeded him and ruled for 23 (Pālak), 35 (Viśakhayookh), 30 (Janak), and 20 (Nandivardhan) years respectively.

Now we shall proceed to examine the validity of every one of these conclusions one by one : (1) It is not true that Ripuñjay was the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty. In our account of Kāśī we have proved that the last king of Brhadratha dynasty was Aśvasen, and that the kings of Brhadratha dynasty ruled on Kāśī and not on Avanti. At the time of Aśvasen, kings of Vitihotra dynasty ruled on Avanti. This leads us to believe that Ripuñjay must have been the last king of Vitihotra dynasty. (2-3-4) Ripuñjay ruled for fifty years. He was killed by his prime-minister Sunak. In f. n. no. 26 of this chapter the name given is Punik, which seems to me to be more correct. (5) We are not concerned with this point here. (6) This dynasty had five kings. I agree with it. (7) They are said to have ruled for 124 solar years. Every solar year consists of 365 days. (8-9) As to number of years for which each king ruled the reader is requested to consult their accounts given further in this chapter. I disagree with the statement that Nandivardhan was the last king of this dynasty and that he ruled for 20 years. It is true that Nandivardhan had become the king of Avanti, but he belonged to the Nanda dynasty and ruled on Magadh also. He became the king of Avanti, only when the last king of the Pradyota dynasty, whom he had defeated, died without an heir. This means that this last king of Pradyota dynasty ruled for 20 years. Again, Nandivardhan has ruled on Magadh for 16 years. So any time during these sixteen years he might have invaded Avanti and defeated the last Pradyota king. This leads us to the conclusion that he could not have ruled on Avanti for 20 years in any case.



Now we shall proceed to examine the meanings of verses Nos. 2, 3 of the *Parīśiṣṭa Parva* quoted above.

Names of the kings of several dynasties are included in the three verses from *Parīśiṣṭa Parva*, quoted above. Many historians have stated that these kings ruled over Magadh and not over Avanti<sup>38</sup>. They must have committed this mistake because the names of the kings of Maurya and Nanda dynasties are given in the verses. These Maurya and Nanda kings are famous in history books as kings of Magadh, Avanti being a province under this rule. In the verses there are names of the kings of several other dynasties which never ruled over Magadh—e. g. kings of Pradyota dynasty, Śaka kings, Śuṅga kings and others like Balmitra, Bhānumitra, Nabhovāhan etc. Several historical controversies would be over, if we accept that, all the kings whose names are given in those verses ruled over Avanti<sup>39</sup>. For instance, the false belief that Śuṅga kings ruled over Magadh will be automatically removed. Again Nabhovāhan which is the Sanskrit-Hindi name for Nahapān kṣātrapa can, without difficulty, be accepted as a king of Avanti. Coins bearing his name support this conclusion. The last king in the list is Śakāri Vikramāditya, son of Gardhabhil. All the quarrels about who was Vikramāditya and over which country he ruled would be over, as the Vikrama era begins with him; and all can be certain about the person and the where-about of a king, round whom an intricate fabric of stories and legends is woven.

We might pause here to think why the author of *Parīśiṣṭa Parva* has chosen to connect the names of all these kings of Avanti—and not of any other country—with the day on which Mahāvīr died. It is not unreasonable to think that he has given a list of

(38) See f. n. no. 39 below.

(39) *Ind. His. Quarterly* Vol. 8 pp. 402:—Dr. Konow agrees that the gāthās are not meant as a chronology of the Magadha kings, as has been usually assumed, but are in reality meant as an enumeration of the rulers of Central India, between the Nirvāṇa and Vikramāditya. *J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I.* pp. 102:—The Jaina chronology may be called the Ujjain chronology.



kings, all of whom were Jains. The author of *Parīśiṣṭa Parva* was a great Jain monk, and he would not have connected names of kings belonging to any other religion with the date of the death of Mahāvīr.

Let us now turn our attention to the meanings of these verses. The meaning of the first verse is clear, and we need not worry over it here. We have also proved that not Pālāk alone, but Pālāk and his descendants together, had ruled for sixty years. Now we turn to the rest of the verse

Paṇavanna sayantu hoi (Nāgāṇām) \* Nandāṇa ।  
aṭṭhasayaṃ Muriyāṇaṃ ॥

The meaning which is generally accepted is as follows:—

“The Nanda kings ruled for 155 years and Maurya kings ruled for 108 years”. Now it is a known fact that the kings of Nanda dynasty ruled for only hundred years<sup>40</sup>. Why should such a great writer state that they ruled for 155 years?<sup>41</sup> It is obvious that some mistake has been committed in the actual wordings of this part of the verse. I submit to the scrutiny of linguists the following five suggestions for making changes.

Suggestion No. I:—The meaning of the verse can more suitably be as follows, “The Nanda kings ruled upto the 155th year (and not for 155 years)” after the death of Mahāvīr. This means that the Nanda dynasty lasted upto 527 B. C.—155=372 B. C. Out of these 155 years we may deduct 60 years of Pālāk and his descendants, and thus the Nanda kings ruled over Avanti for remaining 95 years.

Suggestion No. II:—We might connect the word “Aṭṭhasayaṃ” with “Nandāṇaṃ” and not with “Muriyāṇaṃ”. Thus the line would be “Paṇavanna sayantu hoi Nandāṇaṃ (Nāgāṇaṃ) Aṭṭhasayaṃ” The meaning then would be, “The family of Nanda which ruled upto 155th year, had begun to rule after a length

\* The word in the bracket is inserted by me.

(40) Vide the account of Nanda dynasty in part II for their chronology and durations of reigns.

(41) Vide the last para of the account of Cband given further on in this volume.



of 108 of the Nāgās (Śiśunāga dynasty is shortly called Nāgās)". The Nanda dynasty is also a branch of Śiśunāga dynasty; so Nandās can also be called Nāgās. (These 108 years are calculated as follows:—52 years of Śrenik's rule+32 years of Kuṇik+16 years of Udāyan+8 years of Anurudhdha-Mund=108 years)<sup>42</sup>.

Suggestion No. III:—If we put the word Nāgāṇam for Nāṇḍāṇam, things would be clearer still. The meaning then would be "The kings of the Nāga dynasty which includes both the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties ruled upto the 155th year of the Mahāvīr era."

Suggestion No. IV:—If we separate the word Aṭṭhasayam from "Muriyāṇam" and connect it as an adjective with "Pālagorāyā" of the preceding verse, the meaning would be "Pālak's dynasty i. e. Pradyota dynasty had ruled over Avanti for 108 years; after that Nanda kings had ruled upto the 155th year". The author of Paṇḍita Parva was a Jain and his aim was to write a history of Jainism. Hence he does not take into account the reign of Chaṇḍ's father who was a follower of the vedic religion. Even Chaṇḍ himself was not a Jain<sup>43</sup> at the beginning of his reign, but he soon entered its fold. He ruled for 48 years<sup>44</sup> and his descendants including Pālak ruled for the next sixty years, thus making the total of 108 years.

Suggestion No. V:—If we do not separate the word "Aṭṭhasayam" from "Muriyāṇam" we will have to allow the possibility of a mistake by some scribe at a later date. Thus the original word written by the author must have been "Aṭṭha-saṭṭhasayam" out of which some scribe must have dropped "saṭṭha" altogether by slip of a pen or due to some reason not clear to us. The word

(42) Nāgāṇam = kings of Nanda dynasty, which was a branch of the Nāga dynasty.

(43) At that time only two systems of religion existed: Jainism and the Vedic religion. Thus any one who was not a jain, must have been a follower of the Vedic religion. We have noted in the previous pages of this book that he was not a jain.

(44) Vide the account of Śivā, the second daughter of king Chetāk, in chap. V. Vide also further pages of this chapter.



"Aṭṭha-saṭṭhasayam" means 168. Then the meaning should be, "The Mauryās whose rule lasted for 168 years, began to rule over Avanti after the 155th year". That the Maurya dynasty lasted for 168 years, is a proved historical fact.

The last words of the second verse mean, "After the Mauryās, Puṣyamitra ruled for 30 years". In the third verse it is given that Balamitra, Bhānumitra and others ruled for 60 years. We shall later on prove, that these kings belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty. Adding these 60 years to the 30 years of Puṣyamitra's reign, we shall have, that Śuṅga kings ruled for 90 years. (In Purāṇās it is stated that Śuṅga kings ruled for 112 years. I will explain this in the account of the Śuṅga dynasty). After the Śuṅga kings Nabhovāhan ruled for 40 years over Avanti<sup>45</sup>. After that, the Gardabhila king ruled over Avanti for 13 years, after which the Śakās ruled over it for 4 years. After that Vikramāditya Śakāri became the ruler of Avanti.

Thus after the death of Mahāvīr the following kings ruled over Avanti for the years stated opposite their names:—

1. Pālak and his descendants	60 years.
2. Nanda kings	95 years (i.e. upto 155th year).
3. Maurya kings	168 years.
4. Puṣyamitra	30 years.
5. Balmitra, Bhānumitra and others	60 years.
6. Nabhovāhan	40 years.
7. Gardabhila king	13 years.
8. The Śakās <sup>46</sup>	4 years.
	<hr/> 470 years.

Thus the Vikrama era began, after 470 years of the Mahāvīr era.

(45) Nabhovāhan is the Hindi name for the original "Nahapān". Kshatrap Nahapān is famous in history. He has ruled over Avanti for 40 years. (Vide his account given further in Vol. III).

(46) According to Jainism 13 years are assigned to king Gardabhila and 4 to Śaka, thus making a total of 17 years. According to Purāṇās 10 years are assigned to the former and 7 to the latter. Which of these two is true is a problem to be still solved by students of history. But both agree to the total of 17 years.



By this time, it must have been clear to the reader that the author of *Parīśiṣṭa Parva* has stated facts only and no falsehoods. But, as it generally happens in such *gāthās* (verses), much meaning is crowded in a few words and hence have arisen misunderstandings and confusions. The results were that (1) historical truth was destroyed, and (2) the author of *Parīśiṣṭa Parva* was believed to be dishonest.

(I) Punik : We have noted in chapter IV that when Śiśunāg ascended the throne of Kāśī, kings of Vitihotra dynasty were ruling over Avanti, and that the last king of this dynasty was succeeded by Punik of the Pradyota dynasty. Punik was succeeded by Chaṇḍ in 574 B. C. As Punik's reign lasted for

21 years, he must have ascended on the throne in 595 B. C. We do not know how Punik obtained the throne of Avanti, and also whether there was any kinship between the two dynasties. But we know that Vitihotrās were ruling over Avanti when Śiśunāg established his dynasty on the throne of Kāśī in 805 B.C.<sup>47</sup>. Thus the Vitihotra dynasty lasted at least from 804 to 596 B. C. = 208 years.

We do not know much about Punik. He was a pretentious king, and might possibly have been despotic. He was not much respected by his officers. Though he was a follower of the vedic religion, even *Matsya Purāṇa* does not contain any reference about him. From the view point of history his reign is of little importance.

(II) Chaṇḍpradyot : When he ascended the throne, he was in his prime of youth. Hence it is possible that his reign might have lasted for 48 years. He was very proud and a valorous warrior. Youth, mastery over a large kingdom, and skill in fighting, had made him a despot<sup>48</sup>. Possessing varied and powerful implements

(47) See the chronology of the Śiśunāga dynasty in the account of Magadh.

(48) I have attributed this adjective to Chaṇḍ, though some writers have attributed it to Pālak due to mis-understanding. Vide *I. n.*, no. 55 below, for the quotation from J. O. B' R. S.



for war in his army<sup>49</sup> he believed himself to be invincible. Owing to his despotic disposition, jaina writers have given him the name of Chaṇḍ<sup>50</sup>, though his original name was Mahāsen<sup>51</sup>. In history books he is famous as Chaṇḍpradyot<sup>52</sup>.

Blinded by his pride, he committed several thoughtless deeds<sup>53</sup> which stained his reputation. Had it not been so, he would have acquired unblemished and unique fame<sup>54</sup>. We shall quote here only two of his many thoughtless<sup>55</sup> deeds. One of them was the way in

(49) Vide pp. 2 of Bhārhut Stūpa by Cunningham:—"He had four kinds of army; of which there were (1) a Chariot called Opanic drawn by slaves that would go in one day 60 yojanas and return. (2) an elephant called Malgiri (Jaina books call her Analgiri) that would go in one day 100 yojanas and return. (3) A female camel (a mule) called Mudrākeśi that would go in one day 120 yojanas and return and (4) a horse called Telakarṇik that would go the same distance.

If his name were based on etymology, Mahāsenāni (owner of a large army) would be more appropriate than Mahāsen.

(50) Chaṇḍ=fierce; Pra-chaṇḍ=fiercer. Chaṇḍ also means "large". Chaṇḍ had a very large army. As I have already noted before, it is a habit of the jaina writers to give an appropriate name to a king according to his habits and specialities.

(51) Vide pp. 76 of Jaina Sāhitya Lekha Saṁgrah. One of the verses of a jaina psalm is:—

Śāsan nāyak Viraji, prabhu keval pāyo |

Saṅgh chaturvidha sthāpavā Mahāsen van āyo |

Meaning:—"When Mahāvīr obtained Kaivalya Gnān, he came to the forest of Mahāsen to establish a four-fold society of jains"; or "King Mahāsen went to the same forest in which Mahāvīr had gone to establish a four-fold society of jains". I think the first meaning is better.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106:—"Pradyot is called Mahāsen both by Bhās and Bāṇ.

(52) Chaṇḍ + Aśoka = Chaṇḍāśoka; Chaṇḍa + Pradyot = Chaṇḍapadyot. Compare these two words.

(53) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. f. n. no. 144:—"With him rested the decision as to which of the reigning monarchs should be allowed to enjoy the sovereignties". (Do these words not show his pride?).

(54) Cf. this with the word "Narottam" in f. n. no. 55 below.

(55) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106:—"Pālak carried on the traditions of his father. His father (really it ought to be predecessor) is described as



which he behaved in his relations with Udāyin, the king of Sindh Sauvira, which is situated on the western borders of Avanti. The second is his behaviour towards Śatānik, king of Vatsa, which is situated on the northern borders of Avanti. He had to suffer much on both these occasions. As a result of the first episode, he was obliged to wear a gold strip on his forehead, with the words "Mama dāsīpati=the husband of my maid servant", inscribed on it. As a result of the second, he had to be separated for ever from his eight queens. (Though this was a good-turning point for the queens, it made him miserable). We have already narrated the first event in the account of Prabhāvatī, daughter of king Chetāk, in chapter IV. Now shall narrate the other.

We have already stated in the account of king Śatānik in chap. IV, how Chaṇḍ was fascinated by the beauty of Mṛgāvatī, queen of Śatānik, and how king Śatānik died of accident. Chaṇḍ continued to insult Mṛgāvatī, till at last Mahāvīr personally intervened and made the chief queen Śīvā and the other eight, jaina nuns. When Udayan of Vatsa, Mṛgāvatī's son, grew up and heard about Chaṇḍ's disrespectful attitude towards his mother, he punished Chaṇḍ by forcibly carrying away his daughter Vāsava-dattā and secretly marrying her. Thus he was punished twice for his one thoughtless deed.

Upto 561 B. C. when he fought against Udāyin of Sindh, he was a follower of the Tāpasa-religion. But his mind began to incline towards Jainism after the time when Udāyin pardoned him his behaviour at the time of Samvatsari Pratikramaṇa (Annual service of the jains when each jain forgives all people's faults towards him and asks for forgiveness from all). In a short time he became such a staunch jain<sup>56</sup> that Chetāk, king of Vaiśālī, gave him in marriage his daughter Śivādevī in 560

unscrupulous by the Vāyu-purāṇ and by the Matsya-purāṇ as immoral in foreign policy, (the two instances quoted above are enough to show this), although he was, in other ways, fit to be called a great man, (Narottam). In Bauddha books he is described as fierce and cruel".



B. C.<sup>57</sup>. The poet Bhās has called her Vaidehi queen, because her father was the king of Videha<sup>58</sup>.

A great fire had broken out in Ujjain during his reign. This fire was extinguished by Śivādevī with the power of her character. He had conquered many countries by the prowess of his arms, and had made fourteen kings his vassals<sup>59</sup>.

After a long reign of 48 years, he had died on the same night on which Mahāvīr obtained Nirvāṇa in 527 B. C. He was succeeded by Pālak. According to jaina books he was the younger of the two brothers of Chaṇḍ, and had ascended the throne because the elder brother Gopāl had become a jaina monk<sup>60</sup>.

(III) Pālak : His reign must have lasted for seven or seven-and-half years<sup>61</sup>. (527 to 520 B. C.). He ruled for a short time, not because he was very old when he ascended the throne, (he must not have been over 40), but because he was, like his elder brother Chaṇḍ, proud and given to anger. When his deeds began to be unendurable, his subjects with the help of the Nagarsheth (Mayor)<sup>62</sup>, dethroned him and placed his eldest son Dantivardhan on the throne<sup>63</sup>.

(57) Vide the account of Śivā, daughter of Cheṭak, in chapter IV.

(58) "Vide Vāsavadattā by Bhās pp. 68 (Bhās omits this king Pradyot's father's name but mentions his Vaidehi mother)". The above-stated sentence is quoted in J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106 f. n. no. 144. Also Vide f. n. no. 35 above.

(59) Kalpa Sūtra Com. pp. 138.

(60) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 372.

(61) See f. n. no. 34 above.

(62) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106:—"Pālak was a tyrant. The populace headed by the president of the guild-merchant of the capital, deposed him and having brought Gopāl out of the prison, put him on the throne". (Accordingly Gopāl must be said to have succeeded Pālak). I leave it to the reader's judgment as to which of the two versions he might accept as true, mine or Purāṇās.

(63) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 342:—"Once Pālak renounced this world and became a jaina monk, after making Dantivardhan the next king, and proclaiming Rāṣṭravardhan the next heir,



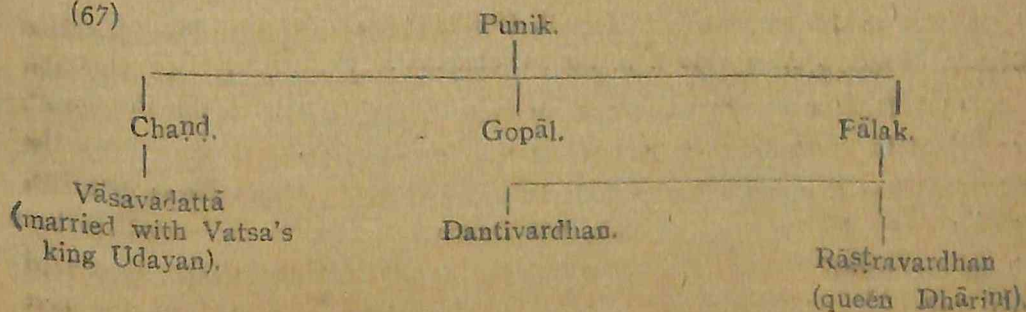
(IV) Dantivardhan<sup>64</sup> : When Dantivardhan, the eldest son of Pālak ascended the throne, his younger brother, Rāstravardhan was proclaimed the next heir to the throne. Dantivardhan ruled for about 20 years<sup>65</sup>. He was as cruel as his father. He was, moreover, a very vicious king. Once he happened to see Dhāriṇī, the beautiful wife of Rāstravardhan, and was fascinated by her beauty. He did all he could to fulfil his desire, but to no purpose. At last he thought that he would not be able to bring Dhāriṇī under his power, unless he murdered his brother. So he got his brother killed.<sup>66</sup> Dhāriṇī though she had been pregnant for last three months, sought safety in flight, leaving her one son behind. She took shelter under Vāsavadattā, queen of Udayan of Vatsa, who was her husband's sister.<sup>67</sup> After some days, finding the world full of misery, she became a jaina nun, though she was to become a mother in a short time. When her preceptress saw signs of pregnancy on her body, she kept her in secrecy. After a short time she gave birth to a son, who was left on the road to the palace of Vatsa royal family. A maid-servant of the palace, passing by the road, heard the baby crying. When she

(64) In one of the scriptural books of jains, the following words are given. "Ujjaiyini-Vanti Vadhdbāṇam" (I take this opportunity to thank Muniśceē Kalyāṇvijayji, a lover of history, for this suggestion.) The question, that we have to decide, is whether this Avantivardhan is identical with Dantivardhan or with his successor Avantisen. At present I have based my belief on Bh. B. V. Trans. pp. 342 given in f. n. no. 63 above.

(65) It is now decided that he ruled for sixteen years. (See the chronology given further).

(66) This incident must have taken place between 505 to 501 B. C.

(67)



(Vāsavadattā and Dhāriṇī were each other's sisters-in-law.)



looked at the baby, she was struck by its handsomeness, and at once brought it before Vāsavadattā, who had no son.<sup>68</sup> The queen was much pleased and began to bring up the child as her own son. When Udayan died in 490 B. C., this boy who was called Maṇi-prabh or Medhavin, was adopted<sup>69</sup> and was made the king of Kauśāmbī.

On this side, when Dhāriṇī left Ujjain, Dantivardhan's viciousness became the talk of the town, and he was obliged to give up his throne<sup>70</sup>. So he became a jaina monk in about 504 B. C. He was succeeded by Avantisen<sup>71</sup> the eldest son of Dhāriṇī and Rāṣṭravardhan. Thus Avantisen and Maṇiprabh were brothers.

(V) Avantisen : He ascended the throne in 504 B. C. His administration satisfied his subjects and there was peace everywhere. After a short time, Maṇiprabh ascended the throne of Vatsa, as Udayan had died. On account of some reason, hitherto unknown, both these kings became enemies of each other. One possible reason might be that Avantisen, having a desire to extend his dominion, might have demanded vassalage or tribute from Maṇiprabh, who might have refused to do so. The other, and more probable reason might be that Vāsavadattā was Avantisen's father's sister, and Avantisen must have thought that, she had no business to adopt an unknown child (because he was not aware that Maṇi-prabh was his younger brother). Consequently Avantisen invaded Kauśāmbī with a large army, and a terrible battle would have taken place, but for the intervention of Dhāriṇī, who summoned both the kings before her

(68) Udayan had a daughter. She was married with Nandivardhan, who, later became the emperor of Magadh (for his life vide the account of the Nanda dynasty). Also vide f. n. no. 54. chap. IV.

(69) This proves that the custom of adopting an heir to the throne was prevalent in those times.

(70) See f. n. no. 62 above. It is stated there that Pālak was dethroned. In jaina books it is not Pālak, but Dantivardhan, who is stated to have been dethroned.

(71) Avantisen is the same son, who was left alone by Dhāriṇī when she sought safety in flight.



and made clear the relationship. Both the brothers embraced each other, and peace was established between them.

Avantisen had no son. Hence a desire arose in his mind to renounce the world. So he made Maṇiprabh the king of Avanti, and himself became a jaina monk. Thus Maṇiprabh became the king of both Vatsa and Avanti in 487 B. C.

(VI) Maṇiprabh or Medhavin : While Maṇiprabh was ruling peacefully over both these countries, great things were happening at Magadh. The king of Magadh, Muṇḍ, was a pleasure-seeker, and hence shut himself up in the harem. Kingdoms under the vassalage of Māgadh, began to become independent. Muṇḍ's commander-in-chief, Nāgdaśak, proclaimed himself the emperor of Magadh, in 472 B. C., and assumed the name of Nandivardhan. He established peace everywhere and became a powerful king. He turned his eye towards Avanti in 467 B. C. There seems to have been no reason for his hostility towards Avanti, but, as he had married Udayan's (of Vatsa) daughter seven years after Udayan's death (484 B. C.) he must have thenceforward begun to believe that he had a prior right to the throne of Vatsa. He could not do anything as long as he was a mere commander-in-chief. But when he became the full-fledged emperor of Magadh, he invaded both Vatsa and Avanti. As a result, Maṇiprabh was killed<sup>72</sup> and both the countries were annexed to the Magadha empire in 467 B. C. Thus ended the Pradyota dynasty.

Below is given a list of the kings of Pradyota dynasty arranged in a chronological order. The reader is requested to compare this

(72) It is clearly stated in jaina books that Avanti was annexed to Magadh because one of the descendants of Pālak died without an heir. (Vide part II chap. 6 of this Vol.) According to Purāṇās, however, the annexation was the result of a war between Nandivardhan and Maṇiprabh.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XIII pp. 240:—The kingdom of Avanti was conquered and annexed to the kingdom of Magadh by Nandivardhan. This is also supported by numismatic evidence (See chapter on coins of Avanti).

I am inclined towards the theory of the last king dying without an heir. I hope to justify the theory in the account of Nandivardhan.



list with the one given in Purāṇās and which is quoted at the beginning of the account of this dynasty in this chapter.

	B. C.	B. C.	No. of years	Before Mahāvīr Era	B.M.E.
(1) Punik	596	575	21	69	48
(2) Mahāsen or Chandpradyot	575	527	48	48	0
(3) Pālak	527	520	7	After M.E.	A.M.E.
				1	7
(4) Dantivardhan <sup>73</sup>	520	501	19	7	26
(5) Avantisen	501	487	14	26	40
(6) Maṇiprabh <sup>74</sup>	487	467	20	46	60
<hr/>					
128-9					

### (15) SINDHU-SAUVIR

**Area:—**The modern Sindh was known as Sindhu in ancient time because the river Indus flows through the country<sup>75</sup>. The

(73) Those kings whose names end with "Vardhan" are classed as vaiśyās (and not kshatriyās) by the historians, who believe that for a king to be a kshatriya, his name should end with "Varman". Thus they have decided to put Harṣavardhan of Kanoj in the vaiśya class. This is a mistake. There are many kings who were decidedly kshatriyās and yet their names ended with "Vardhan". For instance (1) Nandivardhan of the Nanda dynasty (2) Kṣemvardhan of the Śiśunāga dynasty (3) Dantivardhan of Avanti and (4) his brother Rāṣṭravardhan (5) Aśokavardhan of the Maurya dynasty (6) Dharmavardhan or Kuṇāl, Aśoka's son and Priyadarśin's father.

Harṣavardhan must also have been a kshatriya, or, at least one cannot put him among the vaiśyās simply because his name ended with "Vardhan".

(74) If we consider Punik as the founder of the dynasty, in all there would be six kings; there would be five if we consider Chand as the founder or the first king of the dynasty. (See conclusion no. 6 on pp. 198).

(75) J. I. H. Q. Vol. XII (Prof. Sten Know) pp. 18:—Sindu deśa was often identified with the country to the west of Indus". If this is true, it means that the country to the west of the Indus was Sauvir. Hence a city situated on the west of the Indus might naturally have been the capital of Sindhu. Vittabhaya-paṭṭaṇ was on the west coast of the Indus. Cf. this with the description of Mohan-jā-dero and Vittabhaya-paṭṭaṇ given further.



eastern portion was known as Sauvir. As both the countries were under the rule of one king, they were jointly called Sindhu-Sauvir.

Different opinions are held with regard to the boundaries of Sauvir. When Hu-en-Chāng visited India in the 7th century A. D. Sauvir consisted of the modern states of Jodhpur and Sirohī. But in the 6th century B. C. Sauvir included within its boundaries those districts which were called Sindh, Sauvir, Gujjar, Attali, and Madhya Deśa by Hu-en-Chāng<sup>76</sup>. Thus Sindhu-Sauvir was the largest kingdom in Western India<sup>77</sup>. Its area was four or five times as much as that of the kingdom of Magadh in the east. According to one historian<sup>78</sup> ten great kings were under the vassalage of the king of Sindhu-Sauvir, and one of them was Chand of Avanti, under whose vassalage were other fourteen kings<sup>79</sup>.

Below, I have given some of the different opinions held about the boundary and the capital of Sauvir. First we shall take up the boundary.

(1) One writer is of the opinion<sup>80</sup> that according to Sir Cunningham the modern Idar was included in Sauvir. Idar is known as Vadāri<sup>81</sup> in bauddha literature, and Sophir in Bible.

(76) See map on pp. 53.

(77) The king of Sindhu was very powerful. The emperor of Persia had requested him to help him in establishing his own kingdom. They had become friends of each other.

C. H. I. pp. 330;—An embassy was sent to Cyrus by an Indian king : (Ibid pp. 22). Cyrus the Great carried on campaigns with Indian borders through east of Irān : (Ibid pp. 330). It is doubtful whether he attained suzerainty over the Indian frontier itself.

In short, Cyrus's efforts to conquer any part either of Kamboj of Pulusāki in the north, or of Sindhu Sauvir in the south were quite unsuccessful.

(78) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Samgrah. pp. 78. For details see further in this volume.

(79) See f. n. no. 59 above and original matter connected with it; also Kalpasūtra Com. pp. 138.

(80) Dey's A. I. pp. 81 (The word Mahābhārat).

(81) See f. n. no. 92 below.



(2) Sauvīr was that region which was situated between the Indus and the Zelum<sup>82</sup>.

(3) Sauvīr was situated in the N. E. of Cuchchha and its capital was Roruk-Rorav<sup>83</sup>.

(4) Sauvīr was one of the districts of Sindh<sup>84</sup>.

(5) Sauvīr consisted of a region somewhere in the east of the Indus. It might possibly have been in the N. E. of Cuchchha and Kāthiāwār<sup>85</sup>. There was a small country named Daśārṇa<sup>86</sup> on the west of Sauvīr. Daśārṇa derived its name from the ten small rivers that were flowing through it. (It is possible that it might have included within its boundaries the modern districts of Bhāvalpur, Jesalmir, Sukker and Thar-pārkar).

(6) The region between the Indus and Zelum consisted of two countries named Āyuddha and Sauvīr in ancient times<sup>87</sup>.

(7) The delta near the mouth of the Indus was a part of the country of Sauvīr. Its capital was Pātal, and it was founded by the Greek emperor Alexānder.

Different opinions are also held about the capital of Sauvīr.

(82) Ibid pp. 81.

(83) B. I. pp. 320 for the map.

(84) Dr. Bhagvānlal Inderji (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927. Vol. III Pt. II) says on the authority of Patañjali as follows:—

"Sauvirā Dattāmitrī-nagarī" (Dattamitri was a city in Sauvīr).

(85) Purātattava Vol. I pp. 2 and further.

(86) This means a tract of land between the Indus and the Hāla mountains.

For another Daśārṇa vide the account of Avanti. Chap. VI. f. n. no. 81 (and quotations from Purātattava Vol. I. pp. 52 on it) also f. n. no. 85 of Chapter V. and the matter connected with it.

Some authors put ten confluent rivers on either side of the parent Indus. Any how, if the word Daśārṇa has its derivative origin from the number 10, it must designate several such regions in different parts of India, where either there are 10 rivers or somethings.

(87) Dey's A. I. pp. 75. See the description of the delta of the Indus.



According to jaina books its capital was Vittabhayapattana<sup>88</sup>. According to bauddha books it was Roruk or Rorav. (Different bauddha books have still different names). It is said there that it was situated somewhere on the common border between the desert of Cuchchha and Rājputānā. They have based this belief on the following account:—When the Scythians or the Śakās invaded Mālvā, they, after passing through Sindh, came to the mouth of the Indus, and desiring to avoid crossing through the desert of Jesalmir, entered Cuchchha through the gulf of Cuchchha; or they might have made their entry in Sauvira by travelling from the delta of the Indus, on the coast of Cuchchha, and then passing by this Roruk<sup>89</sup>. Thus they have imagined this Roruk, a city on the coast of Cuchchha, to have been the capital of Sauvira. Whether this was only a port or whether it was really the capital is open to doubt. Then these Śakās passed through the region named Vadhiār<sup>90</sup> in Gujarāt, and then they went to Mālvā after passing through a passage<sup>91</sup> of the Arvalli hills<sup>92</sup> near Idar.

Personally, I am inclined to believe that both Sindhu and Sauvira were under the power of one king. But they must have been inhabited by people with different civilizations. The capital of Sindh must have been Vittabhayapattana, and the capital of

(88) Purātattva Vol. I. pp. 282.

(89) It is the region which is situated near the ruins of Zinzuvādā and Moderā on the west of the desert of Cuchchha.

(90) Rādhanpur is the capital of this Vadhiār region. The bulls of this place are famous and are said to be of a very high pedigree. Communications between Mālvā and Gujarāt must have been conducted through Idar at that time. At present, however, the city which is on the common border line of these two countries is known as Dohad. See f. n. no. 92 below.

(91) In Mahābhārat this hill is considered to be a part of the Vindhya mountains, and its name was Pārāpātra.

(92) Cf. this with theory No. I., about the boundaries of Sauvira, where Sir Cunningham has said that Idar was known as Vadāri in bauddha books. Possibly this Vadāri and Vadhiār might have been identical. At present there is a village named Vadāli near Idar. See f. n. no. 90 above.



Some information about the king of Sauvīr, and his dynasty Chapter

Sauvir, as many experts believe, must have been Roruk<sup>93</sup> situated in Cuchchha. Thus they were two different countries with their own capitals<sup>94</sup>. (The same condition prevailed in the case of Kamboj and Gāndhār, and their capitals: see chap. IV).

We know something about the kings—and their dynasties—of Magadh in the east, of Vatsa, Aṅga, and Avanti in the central India and of Kōśal in the north. But little is known about the kings of Kamboj and Sindh-Sauvir. We know something about the king of Sindhu-Sauvir who ruled over it at the time with which we are concerned.

Some information  
about the king of  
Sauvir, and his  
dynasty

This king's name was Udāyin. We do not know anything about his parents, and his family. His queen was Prabhāvatī, the daughter of king Chetāk. She was married with him in about 584 B. C., and she had given birth to a son. (Whose account will be given later on). Coming to know that her end was near, she became a jaina nun in 574 B. C., and died within a short time.

Udāyin was born in 600 B. C. It is said about Gautam Buddha that on the day on which he was born (600 B. C.) 6 other persons were born<sup>95</sup>, and one of them was Udāyin. He must have come to the throne in about 584 B. C. He was a just king and he spread peace everywhere. He ruled ably and peacefully for a long time, and he was a powerful king. During his time the emperor of Persiā was Cyrus, who, many a time, had invaded Udāyin's kingdom, with a view to conquer some of the bordering territories. But his efforts were unsuccessful, and, at last, friendly relations were established between the two kings. Ambassadors were sent to each other's court<sup>96</sup>. When Udāyin gave up the

(93) Can Roruk have any connection with the modern Rohri (a town in Sindh)? (See f. n. no. 122 below).

(94) See further, and f. n. no. 119 below.

(95) C. H. I. pp. 188, (states on the authority of Prof. R. Davis's Buddhist birth stories; note on pp. 68) "For instance there is an early list of the seven co-natals—persons born on the same day as Buddha.

(96) See f. n. no. 77 above.



throne, and his nephew succeeded him, Sindh was annexed to the Persian empire by the Persian emperor Darius<sup>97</sup>.

We know that he had defeated and brought under his vassalage powerful kings like Chanḍpradyot of Avanti, and many others. One writer has properly said<sup>98</sup>, "King Udāyin was the master of 16 countries<sup>99</sup> like Sindhu-Sauvir, of 363 cities including Vṛttabhayapattana, of Ākar<sup>100</sup> (Mine), of Mahāsen<sup>101</sup> of 8 to 10 other kings, and of innumerable police-officers, millionaires and caravans".

Thus Udāyin was the greatest emperor of his time. Before he ascended the throne he was a follower of the Tāpasa-religion; but then, he had become a follower of Jainism<sup>102</sup>. In about 584 or a year or two after that, he had married Prabhāvatī, and had got a large jaina temple built in his capital for worship, and having performed the ceremony of Añjansālākā, had placed many jaina idols in it. One of the idols was that which they had got mysteriously from gods<sup>103</sup>. Once when both the king and the queen were dancing before this idol after worshipping it, the king, in

(97) In C. H. I. pp. 337 (while giving the account of Darius of Persiā, it is stated) "that part of the Indian territory towards the rising sun is full of sand". (Rising sun=east of Persiā=west of India. Thus Sindhu deśa was on the west of India). "The eastern part is a desert on account of sand". (See further for how a desert was formed on this part).

(98) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṁgrah pp. 76 and f. n. nos. 87 and 88 and matter connected with it.

(99) Janpad=a large country.

(100) Ākar=a mine, this seems to be the meaning of the author; but looking to the context of the sentence quoted, Ākar seems to be the name of a country, the king of which must have been a vassal to Udāyin. In the inscription on the lake Sudarśana is mentioned a country named "Ākarāvanti". Does it refer to this "Ākar"? Vide chap. VI. f. n. no. 81 and the matter connected with it.

(101) See the list of the Pradyota dynasty in the preceding pages and f. n. nos. 49, 50, 51 and the matter connected with it in this chapter.

(102) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṁgrah pp. 76.

(103) Vide Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 182-83 for details.



Some more information about the king of Sauvīr, and his dynasty Chapter

whose hand there was a harp, saw the queen dancing without a head on her shoulders. At this sight the king fainted. When he recovered he told the queen what he had seen. The queen foresaw that her death was near, and wanted to become a jaina nun. He agreed to it on condition, that if she became a goddess after her death, she must show herself to him in times of calamity and guide him properly. The queen promised to do so, and how she kept her promise is already described in chapter IV in her account.

After his separation from the queen, he continued to reign for several years, but his interest in the world was over. Once Mahāvīr came to Sindh<sup>104</sup>, and he became a jaina monk under him<sup>105</sup>, in about 546 B. C. Instead of placing his son Keśav<sup>106</sup> on the vacant throne, he placed his nephew Keśikumār on the throne, because he believed that a person who became a king had to commit many sins and ultimately be condemned to hell; and he did not want his son to go to hell. His ministers accepted his nephew<sup>107</sup> as the king. Udāyin went on his way on foot to preach and spread Jainism.

This nephew reigned for nearly 10 years. But during that

(104) It is a belief among almost all the jains that Mahāvīr had travelled only in Magadh, Kāśī, Kośal and Kauśāmbī. The fact stated above proves that the belief is wrong.

(105) About this Udāyin, it is stated in jaina books that he was the last king who had become a Rājārṣi (a jaina monk). (Vide pp. 44 Bharateśvar B. V. Translation). Here the word "Rājārṣi" must not have been used in the sense of only a king turning into a monk, because after him Chandragupta Maurya had also become a monk. It must have meant the king-monk who had obtained Kaivalya Gnān, because before him and not after him, Karkaṇḍu of Kaling, and Prasannachandra of Potanpur had obtained Kaivalya Gnān, after becoming a jaina monk; Muniśree Nyāya-vijayji is inclined to believe, that last "Rājārṣi" means the last king whom Mahāvīr himself had turned into a jaina monk.

(106) He had a son. Vide the previous page.

(107) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 44 "His son Keśav ascended the throne after him". I think this is a mistake, because in the same book on pp. 184, it is stated that his nephew ascended the throne.



time the people were miserable because he was a tyrant. Hearing this Udāyin, now a jaina monk, desiring to convert his nephew to the right path, came to Sindh, in order to preach him. When his nephew knew this, he thought Udāyin, now repenting of giving up the throne to him, had come to regain it from him<sup>108</sup>. Udāyin's body by this time had become very weak on account of observing severe penance, and he required curd-milk to quench his thirst so often. So his nephew sent him curd-mixed with poison, in order to kill him. But supernatural deity became aware of this, and by his power purified the curd-milk of the poison. This incident must have taken place in 537 B. C.

We have said in the account of Prabhāvatī that she had become a goddess after her death. She had prevented her husband from bringing back from Avanti to Sauvīr, that famous ancient idol, because she had predicted that, this city was to be buried underground within a short time. We have also seen how

Keśi unsuccessfully tried to poison Udāyin, and how Udāyin was saved by a supernatural deity. This deity was very angry with Keśi on account of his tyrannical deeds. When Udāyin, and his nurse, who was a potter, went away from the city, the deity caused a cyclone of sand on the city. There were heavy showers of sand<sup>109</sup> on a very large area, and a large portion of the country was buried under the sand for ever. That region is now known as the desert of Jesalmir and Thurpārkar<sup>110</sup>. When we look at the desert even now, we get some idea of the havoc that must have been caused on the country as a result of supernatural anger<sup>111</sup>. This took

(108) The prime-minister of Keśi was of the same opinion. So he might have instigated the king to murder Udāyin.

(109) According to Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 183, this incident had taken place some years after the death of Udāyin, i. e. about 520 B. C. If we believe that it took place immediately after the poisoning incident, it must have happened in 534 B. C.

(110) Cf. f. n. nos. 112 and 113 below.

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



place in 534 B. C. Ten small rivers like the Mihraj, Hakrā, Vahind and others<sup>112</sup> that flowed here, were buried altogether. The flow of large rivers like the Sarasvatī was buried wherever the water was shallow, and continued where the water was deep. So we see the rivers to-day without both the source and the mouth<sup>113</sup>. Some rivers changed their courses, and at some places sand surrounded water on all sides turning it into a lake. At other places marshy regions were formed<sup>114</sup>.

Some scholars believe that the peninsula of Kāthiāwār<sup>115</sup> was an island<sup>116</sup> in ancient times; and that it was turned into its present shape due to some natural change, such as described above. Now it will be clear to them that Kāthiāwār was never an island. On the contrary the narrow border line was in the 6th century B. C. a broad region thickly populated, and was known as Sindhu Sauvīr.

Now we know how the desert of Jesalmir came into being.

(112) It is said that seven rivers flowed into the Indus from the east, and they were co-jointly called Sapta-Sindhu. At present there are only five (the Sutlaj, the Zelum, the Rāvi, the Chināb, and the Indus). We do not know the names of the other two. They must have been buried by the showers of sand. Some writers believed that ten rivers flowed there.

(113) Now the reader will understand the cause of the broken flow of the Sarasvatī, which is mentioned in Mahābhārat.

(114) I suppose that this must have been the origin of the northern region of the desert of Cuchchha which is known as "Marshy tract of land".

(115) This is described in Vol. X of J. R. A. S. I have given its substance in f. n. no. 116.

(116) "The points of the gulf of Cambay on the east and of the gulf of Cuchchha on the north, advance further and further and at last merged into each other, thus making Kāthiāwār an island. The land that now makes it a peninsula was the result of a subsequent upheaval. Some scholars have based their belief on this. But the origin of the desert of Jesalmir, stated above, leads us to believe that the desert of Cuchchha must have become broader in area at that time. Again it is stated in the jaina books that Mt. Śatruñjaya in Kāthiāwār is an eternal place of pilgrimage, and could be travelled to on foot. This makes it impossible the Kāthiāwār was ever an island.



We can also affirm that the ruins of the places which are described in Mr. Henry Cousen's "The Antiquities of Sind", represent these buried portions of Sindhu-Sauvir<sup>117</sup>. Again as Udāyin was a jain, the ruins of many temples now found by Mr. Cousens, represent jaina temples<sup>118</sup>. The ruins of the famous Mohan-jā-dero must have some connection with Sindhu-Sauvir and its destruction by sand.

We have seen how Sauvir was destroyed. Let us now turn our attention to Sindh<sup>119</sup>. We have stated above that several rivers had changed their courses on account of the showers of sand. We know that the capital of Sindh was Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ<sup>120</sup> and it must have been a large city, it being the capital of the most powerful emperor of that time. It must also have been a great trade-centre. Pātliputra the capital of Magadh, was a flourishing trade-centre because it was situated on the Ganges, which facilitated communication and commerce. Similarly, Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ must have been a large flourishing trade-centre on the banks of the river Indus. This large city must have been buried by the showers of sand as described above, and the river Indus must have changed its course either towards further east or to the west of the city, or it must have flowed through the midst of the ruins of the city. If we turn our eyes to the course of the Indus, now between Sukker<sup>121</sup> and Rori<sup>122</sup> or Rohri, do we not

(117) "The Antiquities of Sind" by Henry Cousens. M. R. A. published in A. D. 1929 by the Government of India.

(118) This whole region consisted of the temples and religious places of a particular religion. Another such instance is Bennā-kāṭak (Vide chapter VI).

Over Sindhu-Sauvir ruled the most powerful monarch of the time, Udāyin and he was a jain. Over Bennā-kāṭak ruled Khārvel, another jaina emperor.

(119) Cf. this with my belief of both Sindhu and Sauvir having different capitals, stated above.

(120) In those times only a large city had the ending "Paṭṭaṇ". Compare the area and the description of this city with those of other cities of those times (Pātliputra of Magadh, and Sāñchipurī of Avanti).

(121) Mr. Nāthālāl Chhaganlāl Shāh has devoted his heart and soul to the study of the antiquity of jaina places of pilgrimage, and he is getting a book printed on the subject. He has written to me that he had read somewhere (he does not remember where) that Sukker was a jaina centre of pilgrimage. Cf. f. no. 124 below.



get the idea, that there the river is flowing over the ruins of some ancient city? Do not the neighbouring town of Lārkhānā and the village of Mohan-jā-dero suggest the heart of Vīṭṭabhayapaṭṭaṇ? Do not the majestic remnants of Mohan-jā-dero suggest a large city like Vīṭṭabhayapaṭṭaṇ? I believe that Mohan-jā-dero represents the ruins of Vīṭṭabhayapaṭṭaṇ<sup>123</sup>, which was destroyed in about 534 B. C. After searching examinations of the present ruins of Mohan-jā-dero, scholars have come to the conclusion, that they are as old as 2,000 or 3,000 B. C. We know that in the 6th century B. C. it was a flourishing and large city, and it might possibly have been so, for many many centuries before that time, say for 2,000 years. So the ruins can be said as old as 2,000 to 3,000 B. C., without any objection. Again, it is possible that the ruins of the temples now found around it, must be representing the old, majestic jaina temples. Its area<sup>124</sup> must have been twenty miles by seven to eight miles. The ruins of Mohan-jā-dero are spread over that much area.

With the death of Udāyin's nephew Keśi, his dynasty ended. The Persian emperor Cyrus or Darius must have annexed the country to his own empire. The annexation must have taken place either in 531-30 B. C. during the time of Cyrus, which is more probable<sup>125</sup>, or in 520 B. C. during the reign of Darius.

Other events in the life of Udāyin are of religious importance,

(122) According to bauddha books, the capital of Sindh was Roruk-Roruv. Can it not have any connection with the modern Rohri?

(123) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah pp. 76. "There was a great city (? or Udyān=a garden) named Mṛgavan (It reminds us of the Mṛgavan of Śravasthī) to the N. E. of this city". (Will this be of any use as a hint to the archeological department in fixing the site of the old capital?).

(124) Cf. f. n. no. 121 above, about Sukker. Compare the area of Vīṭṭabhayapaṭṭaṇ with that of the modern cities like Bombay, Calcuttā, Paris, Berlin, London and others.

(125) In the beginning pages of this volume, I have explained how God Time exerts his influence on men and countries. B. C. 523 was the year of crisis-i. e. intervening period between the two Udayās. God Time exerts his influence even on nature, and this is an instance of it.



and we shall not bother the reader with their narration. We shall close his account after giving the chief dates of his life and those of Prabhāvati's.

	Udāyin		Prabhāvati	
	Year	Age	Year	Age
(1) Birth	B. C. 600—0		B. C. 594—0	
(2) Marriage	„	580-20	„	580-14
(3) Coronation	„	580-20	„	580-14
(4) Birth of Prince Keśav	„	575-25	„	575-19
(5) Invansion over Avanti	„	561-39		
(6) Renounced the world	„	546-54	„	569-25
(7) Destruction of Vittabhayapattan	„	535-65		
(8) Death		Not settled	„	567-27

#### (16) SAURĀṢṬRA AND THE REMAINIG COUNTRIES.

Of the twenty-five countries, the names of which are given at the beginning of Chapter III, we have already given the account of fifteen. Out of these fifteen, fourteen were considered as Ārya (civilized) countries; but as the remaining country of Āndhra had also become gradually civilized, and as one of its rulers was very powerful and famous, we have given its account as an Ārya (civilized country).

Of the remaining ten countries, Lāt, Vatsa, Cuchchha, and Saurāṣṭra were always considered as Ārya, and deserve separate accounts; but we have not done so, because (1) the accounts of the kings who ruled over them, are already given in the short accounts of those countries, (2) no one single dynasty ruled over any of them. The other six Nepāl, Kāmrup, Cholā, Pāndya, Aparānt and Mahārāṣṭra—though they were considered to be Ārya countries later on, yet the same conditions as to rulers, prevailed in them as in the first four countries. Hence no separate accounts are given of them. Out of these ten, only one deserves slight individual notice, which is taken below.



We had some information about the fifteen countries, the accounts of which are already given, but nothing is known about this country. Its name is even seldom mentioned anywhere. While small countries like Videha, Kōśala, and Vatsa are written about, nothing is written about this country which is larger than they are in area. One reason of this might be, that this country might have been always under the rule of any of the two neighbouring larger countries, namely, Sindhu-Sauvir and Avanti, we do not know under whose rule Saurāṣṭra was, but it is more possible that it might have been under the rule of Avanti. Later on, when Avanti became a part of the Magadha empire, Saurāṣṭra also must have been annexed to it<sup>126</sup>.

Thus we have given necessary accounts of the sixteen kingdoms of the 6th century B. C. Of these, three of four flourished very much in every way, and so I have given a detailed account about them in the second part of this volume. With them, I have also given the account of Āndhra, though no historian has hitherto paid any notice to it, because it was in the south, and was considered Anārya (uncivilized).

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(126) The inscription near lake Sudarśan makes it clear that this country was under the rule of the Mauryās from 372 to 356 B. C. (Chandragupta). We do not know when it first came under the rule of Magadh.





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## Part 2



## PART 2

### MAGADH EMPIRE

#### (A) Śīsunāga dynasty and (B) Nanda dynasty

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##### (A) Śīsunāga dynasty

- |             |                         |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| I Chapter   | (1) Śreṇik (Bimbisār)   |
| II Chapter  | Śreṇik (Continued)      |
| III Chapter | (2) Ajātsātru           |
|             | (3) Udayaśva            |
|             | (4) Anurudhdha and Muṇḍ |
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##### (B) Nanda dynasty (Nāga dynasty)

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| IV Chapter | (5) Nand I Nandivardhan  |
|            | (6) Nand II Mahāpadma  |
| V Chapter  | (7) Nand III to Nand VIII<br>(6 kings)   |
|            | (8) Nand IX, Mahānand  |
| VI Chapter | Conquests and defeats made by<br>the countries under the rules of all<br>these kings |
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## Chapter I

### (A) Śīsunāga dynasty : Great Nāga dynasty

**Synopsis:**—Relation between Śīsunāg and Magadh—Relation between Br̥hadrath and Śīsunāg—Chronology of the Śīsunāga dynasty and discussion about it—Accounts of the first five kings out of ten—Pride of family existing among the kings of Kśāl and Magadh and its result—How king Bimbisār became king though he was the youngest among his brothers—Tests to which he was submitted by his father—His going to a foreign country and his progress—His marriage with his first queen Sunandā—Significance of Tejanturi—Coronation of Bimbisār—How his eldest son Abhaya-kumār became the prime-minister of Magadh at the age of eleven after passing through the severest test—Bimbisār's life and rule—What Nature did during the time of his rule—Birth of four great men—Religions accepted and rejected by Bimbisār, his acquaintance with Gautam Buddha—Relation between the present and the future lives of Bimbisār—Significance of the year 558 B. C.—Some wonderful events that took place at the time of his marriage with Chillanā.



In the account of Kāśī Deśa we have seen that king Aśvasen of the Br̥hadratha dynasty ruled over it in the 8th century B. C. He was the father of Pārśvanāth, Śiśunāga dynasty the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkar of the jains. Pārśvanāth had become a jaina monk during the life-time of his father. After the death of Aśvasen, a kshatriya named Śiśunāg sat on the vacant throne. Hence the name of his dynasty.

In the account of Kāśī, we have raised two questions, (1) Did Śiśunāg come to the throne immediately after the death of Aśvasen, or after some time ? (2) Was Śiśunāg in any way related to the Br̥hadratha dynasty ? We shall try to answer these questions here.

The kings of Śiśunāga dynasty were originally the kings of Kāśī. Later on they were invited to take up the reins of the Magadha empire, and they had earned the fame as emperors of Magadh. So we have thought it proper to give their accounts under the heading of the Magadha empire.

As with the kings of other countries, so with the kings of Kāśī, we do not know the date or year in which the first king sat on the throne. We might draw conclusions from information furnished to us from certain sources. In Matsya-purāṇ it is stated that the whole Śiśunāga dynasty lasted for 333 years<sup>1</sup>; and that there had been ten kings in the line.

Again Nanda dynasty began immediately after the end of this dynasty. The Nanda dynasty lasted for 100 years, after which Chandragupta Maurya<sup>2</sup> became the emperor of Magadh. We have proved in the last Chapter of part I, that Chandragupta Maurya became the emperor of Magadh in 372 B. C. or A. M. E. 155. Calculating backwards we come to the conclusion that Śiśunāga dynasty began in 805 B. C. We do not know when Aśvasen, the last king of the Br̥hadratha dynasty, died. Now we have already proved in Chapter IV, Part I, that Pārśvanāth became a

(1) In some books the number of years is 225.

(2) I. A. Vol. 32 pp. 229.



## Chronological list of the Śiśunāga dynasty

jaina monk in 847 B. C. and obtained Nīrvāṇ in 777 B. C. Thus he had become a monk 42 years before the beginning of the Śiśunāga dynasty, and died 28 years after its beginning. Hence Aśvasen might have died any time within or at the end of these 42 years, and that is the interval between the death of Aśvasen and the ascending to the throne of Śiśunāg.

There is no possibility of any relation between them, because their families were different. The Brhadrathās were Ikṣavāku kshatriyās, while Śiśunāgās were Lichchhvi-Saṃvriji<sup>3</sup>. Again there were wars between the king of Kośal and Śiśunāg, about as to whose family was higher, and king of Kośal was an Ikṣavāku kshatriya.

We know that Śiśunāga dynasty lasted for 333 years, and that there were 10 kings in it. Both jaina and bauddha books agree that Śreṇik was the contemporary of Mahāvīr. After Śreṇik, there were four descendants, thus making a total of five<sup>4</sup>, and these five together ruled for 108 years<sup>5</sup>. So five kings must have preceded Śreṇik and they must have together ruled for  $333-108=225$  years.

Mr. Vincent Smith, on the authority of the Purāṇās, gives us names of the first four kings and number of years for which every one ruled<sup>6</sup>. Mr. Pārgiter, after much research, says that they ruled for 10 more years i. e. for 136 years and not for 126 as

(3) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 76 :—"The Pāli writers relate that the Śiśunāgās belonged to the family of Vaiśālī (Lichchhavis). (Ibid pp. 41). Tārānāth says the same of Nandin (Kālāsoka)".

This means that both the Śiśunāgās and the Nandās belonged to the same family of kshatriyās.

(4) See further for the period of rule of every king.

(5) Vide Chapter VII, Part I, the para with the heading "Kings of Avanti for five hundred years".

(6) Vide E. H. I. 4th. ed. pp. 51.



Mr. Smith says<sup>7</sup>. Mr. Smith's list is as follows:—

(1) Śiśunāg	40
(2) Kākvarṇa	26
(3) Kśemvardhan	36
(4) Kśemrāj	24
	—
	126

Whencefore we see that there is a difference of 100 years, because we have just calculated that the first five kings ruled for 226 years. This must have been due to either the slip of the pen by the scribe, or due to his wilfully changing the number from 226 to 126. I believe that they must have ruled for 226 years for the following reasons.

At present the average of every king's rule in a dynasty is counted to 25 to 30 years, and thus four kings must have been dead and gone within 120 years. But here we are not concerned with modern conditions and modern times. We are dealing with times when several kings (for instance of Kośal, Vatsa & Aṅga) have ruled consecutively, every one for double the modern average. The chronology of the kings of Vatsa furnishes us with a good instance. Its first five kings ruled for 225 years. Similarly we should have no reason to hesitate in accepting 225 years as the period of rule of the first five kings of Śiśunāga dynasty. We can give some evidence to support it. Mahāvīr is calculated to have lived nearly 250 years after Pārśvanāth. The fifth monk in order from Pārśvanāth was Keśimuni, who was a contemporary of Mahāvīr; who in turn is a contemporary of Śreṇik. Keśimuni is stated to have been the religious preceptor of king Prasenjit of Kośal. Thus Mahāvīr, Śreṇik, Keśi, and Prasenjit are all contemporaries. Now Pārśvanāth was alive when Śiśunāg came to the throne. Thus there was an interval of nearly 250 years between the ascension of Śiśunāg

(7) Vide Pārgiter's "Dynastic List of the Kali Ages".

(8) We should not here forget that this time was the fourth Ārā of Avasarpitī. Here five kings have together ruled for 225 years only. If we go still backwards, when the lives were longer, kings will be found who have reigned for still longer periods.



# Chronological list of the Śiśunāga dynasty

and death of the fifth king. Again every one of these five jaina monks might have been contemporaries of these first five kings.

In the list given above, names of only four kings are given. Who was the fifth and how long did he rule? In jaina books it is clearly stated that Śreṇik came to the throne of Magadh immediately after the death of his father, Prasenjit. Hence the fifth king must have been Prasenjit.

Śreṇik came to the throne in 580 B. C.,<sup>9</sup> and Śiśunāga dynasty began in 805 B. C. Now we shall try to fix the period of rule of every king, keeping in mind the following two rules:—  
(1) No two consecutive kings could have ruled each for a long period (2) The first king must have ruled for longer periods because their lives must have been longer. (see f. n. no. 8 below). Now all the authors of the books in which the names of these kings are given, agree that the period of rule of the second and the fourth king, was for each 36 years. So we have to arrange the periods of rule of the first, third, and the fifth kings. Keeping in mind the list of the kings of Kośal, we may assign 60 years to the first, 50 years to the second, and the remaining 43 years to the third. So the whole list is now given below<sup>10</sup>.

	B.C.	to	B.C.	Years	B.M.E.	to	B.M.E.
(1) Śiśunāg	805	„	745	60	278	„	218
(2) Kākvarṇa	745	„	709	36	218	„	182
(3) Kśemvardhan	709	„	659	50	182	„	132
(4) Kśemjit	659	„	623	36	132	„	96
(5) Prasenjit	623	„	580	43	96	„	53
				<u>225</u>			

(9) The Maurya dynasty was founded in 372 B. C. The Nanda dynasty was founded in 472 B. C.; Śreṇik and his descendants together ruled for 108 years. Counting backwards it would be 580 B. C.

(10) "Bhārat no Prācīn Rājvaṃśa" Vol. II pp. 19, and the previous pages give us to understand as follows:—

(1) Śiśunāg 40

(2) Śākvarṇa (In Vāyupurāṇa it is Śakvarṇa)

(3) Kśemdharmā (or Kśemvarma or Kśemkarma 36; In Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍ Purāṇas he is assigned 20 years).

(4) Kśatroja (Kśetragna) 36 (In Matsya it is Kśemjit or Kśemārya=40 and Kśemvit=24).



The chronology of the next five kings (which we have to prove later on) is as follows:—<sup>11</sup>.

(6) Bimbisār or Śrenik	580	„	528	51½	53	„	2 A.M.E.
(7) Ajātsatru or Kuṇik	528	„	496	32½	2	„	31 A.M.E.
(8) Udayan-bhat	496	„	480	16	31	„	47
(9) Anurudhdha and Maṇḍ	480	„	472	8	47	„	55

$$108+225=333$$

(1 to 5) We know little about these first five kings. The first king Śiśunāg had first ascended the throne of Kāśī. The neighbouring king of Kośal, Vritta<sup>12</sup> belonged to the Ikṣavāku family like Aśvasen the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty. So he believed that he had the prior right to the throne of Kāśī which was now occupied by Śiśunāg. So there were wars between these two kings, but Vritta was unsuccessful because he was old and inferior in the art of war to Śiśunāg. After some time Śiśunāg was invited<sup>13</sup> to rule over Magadh by Malla kshatriyās to which family he belonged. He placed his son Kākvarṇa on the throne of Kāśī, and himself went to Magadh. The king of Kośal saw this opportunity. Kākvarṇa was a weak king. Vritta invaded Kāśī of Kākvarṇa, and annexed it to his own kingdom. When Śiśunāg heard this, he was furious, and after a great war against the king of Kośal, he regained Kāśī under his rule. Thus he ruled over two countries, Kāśī and Magadh. This indicates that Śiśunāg must have been a powerful and valorous king. After his

(11) Vide the same para as indicated in f. n. no. 5 above.

(12) See the list of names given in Chapter IV. Part I, in the para entitled "Other names besides Prasenjit".

(13) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 76 and 70 f. n. no. 16 "Śiśunāg is not alleged to have come by force to Magadh on the extinction of the Brhadrathās. The Kāśī sovereigns belonged to a proud house and it is very likely that the reigning king was invited by the Magadha people to fill in the vacant throne".



death his son Kākvarṇa became the king of Kāśī and Magadh. He was not so powerful as his father<sup>14</sup>; so Kāśī was again under the rule of the king of Kośal. We do not know anything else about him. A writer, in the authority of Harsacharit, says that he was murdered by somebody while entering a certain city. We know nothing about the third and the fourth kings, Kśemvardhan, and Kśemjit. We know something about the fifth king Prasenjit; but it would be better to state it in the account of Śreṇik, because it is more concerned with him. It would be sufficient here to know that the capital of Magadh at this time was Kuśāgrapur<sup>16</sup>. The houses and the palaces in it were built of wood, because there were dense forests in those times and wood was cheap. Again those people were twice as tall as we are, and hence required taller houses; the people also found it less expensive and more convenient to have wooden houses. But because of wood, fire broke out very often<sup>17</sup>. The king, Prasenjit, in order to remove this difficulty, left this city and got a large palace built on the heights of mount Vaibhārgiri, which was near Kuśāgrapur, and named the place Girivraj<sup>18</sup> because it was on the top of a mountain, and made it his capital. But as this new capital was on a mountain, people found it very difficult to trade and have other communications with the other cities. Consequently Śreṇik built another city named Rājgrhī<sup>19</sup> at the foot of the same mountain and made

(14) H. H. pp. 497 : Kākavarṇa was dark in complexion and not heroic like his father. It appears that the king of Śrāvastī wrested Benāres from his hands.

(15) "Bhārat no Prācīn Rājvaṃśa". Vol. II pp. 19 and further.

(16) Vide pp. 44 of "Mahān (great) Saṃprati".

(17) Cf. this with the condition of Ujjaini described in Chapter VI Part I.

(18) C. H. I. Vol. I. pp. 310;—Fortress on the hill at the foot of which the old capital of Magadh, Rājgrīha grew up.

(19) See further for details. It has two meanings:—(1) Mount of the kingdom of Rājgiri (2) The mount on which is situated the capital of the kingdom.

The better word is Rājgrīha=the palace in which there is the king's palace, and the king's palace is generally in his capital.



it his capital. The ruins of Rājgrhī at present give us some idea of the original grandeur of the capital of the Magadha Empire. Both in jaina and bauddha books Rājgrhī is referred to, very often.

(6) Śreṇik : Bimbisār:—(How he came to the throne, though he was younger than some of his brothers).

It is said that Prasenjit had many sons<sup>20</sup>, and that one of them was Bimbisār<sup>21</sup>. Once an idea came to the mind of Prasenjit that it would be better to make that son his successor who would stand first in the two tests devised for them specially<sup>22</sup>. The first was:—The king ordered his servants to fill some baskets of bamboo frame-work with a sweetmeat called (Khājli), and then tie their mouths tightly. Then he called his sons before him. He had also ordered his servants to put some raw earthenware pots full of water with their mouths tightly tied, in the same room. The king now told his sons to eat the sweetmeat and drink water without breaking or untying the baskets and the pots. All of his sons knew not what to do except Bimbisār, who became busy shaking the baskets gently. Due to this the sweetmeat in the basket was broken into pieces which were coming out of the holes of the bamboo frame-work. Bimbisār gathered the pieces together, and ate them satisfied his hunger. Then he wrapped pieces of cloth round the pots, out of which, because they were raw, water was oozing out. As soon as the pieces of cloth became wet, he squeezed the water out of them into a vessel, and thus he quenched his thirst. The second test was:—All the princes were invited to

(20) "Jain Sāhitya Lekh Samgrah" pp. 780 and further. Some say that the number of princes was hundred. Some say it was thirty-two, and that Bimbisār was the youngest. (In jaina books names of as many as sixteen are given).

(21) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa" pp. 19. In Bhāgvat, his name is Vidisār. In Viṣṇu, there are two names; Nidisār and Viprisār. In Matsya they are Bīḍusen and Vighnasen. In Vāyu, Mahāvaṃśa and Aśokāvadān the name is Bimbisār.

In some jaina books he is called Bhaṃbhāsār. (See above).

(22) Many jaina books contain the descriptions of these incidents. For instance Bharateśvara B. V. pp. 25 and further.



a splendid dinner by the king in a large hall in the palace. No sooner did the princes begin to eat than furious dogs were released on them. All the princes except Bimbisār stopped eating and got up in confusion. Bimbisār calmly continued to eat, and whenever the dogs approached him he threw at them a piece or two from the untouched dishes of his brothers. He got up only after finishing his meal. The king was highly pleased with his intellectual ability and presence of mind in times of difficulty, and thought that his subjects would be safe and happy if Bimbisār became the king after his death.<sup>23</sup> As a prize for being successful in the examination, he gave him a musical instrument named Bhambhā; hence Bimbisār is sometimes called Bhambhāsār in jaina books<sup>24</sup>.

Other princes began to envy Bimbisār because he had now become a favourite with the king. Prasenjit thought it better to send Bimbisār to a foreign country, and thus save him from any harm from his brothers. Consequently once he purposely insulted Bimbisār for a trivial cause, and Bimbisār, unable to bear the insult, went away with his musical instrument Bhambhā from the capital of his father, though he was only twelve<sup>25</sup>. His father helped him secretly on the way. Bimbisār travelled by water in the Ganges in a small boat<sup>26</sup> and when the boat came in the mid-ocean, his companions changed direction; and after a voyage

**Quarrels between  
the brothers and  
their results**

(23) In ancient times kings often tested the intelligence and other qualities of their princes, and ministers. Many stories are given illustrating this custom. Cf. f. n. nos. 48 and 50 below.

(24) One who moves with (his) Bhambhā is called Bhambhāsār. Sār = One who moves (from the verb Sī to move).

(25) Some one might doubt; how a boy of twelve could have dared to go out alone. But we must remember that at the time the average height was ten feet, (vide f. n. no. 60 on page 29) and a boy attained majority at the age of thirteen, which was also considered the proper age for marriage (vide f. n. no. 64 on p. 30).

(26) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 31. This whole story is described in details here. It is stated, there was no boat but the trunk of a tree.



of twenty days<sup>27</sup> he came to the city of Bennāta<sup>28</sup>. In the morning he went out to stroll in the city, and came to the shop of a vaiśya (merchant)<sup>29</sup>.

The merchant looked at him and was astonished to see such a handsome young man standing before his shop. He welcomed him to his shop. Bimbisār accepted the invitation and sat on the shop. The merchant received the greatest number of customers on that day, and he thought that it was due to the presence of Bimbisār. So he invited him to his house as a guest and asked him his name. Bimbisār said that his name was Gopāl. As days passed on, the merchant began to prosper, and he attributed this to the presence of Gopāl who had, by this time, become the favourite of all the members of his household.

There were many rooms in the firm-building of the merchant which were quite unused. Once Bimbisār was stralling in and out of these rooms, and he saw heaps of dust. He examined that dust, and found to his surprise that it was not dust but gold-dust (Tejañturi)<sup>30</sup>. He kept this secret to himself, hoping to help the merchant at some crisis.

Once a great caravan of merchants came into the city<sup>31</sup>. They had brought with them so much goods for sale that no merchant in the city had money enough to buy and pay for all the goods. The merchants of the caravan approached the king and stated their case. The king sent a proclamation in the city

(27) I have stated this number of days on the authority of the same book as in f. n. no. 26 above.

(28) For information and the situation of this city vide pp. 147, the first page of Chapter VI, Part I.

(29) The forefathers of this merchant were very wealthy, but once the king became angry with one of them, and all his wealth and property were confiscated by him. They were reduced to ordinary condition, but they continued their business, though on a smaller scale than before.

(30) Gold dust.

(31) We can assign the year 583 B. C. to this event.



that the merchant who would agree to buy and pay for all the goods of these merchants, would be amply rewarded by him. No merchant in the city had courage enough to accept the offer<sup>32</sup>. Gopāl, however, persuaded his merchant-master to accept it. The master, after much hesitation accepted it, trusting in the ability of Gopāl to procure money. There were many merchants in the city far richer than this merchant. They began to play jokes on him. But Gopāl and the merchant met the merchants of the caravan in the presence of the king, and Gopāl offered the merchants that portion of the gold-dust which was equivalent in value to the price of their goods. The merchants had no objection to accepting such an offer, and they accepted it. All present, including the king and even the merchant-master, opened their eyes with wonder. The king rewarded and respected the merchant, and compensated for the harm and insult that was done to the merchant by his forefathers.

After this event, Gopāl was respected everywhere, and the merchant gave him in marriage his daughter Sunandā<sup>33</sup>. Two years passed happily.

On this side, Prasenjit fell very ill and he thought that his end was near. He sent his men in all directions to find out Bimbisār. These men, after much wandering, came to Bennātāt, where they found prince Bimbisār. The king then sent a messenger with the message to Bimbisār to return to the capital. But Gopāl remembered how his father had insulted him and did not go back. Then his father wrote to him a letter suggesting the reason why he had insulted him<sup>34</sup>. Bimbisār now understood everything and began to make preparations to go to his father. Sunandā could

(32) In ancient times whenever an extraordinary occasion like this arose, a proclamation was issued through the city by the king. Cf. this with the selection of the prime-minister described further.

(33) This incident must have taken place in 582 B. C. Vide pp. 37 of Bharateśvar B. V. Translation.

(34) For details the reader is requested to read the account of Abhaya-kumār from Bharateśvar B. V. Translation.



not accompany him because she was pregnant. Bimbisār gave her his ring as a remembrance, and then began his journey this time by land<sup>35</sup>. After some time he reached Rājgiri-Girivraj. Prasenjit was much pleased to see Bimbisār, and in a short time he died. Bimbisār's coronation ceremony was duly performed in about 580 B.C.

In the whole of Śiśunāga dynasty (Śiśunāga dynasty included within it both the small Śiśunāga dynasty and the Nanda dynasty).

**His life and the period of his rule** Bimbisār has ruled for the longest time. He is said to have ruled for 52 years<sup>36</sup>, according to bauddha books<sup>37</sup>; while according to Purāṇās he is said to have ruled for 51 years. It is possible that this difference of one year is due to the fact that his son Kuṇṭik had kept him in prison for one year<sup>38</sup>; or he must have ruled for 51 years and some months which the authors of Purāṇās might not have taken into consideration.

His death must have taken place in 528 B. C.<sup>39</sup>, because it is proved that he died eight years<sup>40</sup> before Gautam Buddha who died in 520 B. C.<sup>41</sup>; again it is also known that Mahāvīr died a year and a half after him (i. e. in the second year of the reign of Ajātsatru) in 527 B. C.<sup>42</sup>.

(35) He had gone from Magadh to Bennā-kaṭak by sea, and returned from it to Magadh by land. The descriptions of these voyages made by him will convince any one that Bennā-kaṭak was situated exactly on the place which I have assigned to it. See the beginning pages of Chapter VI, Part I (from pp. 147 and further).

(36) C. I. pp. 5.

(37) Dipvaṃśa III 56-61; Mahāvamśa II, 258 seq.; J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 97 f. n. no. 109; I. A. 1914 pp. 133.

(38) In jaina books twelve years are stated. It must have been a scribe's mistake. It must be twelve months.

(39) See f. n. no. 41 below.

(40) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.

(41) Ind. Ant. 1914 pp. 133 :—"Bimbisār has died before Lord Buddha and Mahāvīr". Vide pp. 22 of I. A. Vol. 32, and C. H. I. pp. 157.

(42) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.



Because Bimbisār died in 528 B. C. and he ruled for 52 years, he must have ascended the throne in 580 B. C., when he came to the throne he was fifteen, and so he must have been born in 595 B. C. Again in bauddha books it is stated that Gautam Buddha was five years older than Śreṇik<sup>43</sup>, and Buddha was born in 600 B. C.<sup>44</sup>. Thus Bimbisār died at the age of  $595-528=67$  years.

We know that when Bimbisār started towards Magadh his wife was pregnant. When the period of pregnancy was over she gave birth to a son (B. C. 580), to whom was **Prince Abhaya kumār as a minister** given the name of Abhayakumār<sup>45</sup>. When the child became seven to eight years old, and was playing in the street with other children, one of them nick-named him "fatherless". The child felt the sting of the insult, and immediately ran to his mother, and asked her the name of his father. She gave him the ring given to her by Bimbisār; he gleaned whatever information he could, from his mother's father, and then started towards Magadh to find out his father. Drawn by love for her child, his mother accompanied him<sup>46</sup>; and after a year and more<sup>47</sup> they reached Rājgiri, the capital of Magadh. Leaving his mother to rest in one of the gardens outside the city, he went into the city. He was a handsome boy; he attracted the attention of all who met him on the road. Wandering here and there, the boy came to a place where a crowd had gathered. Inquiring the

(43) See f. n. no. 62 below.

(44) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.

(45) Abhaya-kumār had such a magic personality, that whoever was fortunate enough to have friendship with him, attained Abhaya-pada (absolution) within a short time.

R. M. M. pp. 61 "Prince Abhaya, son of king Bimbisār".

(46) In these times, even women did not hesitate to go on a long voyage. Of course, in the present instance, Sunandā was drawn by her love towards both her son and her husband.

(47) Cf. f. n. no. 25 above. We should remember that the average height of men was double the average height of the man of our time.



cause of the crowd, he came to know that the king was in need of an able prime-minister, and he would select that man as the prime-minister who would be successful in the test specially arranged for the purpose<sup>48</sup>. There was a worn out dry well, and at the bottom of the well was placed a gold ring. It had been proclaimed by the king<sup>49</sup> that any one, who, while sitting on the edge of the well, could take out the ring without ropes, would be selected as the prime-minister. Abhayakumār showed his desire to enter the competition, and asked the officer on the spot, whether there was any age-restriction for competitors. All present stood lost in amazement at such an odd bid from a child. The officer, however, informed him that there was no age-restriction, and that he could enter the competition. Abhayakumār was successful in the competition<sup>50</sup>.

People were wonderstruck at his skill and praised him loudly. Bimbisār was informed of the success of this prodigy and he also could not hide his astonishment. He came to receive him on his elephant, and invited Abhayakumār to ride with him to the palace on the same elephant. To his surprise Abhayakumār declined the offer and said that he wanted to go back to his mother whom he had left outside the city in a garden. The king was all this time scrutinizing the appearance of the boy, and saw on his finger the ring, which he had given to Sunandā, he also noted that the boy was exactly like him in appearance. In the meanwhile, the boy said to the king that he had a twin-brother, who was with his mother and that he could not remain away from her for a long time. The king, in order to be sure, decided to accompany the

(48) Cf. f. n. no. 23 above.

(49) Cf. f. n. no. 32 above.

(50) First he located the position of the ring with great accuracy. Then he sent for a lump of cow-dung, and threw it on the ring, which stuck into it. Then he threw some burning dry grass on it, so as to dry the lump of cow-dung. Then he requested the king's officer to pour water in the well. As the water began to rise in the well, the dried piece of cow-dung began to come up, as it floated on the surface of water. At last, the whole well was filled with water, and the piece of cow-dung came up with the ring in it.



boy; thereupon the king, the boy, and a crowd of officers and citizens went to the garden where Sunandā was anxiously waiting for her son. When the king saw her, he at once recognized her as her dear wife; and he embraced his wife. The boy and all the people were much pleased to see the re-union. The king took the boy on his lap and kissed him over and over again. Then he remembered the boy's talk about the twin-brother, and asked Sunandā where the second son was. Poor Sunandā! She had no other son, and she thought that the king doubted her character. Gathering courage she said mildly, that she had only one son who was sitting in his lap. The Abhaya-kumār explained that when he was talking about the twin-brother, he was alluding to the fact whenever he left his mother, his body was away, yet his soul was in the heart of his mother—so much was his mother's love for him. The king, the queen, and all present were again astonished at the sharp intellect<sup>51</sup> of the boy. Then they all went to the palace riding on the elephant. Now we will call Abhaya-kumār the prime-minister<sup>52</sup>. This incident must have taken place between 570 to 568 B. C., when Bimbisār was 25 to 27 years old and Abhaya-kumār was 10 to 12 years old.

When any nation, person or thing, passes from one stage into another, the exact time of this change of stages is called the transitional period. During such periods, the leaders of a nation have to be very careful otherwise such a confusion will prevail in the order of things that there would be no possibility of any sort of order for a long time. We know that when king Bimbisār was reigning, the fourth Arā of Ava-sarpini was coming to a close, and the fifth was to begin. Vast changes were due to happen every where. Even Nature has to be very careful at

Conditions created  
by Nature at a  
transitional stage

(51) Even at present, the jaina merchants write on the first page of their ledgers, "Let us have the intellect of Abhaya-kumār". Many instances, like one quoted above, showing the intellectual power of Abhaya-kumār are described in jaina books.

(52) See f. n. no. 72 on page 33, Chapter II, Part I.



such periods. So she created four great men at the same time<sup>53</sup>; two of which were religious leaders—(Buddha and Mahāvīr), and the other two were social and political leaders (Bimbisār and Abhaya-kumār). As it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between religious questions on the one side, and social and political question on the other, these four leaders worked to-gether in harmony for the welfare of the people.

We have stated above that religious and social as well as political problems are very closely connected with one another. In history we are more concerned with social and political, **Religions followed by Bimbisār** than with religious problem. But in the life of Bimbisār, changes of faith have played an important part, and have also influenced social and political events of his reign. Hence, we shall state briefly the religions he followed and the time of each.

Bauddha books say that Bimbisār followed Bauddha religion and jaina books say that Bimbisār followed Jainism. In bauddha books he is famous by the name of Bimbisār, while in jaina books he is more commonly known as Śreṇik. Both books are partly right and partly wrong.

We have seen above that Bimbisār was staying at the house of his father-in-law in Bennātāt, and followed Jainism<sup>54</sup> before he came to the throne in 580 B. C. Again we shall prove later on that he had once more become a follower of Jainism when he married Chillaṇā in 558 B. C. This means that he might have been a follower of Buddhism any time between 580 B. C., and 558 B. C. (22 years).

In bauddha books it is clearly stated that Gautam Buddha<sup>55</sup>

(53) There is a verse in Bhagvad-gītā (vide f. n. no. 10 on pp. 6) which says that God takes birth on this earth as a man when sins have flooded the world to an unbearable extent.

(54) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 37 "He worshipped thrice every day according to Jainism".

(55) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.



renounced the world at the age of 29, began to spread his gospel at the age of 34, attained Nirvāṇa at the age of 57, and attained Parinirvāṇa at the age of 80. As he was born in 600 B. C. these four incidents must have taken place in 571 B. C., 564 B. C.; 543 B. C., and 520 B. C. respectively. Of these four, two—571 B. C., and 564 B. C.—had taken place during those 22 years in the life of Bimbisār (580 to 558 B. C.) when he was not a jain. Again, it is stated in the bauddha books<sup>56</sup> that upto 564 B. C. when he began to preach<sup>57</sup>, (1) he had made no man his disciple. This is the reason why this period of seven years (from 29 to 36 years of his age) of his life is blank in the bauddha books, because he was during this period not a bauddha but a jain (vide Ch. I Vol. II of this book); (2) and he had met Bimbisār for the first time in 564 B. C. at Rājgiri<sup>58</sup> or Girivraj; (3) and he had made Bimbisār's queen Kṣemā, a bauddha nun in 558 B. C., i. e. six years after his meeting with Bimbisār<sup>59</sup>. Thus Bimbisār and the inmates of his palace can be said to have come in contact with Buddha during 564 to 558 B. C. (six years or seven years)<sup>60</sup>. In 558 B. C. or a few months before that, Bimbisār married Chillaṇā and accepted Jainism. Gautam

(56) Vide *ibid.*

(57) He renounced the world at the age of 29 in 571 B. C.; and he began to preach his gospel at the age of 36. We have yet to find out what he did during those intervening seven years. Nothing is given in bauddha books about those years.

(58) We intentionally write here Rājgiri and Girivraj, but not Rājgrhi.

(59) "Bhārat no Prācīn Rājvaṃśa" Vol. II pp. 35; C. H. I. pp. 183 :—  
"Seven years before he became a Buddha". If this is true, Kṣemā must have been made a bauddha nun in  $543 + 7 = 550$  B. C. But this is not possible because Bimbisār had become a devout jain, seven years before that. It is possible that, it must have been 17 years instead of 7 ( $543 + 17 = 560$  B. C. or as some authorities believe 541 to be the year of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha,  $541 + 17 = 558$  B. C. (Part III Chapter I). Or it must have been seven years after he began to preach his gospel i. e.  $564 - 7 = 557$  B. C. The last conclusion is more probable as we shall see later on.

(60) The year 558 B. C. has played a very important part in the life of Bimbisār.



Buddha might have met him after 558 B. C. for a religious discussion, but without success and hence Bimbisār could be said to have been a follower of Buddhism at the most for seven years<sup>61</sup>.

Now we have to decide what religion he followed from 580 B. C. to 564 B. C., the first 16 years of his rule. As Buddhism was established after 564 B. C., he must have been a follower either of the Vedic religion or of Jainism. In one of the books<sup>62</sup> it is stated that his mother was the daughter of a Bhattiya kṣatriya family, which may possibly have been the native of Āyuddhā<sup>63</sup>. The Bhātiās of to-day declare themselves to be descendants of kṣatriyās of the Bhattiya family. Āyuddhā and Kāśī are each other's neighbours, and it is possible that the kings of both the countries might have given their daughters in marriage to one another. Again, right from the time of Śīśunāg, Kāśī had been under the control of the kings of Magadh. Hence Prasenjit might have married the daughter of the Bhattiya family. During the reign of Prasenjit, the Vedic religion<sup>64</sup> was in full swing. Sacrifices of animals to various gods was the order of the day. (Nature created great men to put a stop to such atrocities<sup>65</sup>). The kṣatriyās of those times might have been the followers of the Vedic religion<sup>66</sup>. Bimbisār, thus, must have been a follower

(61) On account of this reason Cheṭak, at first, did not agree to the request of Bimbisār, to give his daughter in marriage to him.

(62) "Chronology of India" by Duff p. 5:—"He was born of a Bhattiya queen. He was a friend to Buddha, who was senior to him by five years. He was murdered after a reign of 52 years.

(63) See f. n. no. 14, pp. 64 and also no. 16 on pp. 76 and no. 25 on pp. 78; again the account of the mother of Nanda Brhaspati given further in this volume.

(64) Many persons, who were brahmins by birth, were followers of Jainism in those times. Even many of the disciples of Lord Mahāvīr were brahmins by birth. In those times, a man did not follow the vedic religion simply because he was born of brahmin parents, as it is generally done to-day. We shall see later on that Śakḍāl, Chāṇakya, etc. though they were brahmins by birth, were all jains by faith.

(65) See no. 53 above and the matter concerning it.

(66) After Prasenjit, many of the kshatriyās had changed their faith from Brahminism to Jainism. They continued to follow Jainism from Śreṇik to



of the Vedic religion because his father must have also been a follower of the same religion. He ceased to be a follower of the Vedic religion, when he came into contact with two great religious prophets<sup>67</sup>. Thus, he was a follower of the Vedic religion<sup>68</sup> for the first sixteen years of his rule (580 to 564 B. C.); then he was a follower of Buddhism for six to seven years (564 to 558 B. C.) and at last he became a follower of Jainism for the rest of his life (558 to 528 B. C.). We have discussed these changes of religion of his, because they had a great bearing on the social

Puṣyamitra of the Śunga dynasty and his religious preceptor Patañjali, the famous grammarian. All the kings of Magadh during this time (except Aśoka) were jains.

(67) First he came into contact with Buddha, then with Mahāvīr, because Gautam Buddha began to preach his gospel in 564 B. C., and Mahāvīr began to preach his gospel in 556 B. C. eight years after Buddha.

(68) Purātattva Volume II. p. 3.

Two events have occurred in the life of Bimbisār to support this conclusion, which are as under:—

(i) Once he killed, while hunting, a female deer. Then he saw her in throes of death. At the same time she gave birth to a fawn, and in a short time both died. Bimbisār's heart did not melt with pity at seeing such a horrible sight. He, on the contrary was pleased and boasted about it, as if he had hunted a tiger. He thus committed a great sin and thus deserved severe punishment in subsequent lives. (ii) It is stated in Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 201, "Śreṇik committed a great sin by eating flesh; Kṛṣṇa lost his kingdom because he was addicted to wine; Daśarath committed a great sin by killing an innocent man, and Kayavannā lost his wealth by loose morality." This makes it clear that Śreṇik had eaten flesh. Both Jainism and Buddhism denounce and prohibit eating flesh (though in Buddhism, flesh is eaten under certain circumstances.) Thus he must have committed the above deed before he became a follower either of Buddhism or Jainism.

We do not know when he killed this female deer. According to Jainism, however, we can calculate the year of the above event, as follows. It is one of the belief of Jainism that every person's events of his next life, are determined by what he does during  $\frac{1}{3}$  rd. of his life; be it the 1st, or the 2nd, or the 3rd division of his life. We know that Bimbisār died at the age of 67. (At the age of 15 he ascended the throne, and he died after ruling for 52 years.) Every third division of his life consisted of  $22\frac{1}{3}$  years. Hence he must have committed the above-stated great sin during the first division (i. e.  $595-22=574$  B. C.)



changes that he made during his rule<sup>69</sup>, with the help of his prime-minister Abhayakumār.

We have stated in f. n. no. 60 above, that this year has played a very important part in the life of Bimbisār. We know that he accepted Buddhism as his faith after his meeting with Buddha in 564 B. C. Buddha had again met Bimbisār at the end of the 559 B. C., and had made his queen Kśemā a bauddha nun, thus showing that his influence prevailed very much in the harem. Bimbisār must not have willingly consented to Kśemā's being a

because during the second and the third he was a follower, first of Buddhism, and then of Jainism. This means that for the first sixteen years of his rule (580 to 564 B. C.) he was a follower of the vedic religion, in which was allowed flesh-eating and killing animals. During this time animal sacrifices were very much in vogue.

I take this opportunity to state one more detail. Those readers who are not interested in such things, are requested to leave it, as it is. It is stated in jaina books that Bimbisār, at present is in hell (Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp 201, Jaina Dharma Prakāśa, 1984 V. E. pp. 187.) In the next Ut-sarpiṇi he will be the first Tirthankar of the Jains named Padmanābh. (Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 51) He is condemned to hell, because not only did he kill a pregnant female deer, but enjoyed the sight of her suffering from the pangs of death. (All civilized people to-day, agree to the fact, that to kill any innocent and harmless animal, is not humane.) One would naturally ask why such a sinner, who deserved hell, is destined to become a Tirthankar. ? The answer is, that he had spent the rest of his life in promoting the welfare of his subjects. He made many reforms with the help of his prime-minister Abhayakumār. Again he was helped and inspired by Mahāvīr and his first disciple Gautam. Mahāvīr reached Kaivalya Gnāna stage in 556-B. C. and entered Nirvāṇa in 527 B. C. Out of these thirty years, he had stayed for 16 monsoons in Rājgṛhī, and had helped and inspired Bimbisār and his son in promoting the welfare of the people. All this is related in the form of dialogue in Bhagavati Sūtra of the Jains. (One must have some faith in it, to take it as historical truth.)

( We have not discussed here, when the next Ut-sarpiṇi will begin, and when Bimbisār will come out of hell, because we are not concerned with these questions here. These things interest only those, who have some faith in Jainism. )

(69) We shall have to give details about this later on.



bauddha nun, and when Buddha made her a nun against his will, he was displeased with Buddha, and he must have given up Buddhism. There is no reference to any meeting of Buddha and Bimbisār after this event<sup>70</sup>. Thus the conversion of queen Kśemā into a buddhist nun was the cause of the change of religion in the life of Bimbisār, and also the cause of its decline<sup>71</sup>.

Thus Bimbisār was so much displeased with Kśemā's conversion that he ceased to be a follower of Buddhism<sup>72</sup>. Now he wanted to marry, because Kśemā was no longer his queen. A painter showed him a picture of one of the daughters<sup>73</sup> of king Cheṭak of Videha.

(70) C. H. I. pp. 184 "On Gotam's visit to Rājgira, Bimbisār presented him with the bamboo-grove where huts could be erected for the accommodation of the order; we hear very little about him in the books. He is not even mentioned in three out of the four Nikāyās and the few references in the fourth are of the most meagre kind."

Further see f. n. no. 7, next chapter; this shows why Rājgṛhī is scarcely used in bauddha books.

(71) This should be a lesson to those jaina monks who are, at present, in the habit of making minor boys and girls monks and nuns without the consent of their elders and guardians. Important resolutions have been passed at the Jaina Conferences at Ajmer (Sthānakvāsi) and Ahmedābād (Mūrtipūjak), (A. D. 1933 & 34) to check the nasty custom. See f. n. nos. 19, 86 & 88, next chapter.

(72) Bimbisār was tired of his palace at Rājgir because, while he was staying there, he was separated from Kśemā; hence the relations between him and Gautam Buddha were estranged. So he changed his capital from Rājgir to Rājgṛhī. Ajātsatru and Udāyan had also changed their capitals on account of similar domestic reasons. See further in this chapter for details.

(73) King Cheṭak had two daughters who were unmarried. The elder's name was Sujyeṣṭā, and the younger's name was Chillaṇā. They were fast friends. A nun, who was insulted by them, decided to get Sujyeṣṭā married with a king who had many queens, and thus make her unhappy. She painted a beautiful picture of Sujyeṣṭā and showed it to Śreṇik: he was fascinated by her beauty; whereupon he sent a messenger to Cheṭak with a request to marry her with him. Cheṭak did not comply with the request and Śreṇik began to pass gloomy days. At last Abhayakumār came to know the cause of the sadness of his father, and he promised him to fulfil his desire.

Accordingly, he went to Vaisālī in disguise, and there established himself



The king was fascinated with the beauty of the girl and requested Cheṭak to give his daughter in marriage to him, thinking that a small king like him, dare not refuse him anything. He lost his temper when Cheṭak refused his request in an insulting manner. Then Abhayakumār inquired into the matter, who made it clear to the king that Cheṭak meant no offence in refusing his

as a dealer in toilets on the road, which was frequented by the maid-servants of king Cheṭak's palace. In his shop he hung a picture of king Śreṇik and began to salute it ceremoniously every day. The maid-servants asked him one day, out of curiosity, whom he was so reverently bowing every day. Abhayakumār acquainted them with the picture and also told them, his mind was taken hold of by Sujyeṣṭā. The maid-servants told Sujyeṣṭā all these things, and she decided to run away to Śreṇik secretly. Śreṇik (i) came, on the day fixed, with some of his faithful warriors at the other end of an underground passage, the first end of which was in the royal palace, and through which Sujyeṣṭā was to come to him. While Sujyeṣṭā was busy making preparations for departure, Chillaṇā asked her where she was going; and out of love for her Sujyeṣṭā told her everything. Chillaṇā too, decided to accompany her; and thus both the sisters, after passing through the passage, sat in the chariot of Śreṇik. The chariot began to move. It had not gone far, when Sujyeṣṭā was reminded of the fact that she had forgotten her jewel-basket in the palace. So the chariot was stopped and she went back to the palace to fetch it. In the meanwhile, Cheṭak was informed of this secret escapade; so his warriors ran after the chariot of Śreṇik, through the passage. Finding it impossible to fight against them with his few warriors, and thus waiting for the return of Sujyeṣṭā, Śreṇik ordered the charioteer to drive the chariot at full speed. His warriors checked the approach of Cheṭak's warriors and he reached safely his place, with Chillaṇā, but without Sujyeṣṭā. In this fight Nāg-rathika's (ii) 32 sons, who were brave warriors and bodyguards of Śreṇik, were killed. (These thirty-two sons were born at the same time, and were destined (iii) to die at the same time.)

(i) At this time the name "Śreṇik" was not given to him. It was given many years later, after he formed the guilds. Here he should have been called Bimbisār.

(ii) "Mahārathik" is an officer of a high position in the state. Details are given in the account of Śātkaṛaṇi of Andhra, later on. About this Nāg-rathik see the f. n. (iii) below.

(iii) Kalpa-Sūtra pp. 104, and also account of Sulasā in Bharateśvar B. V. Translation—Sulasā's husband Nāg was a jain. Sulasā became a jain



request, but that it was his principle<sup>74</sup> not to give any of his daughters in marriage to one who was not a jain. Thus Bimbisār began to be inclined towards Jainism, and Abhayakumār, who was a jain, encouraged him in it. Abhayakumār, with his unusual ability, brought the girl and the king together within six to twelve

The faces of Sujyestā and Chillaṇā were as like two peas, and Śreṇik, mistaking Chillaṇā for her elder sister, began to address her as Sujyestā. Chillaṇā, however, told him the truth: the king, accepting the decree of fate, consoled himself with her. He married her with full pomp and ceremony in his capital.

When Cheṭak came to know that not only has Śreṇik married his daughter Chillaṇā, but had also become a follower of Jainism, he established friendly relations with him. Sujyestā became a jaina nun.

(74) All the daughters of Cheṭak were married with great kings, and they were all jains. It was a principle with Cheṭak, never to marry any of his daughters with a king who was not a jain, however great and powerful he might be. He married his daughter Śīvādevī with Chandpradyot only after he became a follower of Jainism he came into contact with Udāyin of Sindhu-Sauvir.

after she married him. When Bimbisār came to the throne, Nāg joined service under him. Sulasā had no issue, and she worshipped a god for children. The god was pleased with her devotion, and he gave her 32 pills and told her to swallow one every day, so that she would have 32 sons, one by one. Sulasā thinking that it would be better to have one good son, than to have 32 mediocre ones, swallowed all the 32 pills on one day. During her pregnancy she suffered much pain. At last the god told her that she would give birth to 32 sons at the same time, and they would die at the same time. These thirty-two sons died while fighting against the soldiers of Cheṭak in order to protect their king Śreṇik, whose service they had taken up.

(Bimbisār came to the throne in 580 B. C., and Nāg joined his army in the same year; Sulasā must have given birth to her 32 sons, two or three years after 580 B. C., i. e. about 576 B. C. Bimbisār married Chillaṇā in 558 B. C. (i. e. 1½ or 2 years before Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya-Gnāna stage.) By 558 B. C. these 32 sons must have been 18 years old, which was the proper age for fighting in those times, when boys attained majority at the age of 13 or 14. Thus the above story has the support of historical dates.)



months<sup>75</sup>. Bimbisār was married with Chillaṇā; she was a devout jain. Being constantly in her company, Bimbisār's faith in Jainism increased. Then happened the incident of Anāthmuni, which made him too a devout follower of Jainism<sup>76</sup>; and gradually by observing all the tenets of Jainism he at last became fit for being destined to be the first Tīrthaṅkar in the next Ut-sarpīṇī<sup>77</sup>

Thus the year 558 has played a very significant part in his life, on account of the three changes that took place in the year; (1) He changed his capital from Rājgiri<sup>78</sup> or Girivraj to Rājgrhī. (2) He married with Chillaṇā. (3) He left Buddhism and became a follower of Jainism.

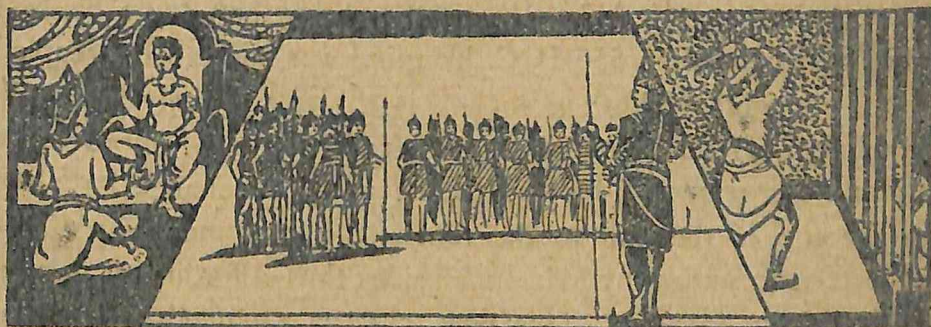
(75) For details vide pp. 326, Bharateśvar B. V. Translation. The summary is given in no. 73 above.

(76) This incident is described in details in jaina books. In bauddha books too, is given the story of one Anātha.

(77) See f. n. no. 68 above.

(78) See f. n. no., 72 above.





## Chapter II

### Śrenik (continued)

*Synopsis:—Where and why he changed his capital?—Meanings of Rājgiri, Girivraj, and Rājgrhi and their situations—Magadh's trade with eastern and western countries—Why Bimbisār was named Śrenik?—Persons who inspired and helped him in the formation of guilds—Different names of Śrenik—The time from which he began to have his coins—Śrenik was fond of arts, admirer of virtues, and preserver of peace—Incidents to support the above virtues—More details about his all-round life—Discussion about his race and family—His queens, sons, daughters and their short accounts—Marriage customs and instances about them—The reason of his death and justice or injustice of the stain on the fame of Ajātsatru—How much time he remained in prison?*



We have already stated above that Prasenjit had changed his capital from Kusāgrapur to Rājgiri-Rājgir, on the top of one of the hills of mount Vaibhārgiri<sup>1</sup>. We also know that its position made it difficult for the merchants of the city to trade with other cities. Bimbisār had long been thinking of changing the place of his capital; but upto 556 B. C. his mind was in an unsettled condition and full of anxieties<sup>2</sup>, and he had not fixed ideas of working for the welfare of his subjects. Again in 556 B. C. he had become a confirmed jain; Mahāvīr had attained Kaivalya-gnān and was, with the help of Abhayakumār, inspiring him to do his best for his subjects. After 556 B. C. his mind was constantly occupied with the thoughts of how to make his subjects socially and politically better. Hence he must have found that to improve the trade and commerce of his capital, he ought to change its place from the top of the hill<sup>3</sup> to the foot of the same mountain<sup>4</sup>. This place was surrounded by hills on all sides thus affording it natural protection from invaders. This new city was named Rājgrh or Rājgrhī<sup>5</sup>. This makes it clear that the places of Rājgir or Rājgiri and Rājgrh-grhī were different, though the two places were very near each other<sup>6</sup>. The other thing to note is that Rājgrhī was established after 556 B. C., and Rājgir-giri was established in Prasenjit's time. Again Bimbisār has accepted Jainism as his faith in 558 B. C. Hence, in bauddha books Buddha is said to have met Bimbisār in Rājgir-giri, but not in Rājgrhī. Sometimes it is Girivraj, but never Rājgrhī<sup>7</sup>. Sometimes it is found in them as

(1) Vide Chapter I. Part II, account of Prasenjit,

(2) To know what worries clouded his mind, vide the paragraph about his change of faith in Chapter I, and f. n. no. 68 below it.

(3) "Fortress on the hill"; cf. f. n. no. 18 on pp. 231 words quoted on the authority of C. H. I.

(4) "At the foot of the hill" f. n. no. 18 on pp. 231.

(5) Rājgrhī=the place in which there are palaces of kings (cf. f. n. no. 18 on pp. 231).

(6) See f. n. nos. 9 below, and the matter concerning it.

(7) Cf. f. n. no. 70 on pp. 245 and the matter concerning it. The author of H. I. has also used the word "Rājgir" and then stated his doubt.



a result of ignorance of some modern writers, who either did not know the difference between them, or wanted to show their knowledge. In jaina books, on the other hand, the capital of Śreṇik is always named Rājgrhī, and seldom Girivraj or Rājgir. I hope these conclusions of mine will ultimately prove to be true as further researches will support them with their evidence.

In connection with Rājgrhī, Sir Cunningham writes:—"This Rājgrh (the abode of king) is quite different from the capital of Jarāsandh as well as that of king Prasenjit, the father of king Śreṇik. It is incorrect to say, that it was founded by king Ajātśatru, son of Bimbisār, as inferred by some. (See "Chronology of India" by Duff. pp. 6.<sup>8</sup>. Thus both Sir Cunningham and the jaina books agree that Rājgrhī and Girivraj (founded by Prasenjit) were different<sup>9</sup>. This city was 12 yojans long and 9 yojans broad<sup>10</sup>. The Ganges flowed on its southern outskirts. On all sides of Rājgrhī there were hills, except on the southern side. The ranges of mount Vaibhārgiri stretched upto the hill of Aśvatthāmā in Orissā, at the foot of which is the famous inscription of Dhāuli-Jagudā. This inscription is as intimately connected with Jainism as with Śreṇik. I have explained this in Chapter VI Part I. I will explain it in details in the accounts of Priyadarśin and Khārvel. In short, the region between Rājgrh and the inscription of Dhāuli-Jagudā is full of the relics of Jainism.

We know that the fourth Ārā of Avasarpinī was to end in 523 B. C. Hence Bimbisār's reign was in the transitional period between the end of the fourth Ārā and beginning of the fifth. Again, means of livelihood were to become scarcer than before while dishonesty and other vices were to increase. During the fourth Ārā, traders and

(8) Bhilsā Topes pp. 237. This is supported by jaina books. (Vide pp. 48 "Mahān Saṃprati" printed at Bhavnagar.

(9) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 27; f. n. no. 8 above.

(10) The area itself suggests that Rājgrhī must have been founded at the foot of the mountain.



caravans travelled from one city to the other<sup>11</sup> and exchanged and sold and bought goods by means of the barter system or payments in gold dust<sup>12</sup> etc.<sup>13</sup>. The necessity of the coins was felt, as the time of the beginning of the fifth Ārā came nearer and nearer. (The necessity had really begun to be felt from 556 B. C., when Mahāvīr began to preach his gospel). Consequently Bimbisār put into currency what are called punch-marked coins by experts<sup>14</sup>.

The capitals of all districts were connected with one another for the trade purposes, by trunk roads<sup>15</sup>; one of which stretched from Takṣila (in the Punjāb) to Rājgrhī. Communications by water were also very felicitous. Traders travelled from Arabia to the west coast of India and back. In the east, too, traders travelled over long distances. We shall quote two instances of how trade was going on among the merchants of countries very far from one another, by land as well as by water.

Bimbisār's empire stretched upto the far-end of eastern India, and the kingdom of Pulusāki spread to the far end of the north-western India. Pulusāki came to know the greatness of Bimbisār through the merchants of his kingdom, who had frequently travelled to Rājgrhī for trade-purposes. To establish friendly relations with him he sent valuable presents to him with his merchants. Bimbisār returned this offer of friendship with still

(11) Cf. Chapter I. Part I and f. n. no. 15 below.

(12) Coins of Anc. India by Sir Cunningham pp. 21'—

"The Indians had no coinage (Herodotus III pp. 94-96); that the tribute was paid in gold-dust". The same author while describing Udambar coins on pp. 36 says, "they were referred to by the great grammarian Pāṇini" (whose time is B. C. 376, see further Nand IX) which means that the coins were current in India for a pretty long time if not very long ago. (Of course there were punch-coins and not struck in mints).

(13) We have referred to this gold-dust at several places in this volume e. g. Chapter II Part I, Chapter I Part II, etc.

(14) For models vide "Coins of India" or Chapter 2 part III of this book, f. n. no. 12 above.

(15) Takṣilā, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Ujjainī, Rājgrhī etc., were great trade-centres of those times. See f. n. no. 32 pp. 18.



more valuable gifts. The two kings became each other's friends to such an extent that Pulusāki, wishing to see Bimbisār personally, set out from his capital towards Rājgrhī. On account of his old age, and also on account of the fatigue of the journey and the change of climate, he died immediately after entering the boundaries of Magadh. This shows that kings of great countries visited one another.

As an instance of sea-voyages we can quote another incident. The region about modern Aden<sup>16</sup> was known as Ārdradeśa, and its king was known as Ādra-rājā. The eldest son was called Ardrakumār. Once the merchants of this country landed at Laxmipur<sup>17</sup> and then travelled upto Magadh. There they presented to Abhayakumār the gifts that were sent to him by Ādrakumār. When these merchants finished their business transactions and were about to return to their own country, they approached Abhayakumār for the return message. Abhayakumār sent with them a jaina idol to Ādrakumār, with the hope that he might turn towards Jainism, and thus have an opportunity to uplift his soul<sup>18</sup>. The hope of Abhayakumār was realised<sup>19</sup> when the latter

(16) According to some, Ādra is identified with the region on the shore of the Adriatic sea of Italy; but it seems improbable.

(17) For details, vide the account of Abhayakumār in Bharateśvar B. V. Translation. There this port is said to have been on the west coast of southern India. According to my opinion it must have been somewhere between Sopārā, the capital of Aparānt, and Broach (See f. n. no. 35 on pp. 20).

(18) Cf. f. n. no. 45 pp. 237. In jaina books it is stated that whoever formed friendship with Abhayakumār, obtained absolution.

(19) I have given a short summary below. For details vide pp. 210 to 217 Bharateśvar B. V. Translation.

B. B. V. Translation pp. 215:—Prince Ādra was married with Śrīmatī, the daughter of a merchant, and a son was born to them; when the son began to go to school, Ādra kumār wanted to become a jaina monk, and he asked the consent of Śrīmatī. She sat in a room and began to spin cotton. When her son returned from school he asked his mother the reason of this strange behaviour. She explained to him that his father was to become a monk and that she would be reduced to spinning cotton after that. The son consoled her and promised to prevent his father from becoming a monk. Accordingly



saw the idol. This incident showed that traders travelled by sea, thus making it clear that those people knew the craft of ship-building also<sup>20</sup>.

As trade and commerce began to develop between different countries, the necessity of forming guilds of professions was felt more and more. Thus separate guilds were formed of metal-workers, leather-tanners, carpenters, weavers, blacksmiths, barbers, washer-men and of others. The state officers were divided into Daṇḍnāyakās, Koṣādhyakṣās — Lord - treasurer, Commander-in-chief, Ministers, Prime-minister and others. Thus all the political and social positions and professions were arranged and fixed according to their importance, to avoid any sort of confusion both in political and social administration. Departmental portfolios were entrusted to officers in charge of various departments. In all this political and social reconstruction, the king was helped by Abhayakumār, but was inspired by Lord Mahāvīr<sup>21</sup> who had already attained the Kaivalya-gnāna stage, which enabled him to know everything about the past, present and future events. With the help of his wonderful foresight he directed the activities of

he took the cotton threads with him, and went to his father. He began to tie the legs of his father with those threads, and then told his mother that his father could not go because he was bound by him with threads. Ārdra kumār's heart swelled with love and emotion towards his wife and son, and he declared that he would postpone becoming a monk for as many years as there were rounds of thread on his legs. Counting them, they turned out to be twelve, and hence he became a jaina monk after 12 years.

The story makes three things clear: (1) People knew spinning in those times and put on clothes (2) Poor people earned their livelihood by spinning (3) And the consent of the relatives was considered almost necessary before one renounced the world and became a jaina monk. Wives and sons were not deserted or left economically unsettled when any one became a monk.

(20) Merchants travelled even farther than Arabia. They travelled in the far west upto Greece, Rome, Egypt (Chapter II Part I). They travelled in the far east also.

(21) Vide Chapter VI, Part II.



Bimbisār and Abhayakumār, ( when they came to pay their respects to him every morning ), in the form of answers to the questions of Gautam, his chief disciple. The king and his ministers acted according to the answers of Mahāvīr. Henceforth, Bimbisār became famous as Śreṇik ( builder of guilds ) in history<sup>22</sup>. These guilds have continued to exist in India to the present day<sup>23</sup>, because

“Jaina Sāhitya no Saṃkshipta Itihās” pp. 19. It is stated there, on the authority of Prof. Loyman, “Mahāvīr was well-versed in all the arts and crafts of his time. Due to the power of his pinance ( I believe Kaivalya-gnān) he arranged all these arts and crafts into their proper order through the medium of Śreṇik and Abhaya-kumār.”

C. H. I. 4th., Ed. pp 161 :—“ I have pointed out that its (Śām Śāstry's Arthasāstra now known as Kautilya's Arthasāstra) contents describe the state of things, as existing immediately before the establishment of the Mauryan Empire, while Mr. Śām Śāstry suggests that it may refer back, even to the pre-buddhistic age. (P. XVIII ). This statement proves that Śām Śāstry was not the originator of the political and social system of administration described in his books. Again, no where in the bauddha books is it found that Buddha ever inspired Bimbisār to form these political and social guilds. That Bimbisār has been given the name of Śreṇik means that these political and social structures took their birth from him. As nothing is mentioned in the bauddha books about these political and social reforms of Bimbisār, it follows that he must have enacted these changes after he gave up Buddhism and became a jain in 558 B. C. The jaina books contain ample evidence to support the fact that he was inspired by Mahāvīr who directed him ably with the help of his Kaivalya-gnān. Thus the guilds and all other social and political structures owe their origin to Mahāvīr.

Again a disinterested authority like Prof. Loyman supports these conclusions, as we have shown above.

(22) C. H. I. pp. 206 : “He organized institutions”. Vide also “Heart of Jainism” by Mrs. Stevenson pp. 40. Vide also pp. 26 to 30 of the translation (Bhāvnagar) of “Jainism” by Prof. Glezenāp. Vide also chapter VI, Part II.

(23) See further ch. III and the lecture of Prof. Hoernel, the president of B. R. A. S. ( pp. 42. ) :—

In Jainism, it is prohibited to begin any new thing. Hence some one would ask why Mahāvīr began a new order of things. The answer is, that Mahāvīr himself has not begun any new thing. He has simply indirectly suggested reforms to Abhaya-kumār and Bimbisār, who heard the questions and answers of Gautam and Mahāvīr. They picked up the ideas from this



the idea originated with Lord Mahāvīr. Though there have been slight changes here and there, as times have changed, but the original structure has persisted and will persist. The whole political and social structure that we see in modern India, came into being, during 556 B. C. to 528 B. C.

Some writers<sup>24</sup> consider Śreṇik to be the organizer of army only, in which several reforms were made by Udayaśva or Udāyan-bhat later on. Nandivardhan also introduced some changes in the army, which was finally re-organized by Chāṇakya, the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The Greek ambassador Megasthenis has very highly spoken about the discipline and organization of the army of Chandragupta, and has placed the army of Āndhra in the second rank. But we should not forget the fact that, in spite of several changes made by his successors, the original idea of army organization came from Śreṇik.

We have already stated above, that Śreṇik had five hundred ministers<sup>25</sup>, who enjoyed the status of the municipal corporators

dialogue in which Mahāvīr discussed fundamental truths about the organization of society—ideas which stand true in all times, climes, and countries—though we see them working and existing in different forms and different ways according to the requirements of a particular time, country or climate. The first Tīrthaṅkar of Jains, Rśabhadev (Ādināth), had formed social and political structures before he had renounced the world and become a monk. Mahāvīr followed his foot-steps, but because he had already renounced the world, he did not take any active part in these social and political activities, but suggested permanent ideas about them and their reconstruction through his conversation with Gautam, because he thought that Śreṇik and Abhayakumār were proper persons to put those ideas into practice (Cf. f. n. nos. 21 above and 24 below).

Vide "Kautilya's Arthaśāstra Translation by Mr. Joshipura M. A. pp. 13.

(24) J. B. B. R. A. S. Part I. pp. 96:—"Śreṇi—an army division and hence it may mean a military king...but from the knowledge we have of his person and of his regime, we make bold to declare that there is not the slightest tinge of militarism in him; on the contrary his reign is full of peace and constitutional reforms." I think the author has not understood the meaning of the word "Śreṇi". Similar idea is stated on pp 245 of Arthaśāstra.

(25) See Chapter II Part. I.



of to-day. The president of this council of ministers was Abhayakumār, the primeminister. These five hundred ministers were elected from various electoral units which were based on guilds. Every guild elected its representative and delegated him to this council of ministers.

**The cabinet of ministers and its structure;—**

We do not know details about this wonderful election system but we have to note one thing that electoral units were based neither on religions<sup>26</sup> (which were only three in those times) nor on castes<sup>27</sup> (which did not exist in those times) as it is done to-day. A person followed any profession he liked irrespective of his caste (i. e. brahmin, or kṣatriya, or vaiśya, or śudra), and creed, and he had a right to vote for, or stand for, election from the guild to which he belonged by profession.

Here, it would be interesting to note that the "Mahājan" of the middle ages had the same connotation as the "Council of ministers" of Śreṇik's time. The words Śreṣṭhi, Śeṭhi, Mahāśeṭhi<sup>28</sup> were current in those times. I have quoted a passage below from a weekly<sup>29</sup> which supports my idea:—"We feel that, to form the electoral units according to religions is very harmful to India as a whole. In India, in the middle ages we had the "Mahājan" system or the guild-system. All professions had their own guilds, and every guild sent a representative to the "Mahājan" or the "Council of ministers" of the city. The villages had their Pañchāyats. As it is done in Italy to day, we can also form electoral units according to professions but not according to castes or creeds. In Mysore State this system has been initiated and representatives to the State Council are elected from professional units which contain persons of all religions and castes".

(26) There were only three religions in those times. People were devout in those times.

(27) There were no castes. Some scholars have confused guilds with castes. ( Chapter II Part I ).

(28) Chapter II. Part I.

(29) " Nav-Gujrat " dt. 20-7-34 pp. 5. ( Published from Barodā, Gujarāt. )



We know that the jaina writers have given him the name of Śreṇik<sup>30</sup> because this name indicates what he did for the welfare of his subjects. This name is seldom found in the bauddha books because he earned this name many years after he left Buddhism for Jainism<sup>31</sup>.

According to the jaina books he was called Bhambhāsār, before he became king (I have already explained why he was called Bhambhāsār). When he came to the throne he was called Bimbisār, and he continued to be called so, as long as he was a follower of Buddhism. Modern scholars do not draw any distinction between Bhambhāsār and Bimbisār, and consider the former to be derived from the latter. In historical books he is famous as Śreṇik, and this name is used in books of all religions, though it specially belongs to Jainism<sup>32</sup>.

We have already noted that before the time of Bimbisār, things were bought and sold by barter system or by payments in gold-dust. As time went on, and with the formation of guilds, the necessity of coins as a means of sale and purchase was felt. Consequently, Śreṇik put into currency what are called by experts "Punchmarked coins"—Coins which were not struck in mints<sup>33</sup>. The kings of those days had no temptation for making themselves famous by printing their likenesses on the coins; but they wanted to show their religion and family. Consequently

(30) As we have noted before, jaina writers had the habit of giving typical names to kings. For instance: "Chandpradyot, Samprati, Kuṇik, Karkaṇḍu etc.," Vide Chapter IV, Part I. Paragraph on "A peculiar habit of jaina writers."

(31) The names, Śreṇik and Abhayakumār are seldom found in bauddha books, thus showing that he got the name of Śreṇik after B. C. 556.

(32) Cf. the difference between Rājgir, Girivraj, and Rājgrhī given above.

(33) The metal out of which the coins were to be struck, was first heated red-hot and then made into shapes of coins, on which was pressed the die containing the religious or the family sign.



on the obverse side<sup>34</sup> was printed the religious sign and on the reverse side was printed the family sign. (See the Chapter on coins in Vol. II). The coins of Śreṇik were struck after 556 B. C.

He had the habit of learning any new art or craft about which he came to know. Once, while he was passing by a road he saw an archer shooting from a distance at **His fondness for arts** the mangoes on a mango-tree and thus getting them down for eating. He invited him to his palace and began to learn shooting from him. He did not get mastery over it, in spite of the efforts of the archer to instruct him, and his efforts to learn it. Then the archer hesitatingly suggested to him, that even though he was a king, he was nothing but his pupil and ought to respect him, as a pupil ought to respect his preceptor. The king immediately understood everything, and from that day he gave a higher seat to the archer, and himself took the lower seat, to show proper respect to him. In a few days he mastered the art. Thus we can see that he did not mind learning arts even from humble persons, and also he believed that in the realm of art, the palm went to the artist, and not to one who was socially superior.

He was also an admirer of virtues. He had not the habit of seeing the short-comings of others, but their virtues. Once, while passing by a road he saw a dead dog<sup>35</sup>. Nasty smell was coming out of the carcase, and his officers turned their faces away. The king approached it, and began to praise the beautiful white lines of teeth that were seen out of the open mouth of the dog.

He hated warfare. During his reign there were no great wars. He had to fight against the kings of Kośal and of Videha in order to marry with their daughters, but not in order to expand his territory<sup>37</sup>. In the fourth Ārā, the only cause of battles was

(34) Religious sign was printed on the obverse side because greater importance was attached to it.

(35) Vinaya mūlo dhammo=Modesty is the foundation of religion.

(36) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṁgrah pp 78 and further.

(37) See no. 73 Chapter I, Part II.



woman, one and the last of the trio of "wealth, land and woman", referred in Chapter I, Part I. With the beginning of the fifth

Ārā, god time began to exert his influence  
A lover of peace more and more, and kings began to fight for land as we shall see during the reign of Ajāt-śatru, the successor of Śreṇik. A writer<sup>38</sup> has described an event in Śreṇik's life, which tends to prove him to have fought for lands, but a closer scrutiny of facts will dispel the doubt about it. He says that Śreṇik<sup>39</sup> had annexed the kingdom of Aṅga to the Empire of Magadh nine years before his death<sup>40</sup>, and thenceforward the two countries were spoken of together as Aṅga-Magadh. As Śreṇik died in 528 B. C., this should have taken place in 528-9=537 B. C.<sup>41</sup>. In that year<sup>42</sup> the reign of Karkaṇḍu in Aṅga, had come to an end, and because he had no son his son-in-law had succeeded him. The son-in-law must have bowed to the authority of Śreṇik and must have thought it safer to accept his vassalage<sup>43</sup>, but Śreṇik must not have waged a war with him in order to annex Aṅga to Magadh, because one of its rulers, Kṣemarāj, had tried to become independent in the time of emperor Nandivardhan<sup>44</sup>. Thus, on the whole, Śreṇik never waged wars for the sake of expanding his territory<sup>45</sup>. Though "he was the mightiest ruler of east India" (C. H. I. pp. 157),

(38) Purātattva Volume II, Pages 2, 3. See 39 below.

(39) C. H. I. Volume I, pp 697; and B. I, pp 60. "A death struggle was going on between the two smaller kingdoms of Magadh and Champā. This decided in the time of Buddha's boyhood by the final victory of Magadh." (If this is true, it must have taken place in about 589-90 B. C. When Buddha was a child, and in the reign of Prasenjit but not of Śreṇik.)

(40) See the chronology of the kings of Kośal in Chapter VI, Part. I.

(41) Vide the Chapter VI, Part I, the account of Karkaṇḍu.

(42) See 40 above.

(43) We have stated in Chapter VI, Part I, in the account of Karkaṇḍu that Aṅga was annexed to Magadh by Udāyan. Cf. no. 39 above.

(44) Chapter VI, Part I, the chronology of the Chedi vaṃśa.

(45) His war against the king of Kośal was the result of the latter's family pride.



yet he had never tried to enlarge his empire, but had been content with what he had inherited from his father.

He was not vainly proud of anything. He did not believe in the distinction of high and low, rich and poor. If he felt that any one was proud of his birth in a particular family, he punished him severely. He had to fight with the king of Kośal, nine or eleven times, because of the latter's family pride, and at last, to make him forget this family pride,<sup>46</sup> he married himself a daughter of the king of Kośal, and made his son marry with the daughter of the king's son. (I shall give details later on.) He did not believe in high and low families, and as an initiation, he had married daughters of various lower castes and families,<sup>47</sup> and had given his daughters in marriage to persons belonging to castes other than that of his own<sup>48</sup>.

Śreṇik, as we know, did not believe in caste or family distinctions. In his later life he had become a devout jain, and Jainism does not admit of any social distinctions. In spite of his belief, however, he did belong to a certain race and to a certain family,<sup>49</sup> and we shall try to decide them.

The author of Purātattva states, on the authority of a

(46) There were no castes in those times, but there were families, high and low.

(47) His marriage with Sunandā. It is stated in jaina books ( N. M. C. 1930 pp 504 ) that when Śreṇik had sent a messenger to Cheṭak for Sujyeṣṭā, the latter had remarked that Śreṇik, a prince of Vāhi family, should not aspire to marry a daughter of the Haiheya family. ( The present rulers of Mysore are descendents of this Haiheya family, and their forefathers were Jains. Śreṇik is famous in history books as a scion of the Lichchhavi-Saṃvriji branch of the Malla kshatriyās. Thus Saṃvriji, Lichchhavi, and Malla must be the names of the races of kshatriyās, while Vāhi and Haiheya must be the names of families. )

(48) Vide the account of his sons and daughters further in this chapter.

(49) See no. 46 above for the meaning of "Caste."



bauddha book entitled *Lalitvistar*,<sup>50</sup> that Śreṇik had descended from the family of Videha and that therefore he was called Vaidehi. The author of J. O. B. R. S.<sup>51</sup>, Paṇḍit Tārānāth, states on the other hand, that he belonged to one of the sections of the Lichchhavi kshatriyās. We shall discuss these two statements one by one. The word Vaidehi can have three meanings : (1) a native of Videha, (2) a descendent of the royal family of Videha, (3) a son of the daughter of the ruler of Videha. Bimbisār can be called a Vaidehi if one of these three meanings can be applied to him. The capital of Videha is Vaiśālī, and therefore sometimes Videha is called Vaiśālī. The river Ganges flows between Videha and Magadh thus separating them from each other. Hence a man residing in Magadh cannot be called a native of Videha. Secondly, Śreṇik could not have been a descendent of Videha family from the paternal side (a descendent means related from the paternal side only,) because if it had been so, he would not have waged war against Cheṭak or married his daughter Chillaṇā<sup>52</sup>. Thirdly, Śreṇik was not the son of the daughter of the Videha family, because, as we have already stated, his mother was a daughter of the Bhattiya family<sup>53</sup>. Thus, we shall have to discard the authority of *Lalitvistar*. Now we turn to the statement of Paṇḍit Tārānāth, who has stated he belonged to the Lichhavi family, which is said to be one of the branches of the Saṃvriji race in the bauddha books<sup>54</sup>. In jaina books<sup>55</sup> on the other hand,

(50) Vide Page 2, 3, *Purātattva* Vol. 2, Vide the account of Kuṇik, where he is called "A son of Videha."

(51) Vol. I. Page. 97.

(52) Persons belonging to the same stock could not marry in those times. In some communities to-day they do marry, but such custom must have been of a very recent origin.

(53) See Chap. I part. II.

(54) Sam=together and Vriji=a race of kshatriyās. Saṃvriji=All kshatriyās belonging to the Vriji race.

(55) Vide pp 102 of *Kalpasūtra* com.



It is stated that nine kings of Kāśī<sup>56</sup> belonging to the Malla family, and nine kings of Kośal belonging to the Lichhavi family, had assembled at one place on some occasion, and there they had heard the news of the nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr. All these kings were under the suzerainty of Cheṭak of Videha<sup>57</sup>. It is a well-known fact in history that the Malla kshatriyās had many districts under their control. One of them was near Rājgrhī, the capital of Magadh, the other was Vaiśālī, and the third was Kāśī. In the account of Kāśī, we have stated that Śīsunāg was a kṣatriya of the Malla family and Śreṇik was his direct descendent. This leads us to the conclusion that he must have belonged to the Malla family. This Malla family, like the Lichhavi family, must have been one of the eighteen branches of the Saṃvriji race. Again the members of these eighteen branches must have represented eighteen different stocks<sup>58</sup> and not castes.

Śreṇik had no inclination to expand his territory but he was an efficient ruler with regard to the internal administration of his kingdom, and his relations with other kingdoms.

**Srenik's character** He was sensitive about his self-respect. He left his father's country because of a slight insult. He gave up Buddhism and never again saw Buddha when the latter made his queen Kśemā, a bauddha nun, against his desire. He had presence of mind and sagacity, and on account of this, he successfully passed the two tests devised by his father, and acted swiftly at the time of taking away of Chillaṇā, and of

(56) Here the word king really means a landlord. just as Mahāvīr's father was a land lord. They were called kings in those times.

(57) We know that Cheṭak was the king of Videha only; he had no sovereignty over either Kāśī or Kośal, but he was the eldest in age among all the Saṃvriji kings, and therefore, these Malla and Lichhavi kings might have accepted him as their family headman.

(58) See f. n. no. 46 above.

(59) We can give the following names to Śreṇik:—

(a) Śreṇik, the talented. (b) the reformer, (c) the courageous, (d) the just, (e) the liberal minded, (f) the generous, and (g) the sagacious.



Abhayakumār going away for becoming a jaina monk<sup>60</sup>. He was resourceful and could make his mark wherever he went, as he did in Bennātat. Just as he could successfully get through a test, he could also devise tests to gauge the intelligence of others, as he did at the time of the selection of his prime-minister. He had come in contact with all the three religions prevailing in those times, and at last, had selected Jainism as the best of all. But he was not an orthodox king. He was tolerant. He never prosecuted his subjects because they followed religion other than his own. Even though Buddha converted Kśemā to become a nun, against his desire, he never persecuted either Buddha or his followers, in any way. He believed that it was not advisable for a king to interfere with the religious beliefs of his subjects. He was generous and was never greedy of wealth. There were multi-millionaires in his capital but he never coveted their wealth. He learnt an art or a lesson from the humblest person in the world. He was a lover of peace, but he never tolerated false family pride of others<sup>62</sup> as we can see from his wars with the king of Kōśal.

He showed unsurpassed perseverance, constructive ability, and organizing capacity during the last thirty years of his life, the transition period between the fourth and the fifth Ārā when great changes were due—by arranging and rearranging the whole political and social order with minute accuracy and propriety. The social and political institutions and structures erected by him, stand even to-day, and have never done harm to society. His subjects must have worshipped him as a god for such wonderful reconstruction and reorganization of society.

Thus, in every way, he was a perfect king, a model worthy to be imitated by kings of all times and climes.

(60) We have not given details as to why he went away to become a monk. Those who are curious, should vide Bharateśvara B. V.

(61) Numerous stories are given in jaina literature illustrating his virtues. This is no place for them.

(62) Cf. f. n. no. 59 above.



According to Jaina books<sup>63</sup>, he had many queens, out of whom 23 had become Jaina nuns. We shall here give short account of only those queens who have some bearing on the history of those times. Such queens are five in number:—(1) Sunandā, (2) Dhāriṇī, (3) Kṣemā, (4) Chillaṇā, and (5) Kośaldevī.

(1) Sunandā:—She was the daughter of a merchant in Bennātaṭ, the capital of Dhankaṭak. Bimbisār married with her two or three years before he ascended the throne (580 B. C.), while he was at Bennātaṭ under the name of Gopāl, as we have described above. She gave birth to Abhayakumār in 580 B. C., who was the eldest son of Bimbisār. We have already described, under what circumstances he became the prime-minister of Bimbisār by showing his intelligence. He helped Bimbisār in the great work of social reorganization, and in getting him married with Chillaṇā. His intellectual capacity has become proverbial among the Jains, and even to day, after a lapse of 2,500 years, the Jaina merchants write on the first page of their ledgers, on the new year's day, "May I have the intellect of Abhayakumār". He has been idolised by the Jaina writers to such an extent, that it was believed that whoever was fortunate enough to form friendship with him, was sure of obtaining absolution<sup>64</sup>. He was a devout Jain, and in 533

(63) A. H. I. pp. 73. It is stated there on the authority of the Buddhist book "Mahāvagga" that Bimbisār had 500 queens.

In Jaina books (Antagaḍḍasāṅg Part VII, Chapter 13), it is stated that thirteen queens of Śreṇik had become Jaina nuns with the permission of Śreṇik. Their names are:—(1) Nandā, (2) Nandamatī, (3) Nandottarā, (4) Nandsenā, (5) Mahattā, (6) Sumarutā, (7) Mahāmarutā, (8) Marudevā, (9) Bhadrā, (10) Subhadrā, (11) Sujātā, (12) Sumanātītā, (13) Bhūtdiptā. Again it is stated in the 10th Chapter of Part VIII of the same book that the following queens became Jaina nuns after Śreṇik's death:—(1) Kālī (2) Sukālī (3) Mahākālī (4) Kṛṣṇā (5) Sukṛṣṇā (6) Mahākṛṣṇā (7) Vikṛṣṇā (8) Rāmkrṣṇā (9) Pitrusenkrṣṇā (10) Mahāsenkrṣṇā. These were all the foster mothers of Kuṇḍik.

(64) Instances about this are given in the account of Abhaya-kumār in Bharateśvara. B. V. Translation ( specially the instance of Ādrakumār described on page 266 and its footnotes, and the instance of Kṛtapaṇḍya-Kayavannā Seth. )



B. C. he renounced the world and became a Jaina monk. We do not know the date of his death.

We do not know whether Sunandā gave birth to any other child. Perhaps princess Manoramā<sup>65</sup> might have been born of her; but it is more probable that she must have been born of the second queen Dhāriṇī.

Nothing is known about the latter half of Sunandā's life or about her death<sup>66</sup>. She had come to Magadh, eight years after Bimbisār had left her at Bennātaṭ, and probably led the rest of her life in this place.

(2) Dhāriṇī:—Bimbisār must have married her immediately after coming to the throne, because prince Megh-kumār, who was born of her, had become a Jaina monk<sup>67</sup> during the time when Mahāvīr stayed at Rājgṛhī<sup>68</sup> for 14 monsoons (556 B. C. onwards), after marrying with various princesses during his early youth.

In addition to Meghkumār, princess Manoramā too, must have been born of her<sup>69</sup>. She was married with

(65) Details about her are given later on.

(66) It is stated in Jaina books that when Abhayakumār became a Jaina-monk, his mother too became a Jaina nun with the consent of Bimbisār.

(67) An interesting account is given of the circumstances under which he became a monk in Bh. B. V.

(68) Kalpasūtra Com. pp. 101. Mahāvīr spent 42 monsoons as follows:—(1) Asthikgrām, (3) Chāmpā-Pruṣṭa Chāmpā, (12) Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrām (14) Rājgṛhī and Nālandā, (6) Mithilā, (2) Bhadrīkā, (1) Ālambikā nagarī (1) Śrāvastī, (1) Vajrabhūmi, and (1) Apāpānagarī; out of these, after he attained the Kaivalya-Gnāna stage, he spent the 30 monsoons as follows:—(1) Chāmpā, (10) Vaiśālī, (13) Rājgṛhī (6) Mithilā, (This means that after the Kaivalya stage, he spent a majority of monsoons in Rājgṛhī and Vaiśālī.)

(69) Manoramā must have been the daughter either of Sunandā, or of Kśemā. She must not have been born of Kśemā, because she would not have been allowed to marry with a Jain. As to Sunandā, it is stated on pp. 94 Bh. B. V. T. that once Śreṇik called Abhaya-kumār in private and said to him, "My daughter Manoramā should marry a Kshatriya." This means that she was not born of Sunandā, otherwise Śreṇik would have addressed to Abhayakumār "your sister Manoramā,"



Kṛtapuṇya<sup>70</sup> son of a rich merchant of Rājgrhī. Kṛtapuṇya was a fast friend of Abhayakumār, and had become a Jaina monk under Mahāvīr. Manoramā must have been married with him in 556 B. C., and she must have been born in 572 B. C. We do not know when all these three—Dhāriṇī, Meghakumār, and Manoramā—died. We have reason to believe that Dhāriṇī had become a Jaina nun in her later life.

(3) Kṣemā:—Jaina books do not contain any information about her. In Bauddha books it is given that she had become a Bauddha nun in 559 B. C. No other details are known about her life.

(4) Chillaṇā:—We have already described the circumstances under which Bimbisār married her. It was she, who made him a devout Jain, by showing him the greatness of Jainism. The incident of Anāth muni made him still more devout. She was made the chief queen as the first three queens were not in the palace<sup>71</sup>.

Chillaṇā must have been married with him in about 558–59 B. C. Within a short time, she gave birth to a son, who succeeded Bimbisār on the throne as Kuṇik or Ajātsatru. At this time Mahāvīr entered the Kaivalya stage (556 B. C.).

(70) "Kṛtapuṇya" is a Sanskrit name. In Magadhi he is called Kayavannā.

Kṛtapuṇya : One who has done many acts of merit. We do not know his real name. This is one more instance of the peculiar habit of Jaina writers to give persons names, which sum up the chief peculiarity of their lives. Vide Chapter IV Part I for the paragraph on this.

(71) The first two queens, Sunandā and Dhāriṇī, were followers of Jainism, and third, Kṣemā, was a follower of Buddhism. The first two might have been dead, and the third became a Bauddha nun, thus making Śreṇik angry with Buddha. Had the first two queens become nuns, the king would not have become angry with Buddha; or, he must have been very much attached to Kṣemā, and would not have liked to be separated from her.

This also means that Manoramā must not have been born of Chillaṇā. Again Meghakumār, son of Dhāriṇī, might have been a young man leading married life when Chillaṇā was married with Śreṇik.



Sometimes, a pregnant woman, feels a strong desire to eat a particular thing during the period of pregnancy, and the nature of desire indicates the future of the child to be born. One desire of Chillanā was to eat the flesh of the body of Bimbisār<sup>72</sup>. The second desire was to go with a procession-in state, to a Jaina temple and there worship the Jaina idol. The first desire was unauuspicious, and she did not dare to say anything about it to the king<sup>73</sup>. But she began to grow weaker and weaker in body. When the king asked the reason for this, she told him her second desire. The king gladly fulfilled her desire. After some time, she gave birth to Ajātsātru.

Once, this child began to cry incessantly, and did not stop crying, in spite of all the effort of his mother and the maid-servants to quiet him. At last the queen became angry, and ordered the maid-servant to take him away and put him in the dirty corner of a street. There, one of the cocks wandering there bit his finger, and blood began to come out of it. The child began to cry louder still. Bimbisār happened to pass by the same way, and seeing his own son in such an odd place, ordered his servant to take him up, and brought him back to the palace. Pus began to gather at the place where the cock had bitten the child, who could not help crying on account of acute pain. The

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(72) Vide further and see, how Śreṇik died as a result of this desire. Those who believe in metempsychosis according to one's own deeds in previous births will find out the link existing between karmās of one birth with those of the other, as well as soon trace and realise the meaning of the present incident. (1) The queen's desire to eat the king's flesh during her pregnancy (2) the connection between her throwing the child in the dirty corner of a street and this desire (3) the connection between Kuṇik's inclination towards patricide and this desire, (4) why the queen, who was a devout Jain, did not like to disclose this desire before the king. etc...etc. These questions are interesting to those who believe in the theory of birth and re-birth.

(73) The queen did not dare to communicate her desire to the king because he had not yet become a devout Jain, and perhaps might disregard her desire and make a joke of it.

This means that the king was not a devout Jain upto 556 B. C.



king began to suck the pus with his own mouth and then spit it out; thereby within a few days his pain was quieted. But his finger and his palm became permanently defective and therefore he became famous as Kuṇṇik (one having a crooked arm)<sup>74</sup>.

We know that Chillaṇā was the chief queen<sup>75</sup>. She had given birth to two more sons—Halla and Vihalla; both of whom died a year after the death of Bimbisār. (They had not died, as I believe, but they had become Jaina monks). Chillaṇā's father Cheṭak also died at this time<sup>76</sup>. These events made Chillaṇā think about the transitoriness of wordly happiness, and she became a Jaina nun under Mahāvīr in 527 B. C.<sup>77</sup>. At this time her age was forty-five<sup>78</sup>. We do not know when she died.

(5) Kauśalyādevī:—Historians have called her Kauśalyādevī because she was the daughter of the king of Kośal, Prasenjit. We do not know her real name. Wars had been waged for many years between the Śiśunāga dynasty of Magadh, and the Ikṣavāku dynasty of Kośal, to decide which of the two families was higher<sup>79</sup>. At last in 538 B. C. Śreṇik completely defeated Prasenjit, the king of Kośal, and in order to lower his family, married a daughter of Prasenjit himself, and married his son's daughter with his son. When Śreṇik died, Kauśalyā must hardly have been 26. Being unable to endure the pangs of separation, she died the very next year (527 B. C.)<sup>80</sup>.

Now we turn to the account of Śreṇik's sons and daughters.

(74) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Samgrah pp. 82 J. O. B. R. S: Vol. I pp 86:—Kuṇṇik in Sanskrit means "one with a crooked arm," This epithet which was apparently employed by contemporaries, signifies that Ajātsatru had a crippled arm.

(75) See 71 above.

(76) For details vide the account of Kuṇṇik.

(77) Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 328.

(78) Vide Chapter V Part I for her birth.

(79) Vide the account of Kāśi above in part I.

(80) E. H. I. 3rd Ed. pp 32.



(1) Abhayakumār:—We already know under what circumstances he was born, how he became the prime-minister and how he helped Bimbisār in the great task of social reconstruction. He believed that, to become a king was very sinful and leading towards hell. So he renounced his claim to the throne, though he was the eldest son, and advised his father to make Kuṇik the next king. He became a Jaina monk in 533 B. C. We do not know when he died.

(2) Meghākumār:—We have already stated when he was born, and how and why he became a Jaina monk in about 545 B. C. under Mahāvīr.

(3) (4) (5) Kuṇik, Halla, and Vihalla:—All these were born of Chillaṇā. Details about their lives will be given later on.

(6) Nandiśeṇa:—It is not given even in Jaina books of which queen he was born or what were his activities during his life? We know that he had become a monk and led a spiritual life. He must have been born in about 560 B. C.

(7) Manoramā:—She was born of Dhārīṇī<sup>81</sup> and was a sister to Meghākumār. She was married to Kṛtputya, the son of a rich merchant in Rājgrhi<sup>82</sup>. She was married in 558 B. C.

(8) A princess—Her name is not known. We do not know when she was born and of which queen she was born. One peculiar thing about her life, which throws ample light on the social condition of those times, is worth noting here. She was married with Metārya, the son of a Chaṇḍāl, the lowest caste even among Śūdras. When the wedding took place, all including Bimbisār thought that he was the son of a Chaṇḍāl. It was later on known, however, that he was by birth the son of a rich merchant, and was brought up by a Chaṇḍāl according to the decrees of fate. This incident proves that inter-caste marriages

(81) See 71 above and matter connected with it.

(82) These incidents prove that inter-caste marriages were very common in those days.



were common in those days<sup>83</sup>. This Metārya had become a Jaina monk<sup>84</sup> in his later life, and he was killed under tragic circumstances by some antagonist of Jainism.

Over and above these eight, numerous other sons and daughters are ascribed to him<sup>85</sup> in various books. It is stated in "Indian Antiquary"<sup>86</sup> on the authority of Upāṅg and Nirvyūkti, that "king Ajātsatru had nine brothers over and above Kāl," i. e. Śreṇik had, in all, eleven sons. The name of the two of these were Mahāpadma and Nandan. In Jaina books some more names are given, but it is possible that one son might have had two or three names.

Bimbisār had many sons, but six of them were claimants to the throne, because the rest had become Jaina monks. These six were, in order of their ages, Abhayakumār, Meghakumār, Nandiṣeṇa, Kuṇik, Halla, and Vihalla. Out of these, Halla and Vihalla, being younger than Kuṇik, had no right to the throne prior to that of Kuṇik; Meghakumār and Nandiṣeṇa became Jaina monks. Bimbisār desired that Abhayakumār should succeed him on the throne, because he was the eldest and the most intelligent of all his sons. But Abhayakumār believed kingship to be leading towards hell, and wanted to become a Jaina monk. Bimbisār

The cause of his death

(83) Cf. 82 above.

(84) Mahāvīr had eleven disciples, one of whom was named Metārya; but this Metārya is a different person from the one referred to above.

(85) It is stated in a Jaina book (Anuttarovāy Sūtra) that ten sons of Śreṇik had become Jaina monks. Their names are:—(1) Jāli (2) Mayāli (3) Yuvayāli (4) Puruṣasen (5) Vāriṣen (6) Dīrghadant (7) Laṣṭadant (8) Vihal (9) Vehās (10) Abhayakumār. Besides these, other thirteen sons are also said to have been Jaina monks (Anuttarovāy sūtra, Part II. Chapter 3). Their names are:—(1) Dīrghasen (2) Mahāsen (3) Laṣṭadant. (4) Gāḍhadant (5) Śuddhadant (6) Halla (7) Drum (8) Drumsen (9) Mahādrumsen (10) Sīṇha (11) Sīṇhasen (12) Mahāsinhasen (13) Pūrṇasen (The name Laṣṭadant is found in both the lists but the name of Meghakumār is found nowhere; this means that Meghakumār must have got other name.)

(86) I. A. 1914 pp. 168, 69.



persuaded him from doing so, but at last an incident occurred<sup>87</sup> which caused Bimbisār to give his consent to it.<sup>88</sup> Abhayakumār immediately became a monk under Mahāvīr. Kuṇik's right to the throne was thus naturally established, (533–34 B. C.); while Halla and Vihalla were given the elephant named Sachanak<sup>89</sup> and costly ear-ornaments of jewels.<sup>90</sup> At this time—perhaps a year or two earlier—Kuṇik's wife Prabhāvatī gave birth to a son, Udāyan. When the child became somewhat elder, Prabhāvatī desired that he should have an elephant for riding, and persuaded Kuṇik to demand from his father the elephant named Sachanak. Kuṇik did so. Śreṇik replied in very plain terms, that he had already given the elephant to Halla, and that he would, under no circumstances demand it back. This made Kuṇik very angry. He was a haughty young man of 28. He had recently helped his father in defeating the king of Kośal and Prabhāvatī was the daughter of the son of the king of Kośal<sup>91</sup>. The king was on his way to senile decay. Kuṇik had been taking an active part in the administration of the kingdom and all the chief officers were on his side. Taking advantage of all these circumstances, he imprisoned his father, and ordered his servants to give him hundred lashes on his back every day. Queen Chillaṇā tried her best to dissuade Kuṇik from doing such a heinous deed but all was in vain. Once when Kuṇik was taking his dinner in his palace, the young prince Udāyan came there playing, and made water in the dish of Kuṇik<sup>92</sup>, who, though he did not like it, did not mind it, very much. Chillaṇā who was present at the time said, "The love of a father towards his son could make him forgive any

(87) For details the reader is referred to the account of Abhayakumār in Bh. B. V. Translation.

(88) At present, Jains believe that no consent of elders is needed in becoming a monk, after one has attained majority. Cf. 71 Chapter I Part II.

(89) This elephant had supernatural powers. In some books he is called Sechanak.

(90) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah pp. 75.

(91) Vide the previous page of this chapter.

(92) Vide pp 107 Bh. B. V. Translation.



offence of the son. Your father had under-gone many hardships for you. When you were a child and pus was coming out of your cock-bitten finger, and you were incessantly crying because you could not bear the pain, your father kept your finger in his mouth, sucked and spat out your pus, and thus quieted your pain. In order to make you sleep he had to keep your finger in his mouth for hours together at times. You may now think, if you like, how you are repaying his sacrifices for you"<sup>93</sup>. Hearing these words, Kuṇḍik was ashamed of his conduct, and immediately hurried towards the prisoned house to release his father. On the way he saw an axe, and thinking to break the chains from the feet of his father with it, he took it up and ran towards the prison. When Śreṇik saw him rushing towards him with an axe, he naturally thought that he was coming to kill him, and he immediately committed suicide. Thus Kuṇḍik had not actually killed his father<sup>94</sup> as he is said to have done in some history books, but he indirectly caused him to commit suicide<sup>95</sup>.

This event took place eight years before the Parinirvāṇ of Buddha<sup>96</sup> and Śreṇik had remained in prison for 12 months<sup>97</sup>.

Some writers believe (including some Jaina writers also) that he remained in prison for twelve years, while others believe that he remained in prison for twelve months. I believe in the second theory.

(93) Modern youths should bear in mind the words of Chillaṇā. Emperor Priyadarśin, in his inscriptions, has also advised young men to pay respect to the orders of their elders.

(94) E. H. I. pp 48. The author has stated that Bauddha writers are prone to misrepresenting facts in order to show the low character of non-Bauddhas. He says, "For those reasons I now reject the Buddhist tale of Ajātsatru's murder of his father."

(95) Kuṇḍik thus became the cause of his father's death as was indicated by the first desire of eating king's flesh, primarily felt by Chillaṇā when she was pregnant. Cf. 73 above.

(96) I. A. Vol. 22 pp 227; C. H. I. pp 167; Ch. I. pp 6. "8 years before Buddha's death."

(97) See the next paragraph.



His stay in prison

If we accept that he remained in prison for twelve years, he must have been imprisoned in 540 B. C. In 540 B. C. Kunik was only eighteen and could not have been His stay in prison powerful enough to throw a mighty king like Śrenik into prison. Again Abhayakumār was there, to stop such an atrocity upto 533 B. C. and Kunik dared not have done anything like this, as long as Abhayakumār was the prime-minister. Kunik himself was declared the next heir to the throne after Abhayakumār became a Jaina monk in 533 B. C. and it must have taken him some three or four years to become influential enough as to put his father in prison. Thus 12 months is the right time for which Śrenik remained in prison. (Some scribe must have made the mistake of writing twelve "years" in place of "months," as is the custom with them).





## Chapter III

### (Śīsunāga dynasty continued)

*Synopsis:—(7) Kunik—his various names—Why he came to the throne eventhough he had no claim to it—Stains on his career—Change of capital—Discussion about Champānagari—Partiality of the kings of Kōśal and Magadh for it and its reasons—Reasons why he was not a follower of Buddhism—His family—The extent of his territory—His death—*

*(8) Udāyan—His time and life—Change of Capital—Comparison between modern and ancient architects—Why he was given the title of "Bhata"—His conquest of Ceylon—Why he renounced his throne—*

*(9) Anurudhdha and Mund—Had Anurudhdha ever come to the throne of Magadh?—His connection with Anurudhdhapur, the capital of Ceylon—The origins of Pallavās, Kadambās, Chōlās, Pāṇḍyās and others—Independent kingdoms that originated from the empire of Magadh—More light on the deaths of Udāyan and Anurudhdha—Death or dethronement of Mund, reasons for them—Nāgdaśak and his dynasty—*



## (7) AJATŚATRU-KUṆIK

We know, when Śreṇik died in 528 B. C., his son Ajatśatru-Kuṇik became the king of Magadh. We know why he was given the name Kuṇik. In Purāṇās he has been given

**His names** the name of Darśak<sup>1</sup>. In an ancient Bauddha book "Lalitvistar" Śreṇik has been called "Videhaputto" which name really belongs to Kuṇik, because, as we have already proved, Śreṇik cannot be called "Videhaputto" in any way. Cambridge History of India, page 193 supports our conclusion<sup>2</sup>. Jaina books, too, support it, because Kuṇik was born

(1) He is called Darśak in the Purāṇās ( C. H. I. Vol. I pp. 312 ) See the Purāṇic list of kings. Vide the paragraph on the queens of Udāyan in in the account Vatsa deśa.

It is evident that Darśak and Udāyan were names belonging to separate persons according to the author; and that Udāyan succeeded because he has written as follows:—

"Darśak's reign for, 24, 25, or 35 years, and Udāyan's reign for 23 years, 48 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇ." Now Buddha attained Nirvāṇ in 543 B. C., and Parinirvāṇ in 520 B. C. In the above statement in place of "Nirvāṇ" the right word ought to have been "Parinirvāṇ," because if we accept the word Nirvāṇ, none of the years (543-24=519, 543-25=518; 543-35=508) do properly fix with the reigns of Śreṇik, Kuṇik, or Udāyan. If we take "Parinirvāṇ" on the other hand, and also accept 24 or 25 as the right number (35 must be false), we can calculate 520-24 or 25=596-95 B. C. which was the year of the end of the reign of Kuṇik.

Now Udāyan's reign ended in 480 B. C. According to the above statement it must have ended in 520-48=472 B. C., in which ended really the reign of one of his sons, who was a weak king. So the writer must have meant by "Udāyan" not himself only, but "Udāyan and his successors;" and that his dynasty ended in 472 B. C. that is 48 years after the Parinirvāṇ of Buddha; and that Darśak and Udāyan were different persons.

(2) C. H. I. pp. 183. Kuṇik being born of Chillanā, who was a princess of Videha, was called Videhā, and hence is addressed as "Videhaputta" ( He was Videhiputta in the canonical Pali-texts: the later Buddhist traditions make him a son of Kośaldevī, )

This gives us to understand that some modern writers have tempered with the text of ancient Bauddha books and thus caused much confusion.



### His claim to the throne

of Chillanā<sup>3</sup> and she was the daughter of Chetak, king of Videha<sup>4</sup>. Throughout his life, he was never defeated in any battle, so he can be given the name of Ajitsatru<sup>5</sup>. In Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Samgrah pp. 40, he is said to have had the name of Aśokachandra also.

In getting the throne he was as fortunate as his father Śreṇik, who came to the throne even though his claim to the throne he was not the eldest son. Abhayakumār's renouncing the throne and the other two elder brothers becoming monks, made his way clear.

We already know that he, directly or indirectly, was responsible for the death of his father. A short time after he came to the throne, Prabhāvatī, his queen, again incited Stains on his career him to get Sachenak elephant for Udāyan.

Kuṇik demanded the elephant from Halla and Vihalla, who refused to give the elephant, and sought safety in flight to Vaisālī, where their mother's father Chetak, plainly refused to give the elephant saying that they were under his protection, and it was his duty as a kṣatriya to protect them. Moreover, like him, they were the sons of his daughter Chillanā. Kuṇik, with a large army, invaded Vaisālī. Halla and Vihalla were in the front line of the army of Chetak, and they rode Sachenak who had supernatural powers. Kuṇik could do them no harm as long as they were on Sachenak's back. He made a trick. On the neutral ground between the two armies he got a pit dug and filled it half with live coals. Halla and Vihalla advanced

(3) Purātattava Vol. I. pp 130. Last pages of Chapter II Part II.

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

(5) Ajitsatru = One who is not conquered by enemies; while Ajātsatru = one whose enemy is not born. Out of these two Ajitsatru is more applicable to Kuṇik, as shown above.

According to some writers, when he was in the womb of his mother, she felt a desire to drink the blood of the king; Śreṇik had satisfied her desire by taking some blood out of his knee. Hence he was called Ajātsatru one who is an enemy before he was born. To me this seems to be far-fetched, because who can know whether the child would be a son or a daughter. ?



towards his army on Sachenak, who at once became aware of the pit by his supernatural power<sup>6</sup>. He got Halla and Vihalla down with his trunk, and himself fell in the pit and burned himself to death.<sup>7</sup> (Some writers say that he fell in the pit with Halla and Vihalla). Two gods who were travelling at the time in the sky, lifted Halla and Vihalla and put them in the place where Mahāvīr was preaching. Halla and Vihalla became Jaina monks under Mahāvīr. Cheṭak could have killed Kuṇik, because he was a fine shot, but he did not like to kill his daughter's son. So he killed himself by falling into a well<sup>8</sup>. (There are various opinions as to how he died, but one thing is certain that he died at this time in 527 B. C.). As Cheṭak had no son,<sup>9</sup> Kuṇik annexed the kingdom of Vaiśālī to the empire of Magadh.

Thus, Chillaṇā,, deprived of her two sons Halla and Vihalla, and of her father Cheṭak, renounced the world and became a Jaina nun at the age of 45, under Mahāvīr. This must have taken place in May or April of 527 B. C.<sup>10</sup>, because Mahāvīr died in October of the same year.

(6) Such foreknowledge is called Vibhāṅg-gñān in Jaina books. Vi=crooked. This type of faculty gives one the power to know things beforehand, but they are not known in their proper form.

(7) It is stated on pp. 105 of Bh. B. V. Translation that both the brothers were burnt to death with the elephant.

(8) Some say that he died fighting; others say that he fasted himself to death; some others say that he committed suicide because he was afraid of the disgrace which would be the result of his defeat at the hand of his daughter's son.

(9) While this volume was in print, I happened to read some numbers of a monthly "Anekānt" published in Delhi. On pp 226 Vol. I, it is stated by Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayji on the authority of Himvant Thirāvali that Śobhanrāi, the son of Cheṭak, ran away and became the king of Kalinga, and that Khārvel was one of his descendants. We have no convincing evidence to support this statement. We have discussed this in details in Chapter VI, Part. I.

(10) It is one of the rules of Jainism that none can be made a Jaina monk or nun during the four months of the rainy-season, i. e. after the fifteenth day of Āśādh. Mahāvīr died on the last day of Āśvin i. e. in October. Hence she must have become a Jaina nun before the fifteenth day of Āśādh, i. e. before July.



Thus, within a year after ascending the throne, Kuṇḍik had to be separated from his two brothers Halla and Vihalla, his mother and his mother's father Cheṭak. A short time after this, his religious god-father Mahāvīr<sup>11</sup> died<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, his foster mother Kauśalyādevī had met a pre-mature death. Thus, including Śreṇik, seven relatives of Kuṇḍik died within a year and six months.

When Kuṇḍik succeeded his father on the throne, he had under his rule the kingdoms of Magadh and Aṅga. When Cheṭak died, he annexed his kingdom of Viheda to his empire. His capital hitherto was Rājgrhī; but after the deaths of his relatives he could not lead a peaceful life there any more. His mind did not incline towards Vaiśālī because Cheṭak had committed suicide there for his sake. Hence he was attracted towards Champānagarī<sup>13</sup>, the capital of Aṅga, though it was partly destroyed by king Śātānik of Kauśāmbī in 556 B. C. He was inclined to make it his capital because of one or two more reasons; one of the reasons was that the twelfth Tīrthaṅkar of the Jains, Vāsupūjya was born, had become a monk<sup>14</sup>, and had entered both the Kaivalya and Nirvāṇa stages in it; secondly, even Mahāvīr had attained Kaivalya

(11) Because Kuṇḍik was a Jain. See details in the succeeding paragraph.

(12) Vide pp. 75 of Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṁgrah.

(13) Modern scholars are of the opinion that Champāpurī was in the Bhāgalpur district of Bengal, and R. W. W. supports their contention. Modern Jains assign the same place to Champāpurī. There are no proofs to support this. Champānagarī was really situated in the Central Provinces near the Inscription of Rupnāth. R. E. supports this conclusion uncontrovertibly. All legends connected with it support this conclusion. For details vide Chapter III, Part. I.

Kuṇḍik died in the district of Champā ( in which was Champāpurī ) while he had gone to conquer the region surrounding the Vindhya mountain. ( Vide pp 21, Chapter VI, of Pariśiṣṭa Parva ed. by Hermann Jacobi. ) That Champāpurī was near the Vindhyaś shows that it was in the Central Provinces and not in Bengal.

(14) This place is now famous for the rock inscription of Rupnāth of Priyadarśin. For details, vide the account of Priyadarśin.



stage in it;<sup>15</sup> whereupon he got the destroyed parts repaired and made it his capital<sup>16</sup>. In memory of this change, and to show his devotion to the place where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage<sup>17</sup> he got erected a pillar with an inscription on it, which is famous as "Ajātsatru Pillar," and the description of which is interestingly given in "Bhārhut Stūpa." In fact, he was so much attached to this place<sup>17</sup>, that when Sudharmā, the first disciple of Mahāvīr, came to it, he received him with unsurpassed pomp, show and ceremony. He had spent so much wealth for it that in Jaina books<sup>18</sup> this reception is described as unequalled. He has got the whole thing inscribed in his pillar<sup>19</sup>. This change of capital took place in 524 B. C., four years after he ascended the throne.

It is stated in Bauddha books that Ajātsatru<sup>20</sup> changed his capital to Pātliputra (Kusumpur) in the fourth year of his reign<sup>21</sup>. This seems to be a mis-statement of facts, because not Ajātsatru but his son Udāyan changed his capital to Pātliputra (Kusumpur) in the fourth year of his reign. Thus both Champāpurī and Pātliputra were made capitals in the fourth year of the reigns of two different kings, Kuṇik and Udāyan<sup>22</sup>. Thus Champāpurī remained the capital of Magadh only for 32 years.

(15) Bhārhut is only 25 miles far from Rupnāth inscription. One of the pillars of Bhārhut has been erected by Ajātsatru to show his devotion to his religion; another is erected by Prasenjit of Kośal, the father-in-law of Śreṇik. For further details the reader is referred to "Bhārhut Stūpa" by Sir Cunningham.

(16) Vide T. Sh. Pu. Charit Part 10, Chapter 12.

(17) Those places where a Tīrthāṅkar (1) enters the womb of his mother (2) is born (3) becomes a monk (4) attains Kaivalya stage or (5) enters Nirvāṇ, are called holy places in Jaina books and these five events are considered very auspicious.

(18) Vide chapter 15 of Parīśiṣṭa Parva; Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 132; and Jaina Yuga Vol. 2 Page 362.

(19) See plates no. 16 and 17 in "Bhārhut Stūpa" For this.

(20) Vide f. n. no. 43 below and the matter concerning it.

(21) Pārgiter's dynastic list in Kali Ages. pp 69. "That king will make his capital in Kusumpur, on the south banks of the Ganges in his fourth year."

(22) Vide his account.



Both the Jaina and the Bauddha books claim Ajātsatru to have been the follower of their religions. It is stated in Jaina books<sup>23</sup> that he solved his doubts and difficulties by asking questions to Mahāvīr. Now, Mahāvīr died in the same year in which Ajātsatru came to the throne. Hence they must have seen each other only for a short time. Prof. J. Carpentier, on the other hand, states on the authority of Bauddha books<sup>24</sup> that Udāyan, 30 years before he became king, used to accompany his father to offer his salutations to Buddha. We should here bear in mind that, because he used to go to offer his salutations to Buddha, he cannot be called the follower of Buddhism; while he discussed religions and other questions with Mahāvīr, Prof. Rhys Davis says<sup>25</sup> "Nothing is found in the ancient books, but modern books tell us that Ajātsatru had got a hall built for the first meeting of the Buddhists". Ancient books are always more reliable than modern ones, and if they do not contain any reference to the building of a hall<sup>26</sup>, it means that the modern writers have invented it. The same writer states later in the same volume<sup>27</sup>, "There is no convincing

(23) Auppātic Sūtra Para. 398; I. A. 1914. pp. 127.

(24) Dignikāy I. 50; I. A. 1914. pp. 174 f. n. no. 97.

(25) Bud. India, pp 15, "He (king Ajātsatru) obtained Buddha's relics and built a stupa (the Bhārhut stūpa) or burial mound over them. And though the oldest authority says nothing about it, younger works state, that on the convocation of the first council at Rājgrah, it was the king who provided and prepared the hall at the entrance of the Śatpāṇi cave, where the rehearsal of the doctrine took place."

(26) There is no reference in Bauddha books because he was not a follower of that religion; vide the above f. n. no. 25.

(27) Bud. Ind. pp. 15:—"As usual the Buddha himself is not delineated (This shows that the inscription is not about him) at the Bhārhut Stūpa. Only his foot-prints are shown. It is also distinctly stated that he was not converted. There is no evidence that he really, after the moment, when his heart was moved, continued to follow Buddha's teaching. He never, as far as we know, waited again either upon the Buddha or upon any member of the order, to discuss ethical matters, and we hear of no material support given by him to the order during Buddha's life."



proof of Ajātsatru having ever followed Buddhism". Again it is stated on pp. 160 of the Cambridge History of India<sup>28</sup> that, "Jains have more right than the Bauddhas over this king who can be accused of patricide". The pillar erected by Ajātsatru himself in the Bhārhut stūpa is the best proof to show that he was a follower of Jainism<sup>29</sup>, like his father.

Ajātsatru was born in 556-7 B. C. He ascended the throne in 528 B. C. He died in 496 B. C.<sup>30</sup> after reigning for 32 years. Thus his life-time was sixty years. He was 28 years old when he ascended the throne.

His queen's name was Prabhādevī, or Prabhāvatī. She was the daughter of Viduratha, the eldest son of Prasenjit of Kośal;

she was married in 538 B. C., which means  
**His family** that she must have been born in 551-2 B. C.

When Kuṇṭik came to the throne, Udāyan was six years old, which means that he was born in 534 B. C. Kuṇṭik had a daughter also named Padmāvatī<sup>31</sup> who was married to Udayan, king of Vatsa.

Ajātsatru seems to have married none except Prabhāvatī, but it also seems impossible that a great king like himself should have done so, in those times of poligamy for kings. One writer<sup>32</sup>

(28) C. H. I. pp 160 "There seems to be little doubt that the Jains have more claim to include the patricide king (Ajātsatru) among their converts than the Buddhists."

O. H. I. pp. 48 "Both Buddhists and Jains claimed him as one of themselves. The Jaina claim appears to be well-founded."

(29) See f. n. no. 15 above and matter connected with it.

(30) He did not die naturally. See f. n. 13 above.

(31) H. H. pp. 50: "His (Ajātsatru's) daughter Padmāvatī was still unmarried".

(32) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa" Vol. 2 "He had another queen named Pātli, the daughter of a king named Mahendravarman". The writer has given no proof to support this statement. It is possible that he must have based his conclusion on the fact that Udāyan founded Pāṭliputra, and that therefore he must have been the son of a queen named "Pātli"; and thus "Pātli" must have been the queen of Kuṇṭik. This deserves further research. Cf. f. n. no. 44 below.



states that he had married a girl named Pātli though I do not attach much importance to it.

He had inherited from his father the kingdoms of Magadh, Aṅga<sup>33</sup>, and Kāśī. We have seen how he acquired the kingdom of Vaiśālī (Videha) on account of the death of Chetāk. He is not known to have waged any war for obtaining further territory. We know that during his father's life-time he had to fight against the king of Kośal 10 or 12 times, in which he sometimes conquered the king of Kośal, and sometimes was defeated by him. At last the king of Kośal was defeated, and as a result, his father Śreṇik married Prasenjit's daughter, and he married his son's daughter. One writer is of the opinion<sup>34</sup> that Kuṇik, and not Prasenjit was defeated finally in these battles and that he was imprisoned for a time. This seems improbable, because if Prasenjit had been victorious he would not have given his daughter and his son's daughter in marriage to Śreṇik and Kuṇik.

Thus the territory of Kuṇik occupied the entire northern portion of Eastern India; and he had friendly relations with Prasenjit of Kośal. So he directed his attention towards making conquests in the south, and while trying to pass through the Vindhyās his death took place under accidental circumstances<sup>35</sup>.

One thing remains to be specially noted here. We are all, as we know, indebted to Śreṇik for social organization and structure. Kuṇik was the pioneer in trying to find out a way from northern India to southern India through the Vindhyā ranges

(33) This country was, really speaking, under the rule of Kaling, but the author of Purātattva has used the words "Aṅga-magadh" together. This also deserves research at the hands of experts.

There is again no possibility of Aṅga having different king as a vassal of the king of Magadh, because Kuṇik made Champāpurī his capital.

(34) C. H. I. 3rd. Ed. pp. 35. "It is said, Ajātsatru was carried away as a captive in chains to his opponent's capital: ultimately peace was restored and a princess of Kośal was given in marriage to the king of Magadh".

(35) See f. n. 13 above.



which were upto his time believed to be impassable. Though he died while doing so, though his excursion was not successful on this account, yet he was the first to show the possibility of passing through them, as a result of which his son Udāyan could go upto Ceylon. I have quoted below some sentences from pp. 4 of the Oxford History of India, by Vincent Smith. In prehistoric times, communication between the north and the south, must have been very difficult and rare<sup>36</sup>. "The people of either region presumably knew little or nothing of those in the other and the two populations were probably totally different in blood".

### (8) UDĀYAN-UDAYĀŚVA<sup>37</sup>--UDĀYANBHAT<sup>38</sup>

Udāyan succeeded his father on the throne of Magadh. His mother was Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the son of Prasenjit of Kośal. Some writer has said that his mother's name was Pātli. (See f. n. nos. 32 and 44). This, as I have already said, deserves research. He was born in 534 B. C., he ascended the throne in 496 B. C. at the age of 38-39, and he died in 480 B. C.<sup>39</sup> at the age of 55.

It is stated, however, in Jaina books that he gave the throne to his son<sup>40</sup> at the age of 55, and devoted himself to spiritual pursuits (Bh. B. V. pp. 56). He must have died some years later. (See f. n. no. 1 above).

Just as Kuṇik did not like to stay in Rājgrhī because of the death of his relatives, so Udāyan did not like to stay in

(36) I have based my conclusions on Jaina books and not on Mr. Vincent Smith's statement. Some scholars have the habit of looking scornfully on evidence and instances given in Jaina books, of which I have taken the fullest advantage in finding truths for the history of Ancient India. Those who do not pay due attention to such evidence, surely do injustice to truths about the history of Ancient India.

(37) Pp. 40, "Chandragupta" published by Baroda Sāhitya Granthmālā.

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

(39) See f. n. no. 1 above.

(40) This means he did not die without a son. Cf. the death of Udāyan of Vatsa.



Champāpurī on account of the death of his father. So he decided to change his capital. He divided his soldiers into four equal divisions and sent each division in each direction. One of them came near the place where the confluence of the Son and the Ganges takes place<sup>41</sup>. Near the place, there was a fine blooming tree, on which they saw a bird which opened its beak now and again, and the insects voluntarily fell into its mouth and it ate them. The soldiers liked this place, where a bird had to make no effort to earn its livelihood, so that the men who would stay there, would have their desires fulfilled<sup>42</sup>. When the king heard this, he immediately decided to found his new capital there, and people became busy in building the new capital. They did their work so rapidly that Udāyan came to stay in it, in the fourth year of his reign. (492 B. C.)<sup>43</sup>. The name of that wonderful tree was Pātal, (Rōyā) and hence the city was named Pāṭlipattan or Pāṭliputra<sup>44</sup>. Again, as the tree had very beautiful flowers which looked still more beautiful in the rays of the sun,

(41) Its name was Suvarṇa-rekhā or Hiraṇya-rekhā in those times. This river is divided into two streams. The sand in one of them is very soft and fine, and hence that part is called "Rjuvālukā" and it flows near Nāgōḍ State in Central Provinces, near which there is Bhārhut Stūpa. (See map in Chapter VI Part I).

(42) In Bauddha books also, a wonderful description is given of this place though slightly different from the one given in the Jaina books.

(43) C. H. I. by Smith. 3rd. Ed. pp. 36 f. n. no. 28; pp. 39 f. n. no. 1. The building of the city of Pāṭliputra on the south bank of the Ganges in his fourth year by Udāyan is asserted by the Vāyupurāṇ. Vide Bh. B. V. pp. 55; J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 74, f. n. 41. Udāyan has founded the city of Pāṭliputra according to the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇās, Gargasaṃhitā and the Jaina traditions.

Cf. f. n. no. 20 above.

For the origin of the word and the tree of this name, see f. n. no. 44 below.

(44) Pāṭliputra does not mean the son of a queen named Pāṭli (f. n. 32 above). Putra means Putta: Pāṭṭan = city. (f. n. 1, Chap. V. Part I). Interesting stories about the origin of this tree are told in Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 55-60 and in R. W. W. Vol. II, pp. 82-83.



it was also called Kusumpur. This city had a large area. Megāsthines, who had come as an ambassador in 304 B. C. to the court of Aśoka, has said that its area was 80 studias by 15 studias<sup>45</sup>. It was surrounded by a wooden wall, which had 570 minarets and 64 gates. Round the wall there was a ditch 630 ft. broad and thirty feet deep.

Modern engineers and architects generally believe that there was nothing like systematic planning and swift building process in those times. That such a large city was completely built within a short time of four years, while a portion of New Delhi took ten full years to be built and even then, has not been completely and satisfactorily built, throws ample light on the capacity of the engineers of those days as compared with the engineers of to-day<sup>47</sup>.

He also got a large Jaina temple built in Pātliputra and established the idol of Nemināth the twenty-second Tīrthāṅkar of the Jains<sup>48</sup>. He always came to worship here. After a short time, he started on his pilgrimage to Gīrnār and Śatruñjay in Saurāṣṭra. In 1882 A. D. two idols of Yakśās have been found from the neighbourhood of Pataṇā<sup>49</sup>, and they have been placed in the "Bhārhut Gallery" of Calcuttā Museum. Sir Cunninghām is of the opinion that<sup>50</sup> they must not have been older than Aśoka's

(45) C. H. I. pp. 411. (Oblong 80×15 studias=9¼ miles by 1 mile & 2270 yds.; ditch 30 cubits (60 ft.) deep by 6 plithra (200 yds wide).

Inscr. of Aśoka by Prof. Hultzsch Vol. I, Pref. XXXVII "Stretched in the habited quarters to an extreme length of each side of eighty studia and that its breadth was 15 studia, and that a ditch encompassed it all-round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and 30 cubits in depth; and that the walls was crowned with 570 towers and had four and sixty gates".

(46) I have written "ten years" as an approximate number.

(47) Another instance of fine architecture is supplied to us by Priyadarśin which we shall discuss in his account. These incidents prove that architecture was known to the people of ancient India.

(48) Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 55.

(49) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṇśa". Vol. 2 pp. 28-29.

(50) A. S. R. Vol. 15 pp. 2 and 3.



time; while Mr. Jayaswāl believes that<sup>51</sup> they must have been of a much earlier date than that of Aśoka, because on one of them is written the word "Aja" (Lord of the World) and on the other is written "Samrāt Varttinandi". I believe that these two idols must have been first established by Udāyan in the temple built by him. Again Mr. Jayaswāl states that in Bhāgvat, Udāyan is called "Aja" and Nandivardhan is called "Ajeya"<sup>52</sup>. If this is true, these two can be called the oldest Jaina idols. On the other hand, upto the time of Ajātsatru the Jains had no idols, they simply had the foot-prints<sup>53</sup>. Hence Udāyan was the first to establish a Jaina idol. We do not know when Buddhists started to establish idols.

After coming to stay in the new capital, he directed his attention towards the extension of his territory. First of all, he re-organized his army, and appointed Nāgdaśak, a relation of his, to the post of Commander-in-Chief. (B. C. 490-91) Udāyan introduced strict discipline in the army, as a result of which it was so much admired by Megasthenes, later on. When Nāgdaśak became the king of Magadh, under the name of Nandivardhan, he made many improvements in the army, which was made still more disciplined and made formidable in the reign of Chandragupta.

Why he was called  
Bhat<sup>54</sup>

(51) J. B. R. S. 1919 March. "Aja=the Lord of the Earth"; "Nandivardhan is called Vartivardhan in Vāyupurāṇ (Bhārat no Prāchin Rājvaṇśa Vol. 2 pp. 30).

(52) Bhārat no Prāchin Rājvaṇśa pp. 30 "In Bhāgvat, Udayāśva of the Śiśunāga dynasty is called "Aja" and his son (it ought to be successor) Nandivardhan is called "Ajeya," which means very valorous.

(53) See the pillar of Ajātsatru in Bhārhut-stūpa, in which there is no idol, but foot-prints. Bauddhas always establish idols (See Part III, Chapter I).

(54) R. K. M. pp. 77 :—The writer has quoted a passage from Dig-nikāy II, and has used the words, "would that my son Udāyanbhadda". The "bhadda" used here means "the good"; but the word "bhat" is more applicable to Udāyan because he had fought many battles during his reign, and he had re-organised and disciplined the whole of his army. Cf. f. n. nos. 38, 57, 59.



After thus first re-organizing his army, he set off for the conquest of southern India, and possibly conquered all kingdoms upto Ceylon, where in commemoration of his victory he founded a new city named Anurudhdhapur<sup>55</sup>, after the name of his son Anurudhdha; we see ruins of this city even no-day (ruins of temples and monastaries). It is possible that the conquest of Ceylon and the founding of the new city, might have taken place during the reign of his son Anurudhdha; or during his lifetime Prince Anurudhdha might have led the army to Ceylon and conquered it and then founded the city after his name<sup>56</sup>. We should not forget that a part of the credit for the conquests was due to Nāgdaśak under whose control was the whole army. Thus Udāyan was called Bhat<sup>57</sup> because he fought many battles and conquered many countries<sup>58</sup>.

Though he was fond of battles, yet he was not inclined to commit sins<sup>59</sup>. When the wars were over, he set off on a pilgrimage to various holy Jaina places, and entrusted his son Anurudhdha<sup>60</sup> with the care of the kingdom. We do not know under what circumstances he died; perhaps he might have died on his way to various places of pilgrimage<sup>61</sup>. Some writers are of the opinion

(55) There is no direct evidence to prove that he had gone to the south but the accounts and origins of "Chuṭakānand" (See the Chap. on Coins), of Mauryas (Chapter on Chandragupta), the Pallavās (Chap. VI, part II) and of others afford us indirect testimony to that effect. See f. n. no. 56 below and further pages.

(56) It is more possible that the invasion and conquest of Ceylon must have taken place during the reign of Udāyan, because the reign of Anurudhdha lasted only 6 years. Cf. f. n. no. 64 below.

(57) Cf. f. n. nos. 37 and 54 above. The appellation "Bhadda = the good" can also be applied to him. Cf. 59 below.

(58) Chapter VI. Part II.

(59) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 75 :—"Udāyan the good, Dharmātmā on the authority of Garga-saṃhitā.

(60) He had two sons, Anurudhdha and Mund.

(61) Vide the previous pages of this chapter.



that he was murdered by an old enemy of his, while he was sleeping in Posadha-śālā (a place to perform religious ceremonies) and that he left no son behind him<sup>62</sup>. I believe that the king who was thus murdered was not this Udāyan of Magadh, but was Udayan of Vatsa, the son of Śatānik, and these writers have confused the names. The story of the murder is as follows:—The murderer was a monk who was insulted by Udayan when he was under his service. He left Udayan's service and took shelter and service under the king of Avanti. Now the reasons why I believe that Udayan of Vatsa was murdered are:—(1) Avanti and Vatsa<sup>63</sup> are near each other; hence a man insulted in Magadh would find it difficult to go from Magadh to Avanti, in those times when there were no railways or any other means of fast and easy travel. (2) The relations between Magadh and Avanti were friendly, and it is not likely that the king of Avanti might have given shelter to a man insulted by the king of Magadh; on the contrary, Avanti and Vatsa were not on good terms because Chaṇḍapadyot of Avanti wanted to marry by force Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayan of Vatsa, as a consequence of which Udayan of Vatsa had taken away by force Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Chaṇḍapadyot. Hence the king of Avanti might have given shelter to a man insulted by the king of Vatsa. (3) Udayan of Vatsa died without a son, but Udāyan of Magadh had two sons, while the throne of Vatsa was given to Maṇiprabh who was an adopted heir. (Chap. V, Part I, Chap. VII, Part I).

### (9) ANURUDHDHA AND MUND

Anurudhdha succeeded his father on the throne, and he died after ruling for only six years. He was succeeded by his younger

(62) Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 56 : "He set off for a pilgrimage, having given his son his throne (i. e. it is proved that he had a son). Some non-Jaina books also say that he had a son; Pariśiṣṭa-Parva says that he had no son. Even Bh. B. V. Translation contradicts itself by saying elsewhere that he had no son. I leave the whole thing to the reader's discretion.

(63) The confusion has taken place because the kings of Magadh and Vatsa had the same name, and they were also contemporaries. Vide the account of Udayan of Vatsa Chapter V Part I.



brother Mund, who ruled only for two years<sup>64</sup>. No great events took place during their reigns; on the contrary some disgraceful incidents have happened. Both the brothers ruled from 480 to 472 B. C.

Though the brothers were young when they came to the throne, yet they have ruled for the shortest time of all the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty. They were neither wanting in bravery nor were they otherwise inefficient. **Chief events** Anurudhdha, during his father's reign, had conquered all the territory upto Ceylon<sup>65</sup>. What were, then, the reasons of the short time of their reigns?

Now, no causes have yet been found which are supported by conclusive evidence. We can draw some probable conclusions from what scattered facts and scrapes of evidence we have. We shall take Anurudhdha first. He succeeded his father in 480 B. C. and his reign ended in 474 B. C. That his brother succeeded him on the throne, means that he died without a son. He was not old when he died, which leads us to believe that his death must have taken place in accidental circumstances. We can forward the following reasons for our conclusion:—

(1) Anurudhdha succeeded his father on the throne, because the latter had preferred to stay and pass his last days in a place of pilgrimage to reigning any longer. In that place, some rebellion must have arisen against him, and Anurudhdha might have gone there to help his father, and both of them must have been killed.<sup>66</sup>

(64) Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa, Vol. II, pp. 30–31. It is stated there on the authority of Mahāvamśa and Aśokāvdān that after Udāyan, Anurudhdha and Mund ruled for eight years. Again vide 4, Mahāvamśa, and I. A. 1914 pp. 165.

(65) It is clear from this, that the accounts which are given of the kings of Magadh in Siṃhālese Chronicles, must refer to these kings who conquered this country and not because they were Bauddhās.

(66) See f. n. no. 69 below.



(2) He might have died of an epidemic in any other place on his way<sup>67</sup>.

(3) He might have been killed or murdered while trying to control a rebel-prince in some part of his empire.

(4) He might have been the victim of a plot against his life. Of these four reasons, Nos. 2 & 3 are more probable than others, and, I think, No. 2 is more probable than No. 3. It is true that he could not have been able, by disposition, to bear any vassal king of his trying to be independent, and consequently might have invaded the territory of such a king, who might have plotted against his life and killed him. It is a well-known fact in history that many kings became independent after his death, but none during his life-time. Hence, I think, it is more probable that he might have died of some epidemic<sup>68</sup>.

In Mund's case, he had lost his father and his elder brother at short intervals, and consequently was sorrow-ridden. Again, no sooner did he ascend the throne, than the queen, whom he loved more than his own life, died<sup>69</sup>. The queen was so dear to him that he did not allow the dead body of the queen to be burnt for some days<sup>70</sup>. He lost all interest in the affairs of his kingdom, and as a result, anarchy began to prevail everywhere in his empire. Many kings threw off the yoke of the empire of Magadh and became independent. His Commander-in-chief, Nāgdaśak, no longer able to endure this misrule, dethroned him<sup>71</sup> with

(67) See f. n. no. 68 below, and the description of the territory of Udāyan in the last Chapter of Part II. Cf. it with the matter in the following pages.

(68) See f. n. no. 69 below.

(69) These deaths at short intervals suggest that they must have resulted from an epidemic which must have spread over the country. We have no evidence to support this.

(70) See further.

(71) We do not know what Mund did after his abdication. Perhaps he might have led a religious life, as he had lost all interest in the world. We have no reason to believe that he was murdered, because people were not greedy of becoming kings in those times. In Baudha books, Ajātsatru and his four successors have been described guilty of patricide. We have proved



the help of populace to preserve the unity and the power of the empire. As Mund had no son, or near relative to succeed him, as Nāgdaśak was known to be a loyal servant of the crown for a long time, the people entrusted him with the reins of the empire<sup>72</sup>.

Thus ended the Śiśunāga dynasty proper. In a way it can be said to have continued, because Nāgdaśak was a cousin of Mund, and belonged to the same family.

We know that Ajātsatru's territory did not extend beyond the boundary lines of northern India. Hāthigumfā inscriptions, on the other hand, inform us that Khārvel in his position as heir-apparent, conquered all the countries, right from Kaliṅga to cape Comorin in 431 B. C. (Vide his account). Hence during the 65 years intervening the death of Ajātsatru (496 B. C.) and the conquests by Khārvel (431 B. C.) some powerful ruler of North India must have conquered these countries which must have again asserted their independence.

Now we know that during these 65 years there were only two powerful empires in North India—one of Magadh and the other of Kaliṅga. Kings of Āndhra, though they were powerful, have no place here, because Āndhra dynasty was established in 427 B. C. (Vide its account). The kings who ruled over Magadh during these 65 years were—1. Udāyan, 2. Anurudhdha, 3. Mund, 4. Nandivardhan I, and 5. Nand II. The kings who ruled over Kaliṅga during the same years were 1. Kśemrāj and 2. Buddharāj.

The fact that Buddharāj's heir-apparent Bhikhkhurāj (who afterwards assumed the name of Khārvel) conquered these southern countries, leads us to the conclusion that they were not

above that Ajātsatru was free from this crime. The other four also cannot be accused of it, as we have no proofs to convict them. Buddha writers might have described them so, because they did not belong to their religion. (Cf. f. n. no. 94 on pp. 273). O. H. I. pp. 48. In ancient India, the first murder for the sake of getting a throne was committed during the time of Aśoka (?) or during the time of Puṣyamitra,—Agnimitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, who killed Brhadrath.

(72) Nāgdaśak does not seem to be his real name, which is not known,



under the power of Buddharāj, and Kṣemrāj. Again Kalinga was under the power of Magadh upto 474 B. C., when Kṣemrāj asserted his independence. Hence some ruler of Magadh must have conquered these countries during the 22 years between 474 B. C. to 496 B. C. Three kings ruled over Magadh during these years, out of whom the last two, Anurudhdha and Mund, ruled only for 8 years. From the details of their reigns given above, it follows that they did not conquer these countries during their reigns<sup>73</sup>. Hence Udāyan must have conquered these countries as stated before.

Bauddha books inform us that Anurudhdhapur was founded by a local king named Vijay, who is said to have ruled from 520 B. C. to 482 B. C.<sup>74</sup>. We do not know in what year he founded the city. King Udāyan ruled from 496 to 480 B. C. and we have stated that he founded this city and gave it a name to commemorate his son's name. If king Vijay might have founded the city, he might have given it a name after his own name—say, Vijayapur or Vijayanagar. Hence it is more probable that Udāyan must have founded the city and given it the name in order to commemorate his son's conquest of the country.

Though no religious books of India proper, contain the information that Udāyan had a son named Anurudhdha, yet the same Bauddha books of Ceylon inform us that Ajātsatru had two grandsons named Anurudhdha and Mund<sup>75</sup>, who had ascended the throne after Udāyan, and had ruled, in all, for eight years. This is accepted as truth by all the historians of ancient India.

One more detail supports our conclusion. As all the kings of

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(73) Vide the details given at the end of this Chapter.

(74) Vide the accounts of Priyadarśin and Aśoka. I have given there a chronological list of the rulers of Ceylon, from which we can know which king of Ceylon was a contemporary of a particular king of Magadh. Vide the last chapter of this part, where details are given about the territorial extents of the kings of Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties.

(75) F. n. no. 64 above.



Śiśunāga dynasty were Jains<sup>76</sup>, Anurudhdha, who was also a Jain, built in Anurudhdhapur several Jaina temples, monasteries, Upāśrayās, Chaityās (which some scholars wrongly call Vihārās and Mathās), and erected there a Stūpa<sup>77</sup> just as Ajātsatru had erected a similar stupa at Bhārhut<sup>77</sup>, Priyadarśin at Sāñchī<sup>77</sup> and Khārvel at Amarāotī<sup>78</sup>. These were turned into Bauddha places when Buddhism prevailed in this country during the reign of Aśoka, whose son had gone there on missionary purposes.

Though Udāyan had conquered the whole of southern India, yet after his death, and the death of Anurudhdha in the same year, and because of the feeble-mindedness of Mund, certain kings and chiefs who were subdued by them, asserted their independence. The first to take advantage of this opportunity was Kṣemrāj, of Kaliṅg. He belonged to the Chedi dynasty, the founder of which was Karkaṇḍu. We do not know what was the relation between them. This happened in 474-75 B. C.

When Kaliṅg thus became independent, kingdoms in the south of Kaliṅg also began to assert their independence. Some chiefs who were appointed as governors of these southern provinces by Anurudhdha, disowned him as their sovereign and declared themselves independent. We know that there were nine kinds of Lichchhavi kṣatriyās and nine kinds of Malla kṣatriyās. All these eighteen were commonly called Samvrijis. These chiefs must have belonged to any one of these eighteen families, because all of

(76) Many other historical incidents can be quoted in support of our conclusion. I have given them in the chapter containing details about the territorial extents of the kings of Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties.

(77) Vide their accounts for details.

(78) A. S. I. 1984 New series. Vol. XV. pp. 20. "We know of but two very distinct types of stūpās. The more common is exemplified in those of Māñikyāl, Sāñchī, Sāranāth and of Anurudhdhapur in Ceylon". (This means that all these are based on the same model). "They have a circular basement supporting a hemispherical dome etc.". (Now if the Stūpās of Sāñchī and of Bhārhut can be proved to be connected with Jainism it follows that the Stūpa of Anurudhdhapur must also be connected with Jainism).



them descended from Samvrijiis, whose place of residence was Magadh. They were known as Kadambās, Pāṇḍyās, Cholās, and Pallavās. The Kadambās established their power over the western portion of south India, the Cholās established their power over the region on the east of Kaliṅg, the Pāṇḍyās established their power over the region on the south of the territory of the Cholās, while the Pallavās decided to stay in the region situated between the kingdoms of the Kadambās and Cholās. All these must have ruled independently for some years<sup>80</sup> after which the Kadambās and the Pallavās were subdued by Nandivardhan of Magadh<sup>81</sup> (Vide his account), and the Cholās and the Pāṇḍyās were subdued by Buddharāj of Kaliṅg<sup>82</sup>. Details about these people will be given in the subsequent chapters of these volumes. It will be sufficient to note here, that all of them descended from Samvrijiis who originally resided in Magadh from the end of the 5th century B. C. One of the branches of the Samvrijiis is known as "Mauryas" who also migrated to southern India. Historians have given them the name of "New Mauryās" in order to distinguish them from the "Mauryās" to which Chandragupta belonged. Details about these will be given in the account of Chandragupta.

We have stated above that Udāyan ruled for 16 years from 496 to 480 B. C., that Anurudhdha ruled after him for 6 years and Mund ruled after him for two years. These statements

(80) Within 29 years their independence was taken away and their names became oblivious. The federal system of government was on its way to decline. Chāṇakya had tried to destroy it root and branch, but he was not wholly successful in his efforts. Priyadarśin seems to have encouraged the system. After his time the system disappeared shortly and steadily, and its destruction was hastened by the Aśvamedha sacrifices of Śunga kings, and by foreign invaders.

(81) Nandivardhan had appointed chiefs belonging to his race as governors of these provinces. Their names were Chutukānand, Mūlānand etc., (coins struck by them exist even to-day. Vide the chapter on coins in Part III).

(82) Hāthigumfā Inscriptions by Khārvel contain this information in the portion about two years preceding his coming to the throne. Hence I have here given the name of Buddharāj.



require some corrections which are given below with reasons for them.

It is stated that Udāyan's reign lasted for 23 years (f. n. no. 1 of this chapter). On the other hand it is stated that he started on a pilgrimage after placing his son **Another possibility about Udāyan's reign** on the throne, which means that he was alive for some years after his renunciation of the throne. Thirdly Anurudhdha ruled for six years and Mund ruled for two years. Fourthly it is said that Ajātsatru's grandson Mund ruled for eight years (Buddha Era 40 to 48 i. e. 480 to 472 B. C.<sup>83</sup>). Fifthly it is given that Anurudhdha and Mund must have ruled jointly as their names are given to-gether. Sixthly, the number of the kings of Śīśunāga dynasty was nine, which means that the last two kings must have ruled jointly, and thus Nandivardhan can be called the tenth as his name suggests. (Nāgdaśak = tenth king of the Nāga i. e. Śīśunāga dynasty). All these theories contain some element of truth. The fact must have been as follows:—Udāyan must have renounced his throne to Anurudhdha in 480 B. C., and then he must have died six or seven years later in 474 B. C. (Thus he lived for 62 years). Anurudhdha too died in the same year<sup>84</sup>. Hence his reign coincides with the period of the retirement of his father. Thus, because both the father and the son died in the same year<sup>85</sup>, we can say that Mund came to the throne immediately after Udāyan, and

(83) The year of Buddha's Parinirvāṇ (going to heaven) was 520 B. C., while the year of his Nirvāṇ was 543 B. C. The Buddha Era is differently calculated in different countries. Details about it are given in Chapter I Vol. II. For some explanation vide f. n. no. 1 of this chapter.

(84) See f. n. no. 85 below.

(85) We know that both the father and the son died in the same year. We have to find out who died first, because historical conclusions depend upon it.

Personally I believe that Anurudhdha must have died first, and Udāyan must have died of the shock of such calamitous tidings. Again if Udāyan had died first, Anurudhdha must have been called as a separate ruler of Magadh, though only for a short time because he died in a short time. That he is not called a separate king, proves that he must have died before his father.



thus the number of Śiśunāga kings can be said to be nine and Nandivardhan can be called the tenth.

If we accept the above-stated conclusion, we can understand how Kṣemrāj, the Cholās, the Pāṇḍyās, the Kadambās, and the Pallavās became independent after 574 B. C. Again the deaths of father and elder brother in the same year might well have unsettled the mind of a young man like Mund. We have given above four possible ways in which Anurudhdha must have died. Out of these four Nos. 2nd and 3rd are more probable than the rest. That Mund's queen died during the same year leads us to believe that both Anurudhdha and she must have been victims of some epidemic that might have devastated the country at that time.

It is stated in Cambridge History of India as follows :—  
“On the authority of Aguttar III 57-63 : A king Mund dwelling at Pātliputra is so overwhelmed with grief at the death of his wife Bhaddā, that he refuses to have the cremation carried out according to the custom, but after a simple talk with a therā (a monk) named Nārad, he recovers his self-possession”.<sup>86</sup> It is stated in another book<sup>87</sup> that “We learn from the chronicles that king Mund was the grandson of Aājīśatru and began to reign about the year 40 A. B. (480 B. C.)”. Foot note no. 64 above states that after Udāyan, Anurudhdha and Mund both came to the throne. Anurudhdha must have been the heir-apparent because Udāyan founded a city after his name during his life-time. All these evidences lead us to the conclusion that both Anurudhdha and Mund were sons of Udāyan, and they ruled jointly over Magadh. Again Nāgdaśak has been stated to be the tenth king in the Śiśunāga line, which means that the reigns of Anurudhdha and Mund were not separate but conjoined.<sup>88</sup> Coins of Nāgdaśak

(86) C. H. I. pp. 189.

(87) Mahāvāṇśa IV 2. 3. Divyāvadān 36 V.

(88) Vide previous pages for the whole list of the Śiśunāga kings.



bear the sign of serpent, thus proving that he belonged to the Śiśunāga dynasty<sup>89</sup>. Nāgdaśak's other name was Nandivardhan, and because he was not a direct descendant of his predecessors, his dynasty was called the Nanda dynasty after his name. If we combine both the dynasties, the former being called the senior Śiśunāga line, and the latter the junior Śiśunāga line, Nāgdaśak can be called the tenth king of the Śiśunāga dynasty as a whole.

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(89) Śiśunāg's dynasty is called senior Śiśunāga line and Nand's dynasty is called junior Śiśunāga line. The sign of senior Śiśunāgs is a large serpent while that of juniors is a small serpent. (Vide the chapter on coins). Prof. J. L. Carpentier says, "The Purāṇās know no break of political continuity between the Śiśunāgās and the Nandās".



## More information

Some more details about these kings have been found out. I have stated them below to avoid confusion.

The following contradictory theories have been forwarded on the authority of the Jaina, Bauddha, and the Vedic religious books.

(1) Udāyan died leaving no son behind him (f. n. no. 53 Chapter V Part I ).

(2) Udāyan was murdered (Chapter V. Part I, f. n. no. 53 and Chapter III, Part II ).

(3) Udāyan had gone on a pilgrimage entrusting his son with the care of administration. ( Vide his account in the preceding chapter ).

(4) Udāyan ruled for 16 years. (See the chronological list given in Chapter I, Part II ).

(5) Udāyan ruled for 24 years (f. n. no. 1, Chapter III above).

(6) The Śiśunāga dynasty ended with the death of Udāyan. (Vide the previous Chapter ).

(7) Śiśunāga dynasty lasted for 108 years (Chapter I, P. II).

(8) Nandivardhan came on the throne immediately after Udāyan. (See No. 6 above ).

(9) Though Mund had a claim over the throne, yet his ministers dethroned him and Nandivardhan became king in his place. (See Chapter VI, Part II and the previous chapter).

All the above theories contain some truth, but because their writers have not given details, some later writers have misinterpreted them. I have stated my own conclusion below, after paying due attention to all of them :—

We may accept that Udāyan's period of reign was 24 years; but he had gone on a pilgrimage during the last eight years of his reign, entrusting both his sons with the care of the empire. Anurudhdha occupied himself with conquering countries with the



help of Nandivardhan, the commander-in-chief, while Mund attended to internal administration. Anurudhdha returned to Magadh after six years and joined his brother in the internal administration. Within a short time, a dangerous epidemic devastated the whole country and Anurudhdha died of it. The news of his death came as a great shock to Udāyan, who was on his pilgrimage tour and he died there. Within a short time Mund's queen also became a victim to the same epidemic and died of it. Mund became almost insane due to the deaths of his three nearest relatives in a short time; he was dethroned by his ministers and Nandivardhan was made king in his place. (It is also possible that first Anurudhdha, then Mund's queen, and then Mund himself, must have died of the epidemic, and Udāyan must have died after them, unable to bear the grief. But Bauddha books inform us that King Mund had lost control over his mind due to the death of his dear queen Bhaddā. Hence this theory of the death of Udāyan, after the deaths of all the other three, though it deserves notice and requires research-work, cannot be given much credit, as there is no evidence to support it).

Now we may try to answer the above-stated nine theories.

(1) Though Udāyan had sons, but as they died of the epidemic before his death, he can be said to have died without a son behind him.

(2) Truly speaking, Udayan of Vatsa was killed, but as Udayan of Vatsa, and Udāyan of Magadh were contemporaries, scholars have confused their names. (f. n. no. 63 in the previous Chapter).

(3) Both Anurudhdha and Mund can be said to have come to the throne as they were entrusted with the care of the government. This system of entrusting the government of a country to the care of an agent during the absence of its king, exists even to-day.

(4) He ruled actively for 16 years only. For the last eight years he led practically a retired life. These eight years can be said to be the period of the rule of his sons.



(5) He can be said to have ruled for 24 years, because though he had retired, he was alive, and his sons were his representatives. (The same thing happened with Chandragupta, Aśoka, and the Śuṅga king Agnimitra).

(6) With the support of No. 1 we can say that Śiśunāga dynasty ended with Udāyan and the Nanda dynasty began immediately after him.

(7) Śreṇik's reign 52, Kuṇik's 32, Udāyan's 24 (or Udāyan's 16, and 8 of Anurudhdha and Mund) 108.

(8) With the support of No. 1 and No. 6 we can say that Nandivardhan came to the throne immediately after Udāyan.

(9) Details about this will be given in the account of Mund. (Part II, Chapter VI).





## Chapter IV

### Nanda dynasty : Junior Nāga dynasty

*Synopsis:—Its names and details about it, a chronological list.*

*Nand I. Nandivardhan—his various names—his relation with Udayan—who was this Udayan?—His life and his minister—Two calamities caused by nature over Magadh during his reign—Explanation about the belief of the era connected with his name.*

*Nand II—Confusion about Mahāpadma and Mahānand—who can be called Kālāsok and why?—Details about his family—His rule and his life—Two chief events of his reign—was their any truth in the furore in the society?—Some discussion about the system of marriage—Explanation about Dharmāsok and Kālāsok—One more historical possibility and the surprise it contains for historians.*



This dynasty was really a branch of the Śiśunāga dynasty, but historians have given it a separate name after the first king, hence we may call the first Śiśunāgās the senior dynasty and the second the junior dynasty.

Its various names  
 and other details

The number of kings is smaller in the junior line than in the senior one, and also its period of rule is shorter than that of the other. It is also briefly called Nāga dynasty<sup>1</sup>, because its coins bear the sign of a serpent<sup>2</sup>. Its third and most commonly known name is Nanda dynasty, named after its first king Nandivardhan. All the kings in the line have been called in order of their succession, Nand I, Nand II and so on.

It is commonly believed that the whole dynasty ruled for 100 years<sup>3</sup>, but as names of all the kings and their periods of rule are not definitely known, different writers have forwarded different theories. One writer<sup>4</sup> is of the opinion that they ruled for 123 years, and he explains it as follows:—

“Bhuktvā mahīm varṣa śataṁ nandendu hu sa bhaviṣyati ।”  
 (here the number is definite but the writer explains it as follows):  
 The tradition about Shat (100), for the Nandās was the result of a mistake. The period covered by the four Nandās (from Nandivardhan to the last Nand) is 123 years; either the word for 23 years was dropped off leaving Śat (100), or the original figure ended in Śat as in Chatvāriṅśat and the first part of this original was dropped off in course of copying. Resultant confusion is apparent; the reading of the line containing the figure is glaringly corrupt. Words and numbering have been introduced to fill up some gap. Here the writer has not given any reason why he believes that Nandās ruled for 123 years. He seems to have taken that number for granted, and expresses his confidence in it.

Just as there are different opinions about its period of rule, so there are various views as to the number of kings in the line.

(1) Vide the description of Avanti, the verses quoted from *Parīśiṣṭa Parva*.

(2) Vide the Chapter on coins in Vol. II.

(3) F. n. no. 1 above and f. n. no. 4 for the Sanskrit quotation.

(4) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 86.



It is generally believed that nine kings ruled in the line, but their names and the order of their succession are not known. So the historians have called them Nand I, Nand II and so on, upto Nand IX. One writer<sup>5</sup> is of the opinion that the word "Nava-Nand" used for the last king does not denote number. He says, "It is very likely that the last Nand alone, was originally called Nava-Nand (Nava=the new) or Nand the Junior". He thus believes that the word Nava Nand does not mean there were nine kings in the line<sup>6</sup>. I shall prove later on that there had been nine kings in the line and every king was given the number due to him.

Different opinions prevail about the order of their succession to the throne. Generally all believe, that the first king was Nandivardhan. There is some confusion about Mahāpadma and Mahānand. Some say that Mahāpadma was the predecessor of Mahānand and some say that the latter was the predecessor of the former, while some others say that both the names belong to one individual only<sup>7</sup>. I shall give the names of the remaining six in the account of their reigns given in subsequent chapters.

No definite theory is established as to when this dynasty began to rule and when its rule ended<sup>8</sup>. We have proved in our account of Avanti that this dynasty ended in A. M. 155=372 B.C. As its period of rule is generally accepted to be 100, its rule must have begun in 472 B. C.

(5) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 91.

(6) From the list of rulers which I have given below, it will be clear that the word "Nava" means the number 9.

(7) Pandit Jayaswāljee has stated his opinions in connection with this. Commenting on his opinions the writer of J. O. B. R. S. says in Vol. I. pp. 86 :—"He has mistaken in chroniclizing Nandivardhan, then Mahānand and then Mahāpadma and hence some of the events attributed to Mahāpadma are applicable to Mahānand and some to Nandivardhan, which is clear from his own words". Again, Ibid pp. 91 :—"Obviously here is a case of confusion as they (Buddhists) transferred the reign period of Nand Mahāpadma to Nand Kālāsok; so also they have transferred from Mahāpadma (his sons) to Kālāsok". (f. n. no. (94).)

(8) I shall discuss this in details in the account of Mahāpadma.



Its various names and other details

The number 100 is connected with this dynasty in two different ways, thus causing some confusion in the mind of historians. First, the period of rule of this dynasty is 100. Secondly, this period is divided into three parts with a view to show the condition of society during those 100 years. The first period consists of the first two kings, the second of the next six, and the third of the last. The first period extended from A. M. 55 to A. M. 100<sup>9</sup> (472 to 427 B. C.). The second extended from A. M. 100 to A. M. 112, while the third lasted from 112 A. M. to 155 A. M. The condition of society, as we shall see later on, was different in all these three different periods. The first period thus can be called to have lasted upto 100th year of Mahāvīr Era, but not for 100 years<sup>10</sup>. The second period was full of anarchy and misrule. The third period was full of new changes.

Now I have given below a chronological list of its rulers:—

No.	Name	A.M. to A.M.	B.C. to B.C.	No. of years
1	Nand I Nandivardhan	55—72	472—455	16½
2	„ II Mahāpadma	72—100	455—427	28½
3	„ III Aśvaghoṣ <sup>11</sup>	100—102	427—425	2
4	„ IV Jyestamitra <sup>11</sup>	102—104	425—423	2
5	„ V Sudev <sup>11</sup>	104—106	423—421	2
6	„ VI Dhandev <sup>11</sup>	106—108	421—419	2
7	„ VII Brhadrath <sup>11—12</sup>	108—110	419—417	2
8	„ VIII Brhaspatimitra <sup>12—13</sup>	110—112	417—415	2
9	„ IX Mahānand Dhan-nand Ugrasen, Pra (Chand) Nand	112—155	415—372	43
				Total 100 years

(9) See the list given below. The rule of Nand II ended in A. M. 100 or 427 B. C.

(10) Cf. f. n. no. 1 above.

(11) I shall explain how I have found these names in the accounts of these kings.

(12) Purāṇas contain the names Brhadrath and Brhaspatimitra.

(13) This was the same Brhaspatimitra who was defeated by Khārvel near the river Ganges as stated in Hāthigumfā inscriptions.



## (1) NAND I, NANDIVARDHAN, NAGDAŚAK

We already know that Nand is the short name for Nandivardhan. He was called Nāgdaśak because he was the tenth king of the Śisunāga line as a whole. (Vide the previous chapter). He was called Nandivardhan because he conquered many provinces of north India which were considered invincible upto his time<sup>14</sup>. "Vardhan" means "one who adds something to his possession"<sup>15</sup>. He was also called Ajeya<sup>16</sup> "invincible", because of the same reason. He was seldom defeated in battles, and before he became the king, he was a successful commander-in-chief and had subdued all countries upto Ceylon in company with Anurudhdha.

Nandivardhan had married a princess of Vatsa. We have to decide whether she was the sister or the daughter of Udayan of Vatsa<sup>17</sup>. We should here remember that Udayan of Vatsa died in 490 B. C.

Nandivardhan was born in 528 B. C.<sup>18</sup>. He became the commander-in-chief of the army of Magadh in 495 B. C., and he became the king of Magadh in 472 B. C., while he died in 455 B. C. On the other hand, we know that, as Udayan of Vatsa died without an heir, his throne was given to Mañiprabh who was adopted.

That Mañiprabh succeeded Udayan on the throne shows, that Nandivardhan had not married the princess of Vatsa before 490 B. C., otherwise he would have got the throne of Vatsa as a son-in-law. The common age of marriage for girls being 13 to 14 in those times, and if we take that Nandivardhan married this

(14) F. n. no. 51 chapter III, Part II.

(15) The real Sanskrit word is "Vardhak".

(16) F. n. no. 52 Chapter III, Part II.

Some writers believe that Kshatriyās end their names with "Vardhan", just as Brahmins end their names with "Śarman" and Vaiśayās end theirs with "Varmans". For details vide f. n. 73 Chapter VII, Part I.

(17) For details vide f. n. no. 47 chapter V, Part I.

(18) Vide further the paragraph on his age.



princess any time after 490 B. C. we can say that she was born 14 years before the year of her marriage<sup>19</sup>. Now Udayan's father Śatānik died in 550 B. C. Hence this princess could not have been Śatānik's daughter; she must have been the daughter of Udayan, and she must have been married with Nandivardhan ten years after her father's death in 480 B. C.<sup>20</sup>.

Nandivardhan could not have been the son-in-law of Udāyan of Magadh, because they both belonged to the same family, and among kṣatriyās, members of the same family on the father's side do not intermarry.

He began his career as the commander-in-chief of Udāyan. He must have been appointed to this place in the very first year of Udāyan's reign<sup>21</sup>, because by 475 B. C. he **His age and his rule** had already thoroughly re-organized the army and had subdued the whole of south India upto Cape Comorin—a task which required many years to be accomplished. He must have been at least 25 to 30 at the time of his appointment<sup>22</sup>, which leads us to the conclusion that he must have been born in about  $495-30=525$  B. C. He succeeded Mund on the throne in 472 B. C., and he ruled for sixteen years. The year of his death thus must have been  $472-16=456$  B. C. He must have died at the age of  $(525-456)=69$  years.

Some writers<sup>23</sup> are of the opinion that he ruled for 24 years,<sup>24</sup> and some say that he ruled for 40 years. They are true in a way. If we include his tenure of office as commander-in-chief from Udāyan's time, it would be 40 years, and if we calculate it from Anurudhdha's time it would be 24 years.

(19) At the time of the death of Udayan, the princess was only four years old.

(20) See f. n. no. 19 above, and vide the account of Udayan of Vatsa.

(21) See f. n. nos. 23-24 below.

(22) If he had been the heir-apparent he might have been younger; but as he was not that, he must have been at least 25 to 33 before his appointment to so high a post.

(23-24) See Pārgiter's "Dynasties of Kali yuga".



He had a son named Mahāpadma who succeeded him on the throne as Nand II. He had no other children. He had at least two queens. When Mahāpadma came to the throne he was far advanced in age. This means that his mother must have been the first queen of Nandivardhan. It is another matter whether she was alive or dead when Nandivardhan came to the throne. Udayan's daughter was his second queen.

We know that Udayan had died in 490 B. C. and Nandivardhan married his daughter after that. If she might have been 2 or 3 years old at the time of Udayan's death, (i. e. born in 493 B. C.), she must have been married to Nandivardhan in 479 B. C. when she might have become 14<sup>25</sup>. This means that she was married to Nandivardhan before he became king. We have to find out why this daughter of Udayan of Vatsa was given in marriage to a mere commander-in-chief. We can explain it as follows:—

We know that Nandivardhan was on the post of commander-in-chief for a long time. Again he was a cousin of Udāyan of Magadh. He was a brave man and able organizer of the army. Udāyan appreciated his powers and wanted to link him permanently with his empire, by a tie of marriage. Because he was his cousin he could not give him in marriage his own daughter or any other princess of the same family. (By 480 B. C. Mahāpadma's mother must have died). So he directed his attention towards his sister Padmāvatī who was married with Udayan of Vatsa<sup>26</sup>. It is possible that Padmāvatī might have sought her brother's advice, as she had no one to consult, on her father-in-law's side. Udāyan must have advised his sister to give her daughter in marriage to

(25) It has been calculated that he was born in 494 B. C. and was married in 480 B. C. Vide the account of Udayan of Vatsa.

(26) Some are of the opinion that Padmāvatī was the sister of Kuṇṇik and the daughter of Śreṇṇik. I believe that she was Kuṇṇik's daughter and Udāyan's sister. The above story supports my belief. He must have tried to make this union because she was his sister's daughter. Vide f. n. no. 47 Chapter V Part I.



Nandivardhan thus strengthening his sister's position in Vatsa, where the adopted son Maṇiprabh had begun to rule,<sup>27</sup> and also making him permanently bound to the empire of Magadh by such a marriage tie.

He must have married his first queen at the age of 16. As he was born in 524 B. C., he must have married her in  $524-16=508$  B. C. He married his second queen at the age of 48 in 480 B. C., when probably his first queen died. Thus Mahāpadma must have been born any time between 508 to 480 B. C. Now if we take the year of his birth to be 507 B. C. he must have been  $507-456=51$  years old at the time of his father's death; and if we take the year of his birth to be 479 B. C., he must have been  $479-456=23$  years old at the time of his father's death. But, as his father lived for 69 years and his son Mahānand lived for 65-66 years, we might conjecture that he himself also lived for 70 years<sup>28</sup>; and he has died in 428 B. C. Hence he must have been born in  $428-70=498$  B. C.

We have seen that the kings of the senior Śiśunāga dynasty were Jains. As these Nand kings were but a branch of the Śiśunāga dynasty, we can reasonably conjecture that they were also Jains. The Hāthigumfā inscriptions strongly support this conjecture<sup>29</sup>. A famous historian<sup>30</sup> says, in support of our conjecture, that the Nandās

(27) As Vatsa's king Udayan was already dead, and as the adopted son had already begun to rule, the son-in-law had no right to the throne.

(28) As all three have died a natural death, we have made this conjecture of their having died almost at the same age. The reign of Mahānand had not ended with his death, but with his renunciation of the throne, and we do not know how long he might have lived in retirement, but he must have lived for a very short time.

Again the age of a son of Mahāpadma, who was born of a woman of low caste, was 30 at the time of Mahāpadma's death, which means that he must have been at least 58 at the time of his death.

(29) Had he not been a Jaina, he would not have waged a great war for a Jaina idol. (Part I. Chapter VI).

(30) E. H. I. 3rd. Edition pp. 42 f. n. no. 2 (Sir G. Grierson). The writers take it for granted that brāhmins had accepted Jainism as their faith, and had given up Brāhminism. Many chief disciples of Mahāvīr were brāhmins.



were reputed to be better enemies of the Brāhmins (It ought to be Brāhminism). This means that they were Jains.

Jaina books<sup>31</sup> inform us that Mahānand or Nand IX had a prime-minister named Śaktāl—Śakḍāl<sup>32</sup>. His seven predecessors in the same office were the members of the same family to which he belonged; the first of whom was Kalpak. They were brahmins by caste and they were Jains by religion. Four or five predecessors of Śakḍāl were put to much trouble due to political reasons. Thus right from Kalpak to Śakḍāl they were prime-ministers of the Nanda kings for 100 years. (For details vide the account of Mahānand).

Just as Nandivardhan's reign was full of political changes, so even Nature afflicted two great calamities on Pāṭliputra—one was a severe famine and another was excessively heavy rainfall.

Hāthigumfā inscriptions inform us about famine. It is stated there that Khārvel extended the canal of Magadh into his own country. This fact indicates two things; Nandi-  
**Calamities afflicted by Nature** vardhan had got the canal dug<sup>33</sup> upto the boundary line of his own kingdom<sup>34</sup>. Secondly the fact that Khārvel could extend the canal constructed by Nandivardhan means, that he was more powerful than Nandivardhan<sup>35</sup>. We know that Kṣemrāj had declared the independence of Kaling in the time of Mund. We do not know any other details about this famine.

(31) See Bharateśvara B. V. Translation pp. 47, 56, and Parīṣiṣṭa Parva.

(32) This Śakḍāl had a son named Sthūlibhadra who was the seventh Pattadhar in succession to Mahāvīr. Sthūlibhadra is famous in history. All the members of family were Jains. See f. n. no. 30 above.

(33) This shows that people understood the importance and necessity of canals in those times, and they knew how to construct them.

(34) Or we may suppose that famine extended upto that limit, but that is not possible.

(35) He has shown his prowess to the king of Magadh.



At the time of the second calamity of excessive rain-fall the river Son was overflowed and Pātliputra was in danger of being drowned, but the flood subsided on account of the power of Jaina mantras, with the consequence that people began to have more faith in Jainism. The whole episode is described in Jaina books<sup>36</sup>.

Looking to the circumstances the year of excessive rain-fall must have been A. M. 59 = 468 B. C., and the year of famine<sup>37</sup> must have been between 463 B. C. and 455 B. C. (A. M. 64 to A. M. 72).

The name of king Nand is connected with the number of years given in the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions. Thus the evidence that Khārvel has connected his name with the number of years in his inscriptions, had led many to believe that an era connected with his name must have been in existence for a long time. One writer says,<sup>38</sup>. "The Nanda Era was in use at Knaoj and Muttrā in B. C. 458 : as Alburini says, on the strength of his informants". There Alburini has said only; this much that<sup>39</sup>, "A reference is made in the Hāthīgumfā inscription of something having been made by a Hindu king 300 years, since the time of Nanda kings". The same author, quoting the opinion of Dr. Muzumdar, says that Harṣavardhan and Nandivardhan were the same individual<sup>40</sup>. (The Harṣa Era is definitely stated in certain inscriptions. The writer seems to have a desire to connect this with the name of Nand). The same author quotes

(36) It is stated in Jaina books that Jambū was the successor of Mahāvīr in the office and after his death in 64 A. M., many calamities visited the country. It is possible that this famine must have been one of them. Cf. the comments on Hāthīgumfā inscriptions.

(37) Vide the account of Rohinī in Bharateśvara B. V. Translations.

(38) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XIII pp. 240-245.

(39) Ibid pp. 45.

(40) Words in the bracket are inserted by me.



Dr. Muzumdar<sup>41</sup>, as follows : "Long periods mentioned in lines 6 and 11 of the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions, could not have been reckoned without an Era". He quotes one more authority<sup>42</sup>. "According to Alburini's theory, the figure of the Nanda era was got by an addition of 400 to that of Vikram era; the Nanda era has been used in the Hāthīgumfā inscription; it was abolished by Vikramāditya VI of the Chaulukya dynasty". Now we shall try to state the views of this writer point by point; (1) The number of years used in Hāthīgumfā inscriptions refer to Nanda alias Harṣa era. (2) That era is calculated by adding 400 to the Vikrama era. (3) This era was in use in Kanoj and Muttrā in 458 B. C. and (4) Vikramāditya VI of the Chaulukya dynasty abolished it. All these conclusions are based on the information gained by a certain Alburini. The writer does not tell, how Alburini gathered this information, and why his information should be taken as authority. Hence we can not give much credit to his opinion. If we take for granted that an era actually began with his name, it means that he must have been a very powerful king whose era was in force for one thousand years<sup>43</sup>. I shall prove later on, and in the account of Khārvel that though Nand had both power and authority to start an era after his name, he did not do so, but started an era after the name of the prophet whose faith he followed, thus showing his generosity, and his devotion to religion.

He died in A. M. 72=455 B. C. and his son Mahāpadma succeeded him on the throne.

## (2) MAHAPADMA, NAND II, KĀLĀŚOKA<sup>44</sup>

Mahāpadma was the son of Nandivardhan, and succeeded him

(41) Ibid pp. 237; Dr. Stenow (A. C. I. pp. 24-26). J. O. B. R. S. Vol. IX pp. 147.

(42) Jaina Sahitya Saṁśodhak Vol. III pp. 872.

(43) There is a difference of 100 years between the fourth Century B. C. and Vikramaditva VI of the Chalukya dynasty who has lived in the 6th Century.

(44) I have proved in the next few pages that Nand II cannot be called Kālāśok.



on the throne<sup>45</sup>. He being the second king in the Nanda line, is famous as Nand II in history. Different opinions prevail among historians about two kings of this line, Mahāpadma and Mahānand. Some say that Mahāpadma preceded Mahānand and some say that the latter preceded the former; while some others say that these two names belonged to one and the same individual. I am of the opinion that the two names represent two different individuals, and that Mahāpadma preceded Mahānand, that the former reigned for 28 years and the latter reigned for 43 years, that the reign of the former is not noted for any extraordinary events, while the reign of the latter was full of them (and hence he was called Mahānand or Nand the Great)<sup>46</sup>. Two other reasons support the above-stated conclusion; in the Purāṇās Nand II (son of Nandivardhan) is called Kālāśok<sup>47</sup>. We shall see later on why the Purāṇās (which represent the Vedic religion) gave him such a name; secondly the name of Mahāpadma is connected by the same Purāṇās with the calculation of Kali Era—Udhistir Era<sup>48</sup>. In short, according to the Purāṇās, Mahāpadma and Kālāśok were the names of one and the same individual<sup>49</sup>.

One of the most powerful king belonging to Buddhism is named Aśoka by them<sup>50</sup>. We know that this Aśoka lived many years after Mahāpadma<sup>51</sup>. Bauddha books have strangely enough, called him Aśoka II, and have called Mahāpadma Aśoka I. We do not know why they called Mahāpadma Aśoka I; the name

(45) Mahāvamsa IV (1), I. A. 1914 pp. 168.

(46) C. H. I. pp. 312—the list of Purāṇās given there.

(47) See f. n. no. 51 below.

(48) A. C. by Sir Cunningham. See the article on "Kali Era".

(49) I have given full explanations about the name Kālāśoka in the following pages.

(50) At the end of the second volume, I have written an appendix about how many Aśokās lived in India, when they lived, and all details about them.

(51) It is not possible to give a king (who lived formerly) a name which belongs to a king who lived many years after. I, therefore, believed that the name "Kālāśoka" cannot be applied to Nand II, who preceded Aśoka. (Cf. f. n. no. 62 below, and the paragraph with the heading "One other possibility").



of a king who is to be famous in future. Many modern historians have followed this custom.

We know that he was born in 498 B. C. As he came to the throne in 456 B. C. he must have been 42 His reign and his life at that time, and as he has ruled for 28 years, he must have died in 427 B. C. at the age of 70.

As we have already explained above, the reign of Nand II lasted upto 427 B. C. = 100 A. M. (but not for 100 A. M.). We have noted the confusion that resulted from this.

His harem is said to have included queens belonging to the kṣatriya race, and queens belonging to the śūdra race. We do not know exactly how many queens he had, His family but, in those times of polygamy he must have married many. It is said that the daughter of the king of Pāñchāl, who was his queen, had given birth to six or seven sons. (Vide the account of Nand VIII) and that the śūdra queen had given birth to at least three sons (see f. n. nos. 3 and 75 below).

All the sons of the kṣatriya queen came to the throne of Magadh one by one, while only one son of the śūdra queen came to the throne of Magadh; but the other two established empires as great as that of Magadh, by their own valour and adventurous spirit. (Vide their accounts in Andhra dynasty). Thus all his sons were fortunate to become kings.

His reign is not noted for any extraordinary events. (For details vide the last chapter of this part) but two events deserve notice here—one from the religious point of Two chief events during his reign view, and the other from the social point of view.

First we shall take up the religious event. Exactly after 10 years and 15 days of his rule<sup>52</sup> the second religious conference

(52) C. I. pp. 7. Dipvaṃśa IV. 44-5, 25; See Vinaypittak by Oldenberg, introduction pp. 29.

According to Siṃhāleśe Chronicles, the time of the conference was 118 years before the coronation of Aśoka. Now Aśoka came to the throne in 326 B. C. (Vide his account) and thus the year of the conference was 326+118 = 444 B. C.



## Two chief events during his reign

of the Bauddhas was held in Vaiśālī or Mithilā, the capital of Videha, which was under his control. According to the Bauddha books this event took place exactly 100 years<sup>53</sup> after the nirvāṇ of Lord Buddha. As Mahāpadma came to the throne in 455 B. C., we can calculate the year of this conference to be  $455-11=444$  B. C.<sup>54</sup>. The Siṃhālese Chronicles say<sup>55</sup> that this conference was held 118 years before the coronation of Aśoka, and calculating from that, we get the figure 444 B. C. Hence, it is settled that this conference was held in 444 B. C. during the reign of Mahāpadma. Bauddha books, at one place say that Mahāpadma was the president of this conference. At another place the same books say that the president was a learned Bauddha monk. It would be proper to say that the conference was held under the protection and goodwill, but not under the presidentship of Mahāpadma. Again, if Mahāpadma had been the president of this conference, he would have well kept his own capital Pātliputra as the seat of the conference, which would have suited him much more. We know that all the kings of this dynasty were Jains<sup>56</sup> and Bauddhas must not have selected a Jaina king as their president. It is possible that as Jainism always preaches religious tolerance, Mahāpadma would have shown his sympathy towards this conference.

Now we shall turn to the social event. Before taking up the event proper, it is necessary to have a look into the significance of the marriage customs prevailing in those times. There were three main religions in those times; Jainism, Buddhism and the Vedic religion. Out of these three, Jainism<sup>57</sup> and Buddhism put no restrictions on marriage of persons belonging to different castes

(53) The nirvāṇ of Buddha took place in 543-4 B. C. Deducting 100 years from it we get 444 B. C.

(54) See f. n. no. 53 above.

(55) F. n. no. 52 above.

(56) The coins of this dynasty support this (Vide the chapter on coins).

(57) As Mahāpadma was a Jain, it is not possible that he might have been censured by his people for marrying a śudra queen. See the paragraph above entitled "One other possibility".



or religions. Only the Vedic religion restricted the scope of marriages by some rules which we shall note below.

Marriage means the union of two persons of two different sexes. The male is the seed, and the female is the field. The Vedic religion advises that marriages must be such that the seed should not deteriorate in quality. To preserve the quality of the seed in tact, either the seed and the field must belong to the same class (which is best) or the field must be superior to the seed; but if the field is inferior to the seed, there is always the possibility of the deterioration of the seed. The same rule is observed in agriculture. According to this rule, a person belonging to a high caste must marry with the person belonging to a high caste. The marriage of a person of high caste with a girl belonging to a low caste is considered quite undesirable and is allowed only in exceptional cases, and is named Anulom<sup>58</sup>, by the Vedic religion. The marriage of a person of low caste with the girl belonging to a high caste is known as Pratilom<sup>59</sup> in those books.

We know that it was Śrenik who formed guilds according to vocations. Before his time no guilds existed and there were no restrictions on marriages in any way. Even after Śrenik there were only guilds which restricted inter-marriages among the guilds, but there were no caste distinctions and people of different guilds took their dishes on the same table. We know that Śrenik him-

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(58-59) Anulom=marriage with the girl of the lower class; Pratilom=marriage with a girl of a higher class; Anu=lower, lom=class (originally it means "hair"). Prati=opposite or higher.

For instance, if a brāhmin marries with a kshatriya girl, or if a kshatriya married with a vaiśya girl, it is called Anulom marriage. A brāhmin or a kshatriya was allowed to marry a kshatriya or a vaiśya girl, but a vaishya was not allowed to marry a śūdra girl, because none of the first three classes were allowed to marry with a śūdra girl. Thus the society was divided into two classes, the first consisting of brahmins, kshatriyās, vaiśyās, and the second consisting of śūdrās. A vaiśya was allowed to marry a śūdra girl under exceptional circumstances only.

Instances of Pratilom marriages: the marriage of Śukrāchārya's daughter Devyānī with king Yayāti.



self had given his daughters in marriage to non-kṣatriyās, i. e. even Pratilom marriages were allowed<sup>60</sup> upto his time. But as time went on, and as the Vedic religion began to influence the society more and more, as the prime-ministers of many kings belonged to that religion, the guilds became more and more conservative about Pratilom, and even about Anulom marriages. Mahāpadma had no faith in these restrictions, and as a Jaina king he wanted to set an example against them. Hence he himself married the daughter of śudra<sup>61</sup>. Many brahmins, who followed the Vedic religion, began to censure this step of the king very strongly<sup>62</sup>. In Matsya, Vāyu and other Purāṇās this act of the king was

(60) We do not know what the public opinion might have been when Śreṇik married non-kṣatriya girls. I think that God time began to exert His adverse influence after 523 B. C., as a result of which Anulom and Pratilom marriages came into question. Hence, at Śreṇik's time, people must not have raised such questions.

(61) In C. H. I. Prof. J. L. Carpentier says, "The Purāṇās know no break of political continuity between the Śīsunāgs and the Nands, but they recognize a great social and religious gulf which existed between the earlier and the later, and the flagrant violation of the caste law by the Nands, which placed Mahāpadma, (it ought to be Mahānand) the son of śudra woman on the throne".

Bud. Ind. pp. 60 :—"Though the fact of frequent intermarriage is undoubted, though the great chasm between the proudest kṣatriya on the one hand, and the lowest chaṇḍāl on the other, was bridged over by a number of imperceptible stages and the boundaries between the stages were constantly being overstepped, still there were also real obstacles to unequal unions".

Hitherto it is only known that he married a śudra girl. It is not settled whether he married one or two. I think he had two śudra queens. I have discussed this matter in separate paragraph.

Intercaste marriages were frequent even later on during the times of Chandragupta, Bindusār, Aśoka, who themselves married non-kṣatriya girls; but they were not so strongly criticized by the people of those times. It is possible, the marriage with a śudra must have been specially objected by the people, or people might have become more tolerant after reign of Mahāpadma. (See f. n. no. 49 above).

(62) Paṇḍit Jayaswālji says, "It (Purāṇ) saw the worst days under Mahāpadma", (J. O. B. R. S. Vol. III. pp. 257).



strongly criticized. By the time when these Purāṇās were written,<sup>63</sup> the Bauddha emperor Aśoka had already become a prominent character in the Bauddha books. As Mahāpadma had done an act against the tenets of the Vedic religion, he was called the Kālāśoka (doer of evil deeds), or Aśoka I, while the later Aśoka, who followed Buddhism, was called Aśoka II.

Mahāpadma has been given two names by the Purāṇās and the Bauddha books : Aśoka I, and Kālāśoka. We shall examine below whether these names can be applied to One other possibility him, and if they can be applied, when can they be applied ? and if any of them cannot be applied to him, to whom can it be applied ?

Aśoka I : This name is given by Bauddha writers. They might have given this name for the following reason : Aśoka was their greatest Bauddha king. During his reign the third religious conference of the Bauddhas was held, while the second was held during the reign of Mahāpadma. Hence they might have given him the name of Aśoka I, and to Aśoka Maurya, the name of Aśoka II, from the view point of time. We must here bear in mind that they might have given these names after Aśoka Maurya's time.

Kālāśoka : One of the Nanda kings is famous in history books by this name. We have to find out to whom this name properly belongs.

It is generally believed by scholars that Mahāpadma was given the name of Kālāśoka by brāhmins because he married a śudra girl against the tenets of the Vedic religion. That Mahāpadma was given the name of Kālāśoka (wicked Aśoka) for such marriage means, that at least Aśoka (Maurya) himself must not

(63) It is generally believed that the Purāṇās were written in the 4th century A. D.; while this event took place in the 5th century B. C. Thus there is an interval of nearly 1000 years between the event and its narration by the Purāṇās. Hence the authors of the Purāṇās were able to compare him with Aśoka. Cf. f. n. no 51 above.



have married any śudra or low-caste girl<sup>64</sup>. History tells us that he married the daughter of Yavana (Selucus Necator), whom the same brahmins considered lower than even śudrās. Hence, from the view-point of marriage with a low-class girl, Mahāpadma must not have been given this name.

The Jaina books are silent about this marriage of Mahāpadma, and they have not given him any such name. It might have been because they had no objection to such a marriage, or they might have been partial towards him because he was a Jaina king. But the second alternative is not probable, because they censured the wicked deeds of Śreṇik who was a greater Jaina than Mahāpadma.

The Purāṇās say that he was called Kālāśoka because he had slaughtered the kshatriyās<sup>65</sup>, and because the Udhistira Era ended and the Kali Era began with his time. Looking to historical evidence such a slaughter has been made by Nand IX and not by Mahāpadma. Hence the name Kālāśoka must really be applied to Mahāpadma. (As far as I think Jaina books are silent about this cruel deed of Mahāpadma. I do not know why). If any Nanda king is given this name because of this slaughter, Āśoka (Maurya) can not be exempted from the name, because he had slaughtered even women, whom the Nanda king did not.

Out of the two names Dharmāśoka and Kālāśoka, the first can be applied to Mahāpadma, and the second can be applied to Mahānand, looking to the reasons given above. Just as two kings of the Nanda dynasty can be given such names, so two kings of the Maurya dynasty can also be given these names. Āśoka can be called Kālāśoka and his grandson Priyadarśin can

(64) In those times there were no castes. There were only guilds and the four classes. (See f. n. nos. 46, 48 in Chapter No. II). Supposing there were castes in those times, we can say that Śreṇik married non-kshatriya girls, and gave his daughters in marriage to non-kshatriyas. Even Kāvel and Chandragupta did the same thing. Even Priyadarśin, who lived many years after Mahāpadma had married a daughter of the Āndhra dynasty, which is considered lower by the Purāṇās. Many other examples can be given. (See f. n. no. 59 above).

(65) See "The Book on Ancient Eras" by Sir Cunningham, and "The Dynastic list of the Kali Age" by Pārgiter.



be called Dharmāśoka. In Rājtarangīni a certain Dharmāśoka has been called the king of Kāśmir; that is the same as Priyadarśin. I have discussed this in detail in their account.

Thus there are two Dharmāśokas<sup>66</sup> and two Kālāśokas<sup>67</sup>.

The information given below pertains partly to the Kauva dynasty, partly to the Āndhra dynasty, and partly to the Nanda dynasty. I have given it here, because it is **A new fact in history** chiefly connected with the Nanda dynasty, and because, as far as I know, it is not given in any history-book of these times. If this piece of information were divided in three parts, and each part were written in the chapter containing the account of the dynasty with which it is concerned, the unity of the whole would be disturbed, and the reader would find it difficult to connect them in a coherent whole.

We have stated in the above written paragraph that king Mahāpadma had married a śudra queen. Historians are of the opinion that he had married only one śudra girl. As already stated in f. n. no. 60 above, I am inclined to believe that he had two śudra queens. I have stated below reasons for this belief.

We know that the kings of Śātavāhan dynasty ruled in southren India. The founder of this dynasty was Śrimukh. The coins<sup>68</sup> struck by Śrimukh and his successors prove, that they were followers of Jainism, and that they were connected with<sup>69</sup> the kings of the Nanda dynasty. The coins of Chutukānand and of Mulañand of southern Canera resemble the coins of the Āndhra kings, (Vide the chapter on coins) and we shall explain in their accounts given later on, that they were originally appointed as

(66) The first Dharmāśoka ruled for 28 years and the second ruled for 54 years. (If we include the period of 14 years before his coronation, he ruled for 68 years).

(67) The first Kālāśoka ruled for 43 years and the second ruled for 41 years. (Out of the 41, the real number is 27, because he has acted as a regent for 14 years).

(68) Vide the Chapter on Coins.

(69) Vide Chapter III, the accounts of Udāyan, Anurudhdha, and Nandivardhan.



governors of those provinces by the Nanda kings. They might have asserted their independence, or they might have become semi-independent during the rule of Mund. Thus the evidence of coins proves that the kings of Śātvāhan dynasty were connected with the kings of the Nanda dynasty. Moreover, the Śātvāhan dynasty was founded during the period of the reigns of the last seven Nanda kings.

Secondly, we know it to be a historical fact that a controversy as to who should succeed Mahāpadma on the throne, was raised after Mahāpadma's death. It was settled in favour of the sons born of kṣatriya queens<sup>70</sup>. As a result, six sons born of the kṣatriya queens came to the throne one after another. After their deaths, the son of the śudra queen became the emperor of Magadh as Nand IX. Some believe that the mother of Nand IX belonged to the barber's caste, while some others believe that she belonged to the washerman's caste.

Thirdly, it is generally agreed that king Śrimukh was born of a woman of low caste<sup>71</sup>. Again, Śrimukh was a contemporary of Nand IX<sup>72</sup>. All the three causes stated above lead one to the conclusion that Śrimukh must have been a son of Mahāpadma by his second śudra queen. Mahānand and Śrimukh could not have

(70) It is always the custom that the eldest son succeeds his father on the throne. That the question, who should succeed Mahāpadma on the throne, was at all raised, means that there must have at least been a son born of a non-kshatriya woman, who must have been elder than the sons born of the kshatriya women. Cf. in the account of Nand II, the paragraph entitled "His family".

It is not possible that this elder śudra son was the same who, in the end, came to the throne as Nand IX, because Nand IX was only 21-23 when he came to the throne; if he were the eldest, he must not have been only 11 at the time of Mahāpadma's death; and if we take him to be the eldest, the other six kshatriyās-sons must have been less than 11 at the time of Mahāpadma's death, which is absurd. Hence there must have been another śudra son, who must have been the eldest and the controversy about succession must have been raised on his behalf.

(71) Vide Vol. V for details about the Andhra dynasty.

(72) Vide Chapter VI, details about Kaṭva dynasty, and f. n. no. 26 there.



been born of the same mother, because it has been proved that their mothers belonged to two different low castes<sup>73</sup>. Thus Mahāpadma had two śudra queens, one, the mother of Mahānand, and, other, the mother of Śrimukh.

When Mahānand came to the throne of Magadh, his age was 23 to 25. An astrologer had predicted about him that he would marry at the age of 23 to 25, and that at the time of his marriage he would be selected as the king of a great kingdom by a female elephant, as was the custom in those days, of selecting a king when the former king died heirless<sup>74</sup>. Śrimukh founded the Āndhra dynasty in 427 B. C. (or A. M. 100), at the age of twenty-five. Hence he must have been born in  $427-25=452$  B. C. Mahāpadma had come to the throne in 455 B. C. (A. M. 72). He must have married śudra women only after his father's death (455 B. C.). At the time of Mahāpadma's death (427 B. C. or A. M. 100) Mahānand was 11 years old, and Śrimukh was 25 years old. One would naturally ask why did he not get the throne after the death of his father? The answer is simple; he was not given the throne because he was born of a śudra queen. Śrimukh felt the sting of this insult, left Magadh with a brother of his<sup>75</sup>, and founded a new dynasty and established a new kingdom which he won by his valour. In the neighbourhood of Magadh, there was the powerful kingdom of Khārvel, and Śrimukh had no means to raise his head against him. So he selected the southern regions as a field for his adventures.

I have stated above an altogether new theory, and I leave it to the reader's judgment.

(73) Vide his account. His mother neither belonged to the barber's caste nor to the washerman's caste, while Mahānand's mother did belong to the barber caste.

Both the queens belonged to different śudra castes. Mahāpadma must have married Śrimukh's mother immediately after coming to the throne, and he must have married Mahānand's mother after the year of Buddha conference in 444 B. C.

(74) Vide the account of Nand IX.

(75) His brother's name was Kṛṣṇa. For details vide the account of Āndhra dynasty.





## Chapter V

### Śīsunāga dynasty (contd.)

*Synopsis:—Nand III to Nand VIII—Their names and discussion about them—Mahāvīr Era and discussion about it—Details about their reigns—Relations of Brhaspatimūra of Magadh.*

*Nand IX—Mahānand—Explanation of his different names—a short account of his reign—His effort to bring to his kingdom the famous trio and its accomplishment—Śakṭāl as prime minister and Chāṇakya as his disciple—Distinction between Kātyāyan and Śākṭāyan—Wicked deeds of the proud and cunning Varrūchi—Its results and the punishment he suffered from them—Rise of Chandragupta and fall of Mahānand—His family and his life.*



### NAND III to NAND VIII

After Nand II, his six sons born of the kṣtriya queen<sup>1</sup> came to the throne of Magadh one by one, as Nand III, Nand IV, and so on, upto Nand VIII. As yet, the names of these six kings are not known, but I think I have found them out, though I am not quite sure of their order of succession.

I shall state first how I got the names of these kings. Sir Cunningham in his "Coins of Ancient India,"<sup>2</sup> has described certain coins, which, though they have been found from United Provinces, are assigned by him to the kings of Kauśāmbī, because they bear the sign of a calf, which was the royal sign of those kings. He has further said that these coins belonged to small kings of the provinces from which they were found, and that these small kings were vassals of the kings of Kauśāmbī. Some of the names of these kings end in "Mitra", and hence he has concluded that these kings must have belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty, the names of many kings of which ended in Mitra, (Pusyamitra ? Agnimitra etc.). A closer study of these coins reveals on them signs of chaityās and saṅghās, which belong to Jainism. As kings of Śuṅgā dynasty were followers of the Vedic religion, these coins must not have belonged to them. Hence these coins must have belonged to kings, who must have been under the vassalage of some Jaina kings. A still closer study of the same coins revealed on them some curved lines which the coin-experts call the sign of the serpent, which belonged to the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties. This leads us to believe that these coins must have belonged to those Nanda kings under whose vassalage was the kingdom of Kauśāmbī including those small provinces from which the coins are found<sup>3</sup>. Coins having signs of large serpents belong to the senior Śiśunāga dynasty, and those having the sign of the small

(1) Some information about this queen is given in the account of Nand VIII.

(2) Vide Chapter on Kauśāmbī in C. A. I. Also vide Chapter II, Part III, Vol. II of this book.

(3) Consult C. A. I. by Sir Cunningham. Also vide Chapter II, Part III, Vol. II of this book.



serpent belong to the junior Śīsunāga dynasty or the Nanda dynasty. Now we have to find out which of the Nanda kings were masters of Kauśāmbī, and to which kings these coins belong? We have proved in our account of Vatsa, that Nandivardhan or Nand I had annexed both Vatsa and Kauśāmbī to the kingdom of Magadh in M. E. 60 or 467 B. C. They continued to be under the rule of the Nanda kings throughout the whole dynasty. Hence the names which are found on these coins must belong to one of the Nanda kings. Now we know that the name of the first Nanda king was Nandivardhan, that of the second was Mahāpadma, and that of the ninth was Mahānand. Hence the names on these coins must be of the rest of the Nanda kings, because none of the above-given three names is found on them. On one of the coins is found the name Brhaspatimitra. In the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions, it is stated that Khārvel had twice invaded Magadh, and on the second invasion, which took place thirteen years after his accession to the throne, he had defeated a king of Magadh named Brhaspatimitra. This Brhaspatimitra and the Brhaspatimitra whose name is given in the coins, must be one and the same individual as the number given in Hāthīgumfā inscriptions proves it. In the inscription, number 103 denotes the fifth year after Khārvel's accession to the throne. Thus Khārvel must have ascended the throne in 98. The same inscription tells us that Khārvel had defeated Śrimukh, the founder of the Śātvāhan dynasty, 2 years after his accession to the throne. Śrimukh had founded his dynasty in 100, and Khārvel defeated him in  $98+2=100$ . Now we have to find out, which era is denoted by these numbers like 103, 100, 98 and others, and what was the number of Brhaspatimitra in the Nanda line. We know that Nand IX ruled from 112 to 155=43 years. This means that thirteen years after Khārvel's accession to the throne (i. e. in  $98+13=111$ ) the eighth Nanda king must have been on the throne, and that must have been Brhaspatimitra, who was defeated by Khārvel. Thus Brhaspatimitra was the eighth Nanda king and his reign ended in 112. The era which these numbers denote is the Mahāvīr era which I have frequently used in this book in comparison with the Christian era. The



numbers of Mahāvīr era connected with the Nanda line also agree with the numbers given in the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions. Some might doubt and say, that these numbers belong to the Nanda dynasty, as their name is connected with the incident of canal-digging by Khārvel. Some others might say that, as these numbers are found in the inscriptions by Khārvel, they might as well belong to the Chedi dynasty to which Khārvel belonged. In answer to the first objection we might say that the Nanda dynasty was founded in 472 B. C. or 55 A. M. E. When Khārvel invaded it in 416 B. C., the number according to Nanda era must be  $472 - 416 = 56$ . But the number given in the inscription is 103, which proves that, that number does not belong to the Nanda dynasty. In answer to the second objection we might say that, as given in the account of Kaling in the previous pages, this dynasty must have been founded either in 558 B. C. or in 556 B. C. or in 475 B. C. If we deduct the year 416 B. C. from these, one by one, we get the numbers 142, 140 and 59. This proves that the numbers like 103 do not belong to the Chedi dynasty either. (We shall discuss this in details in the account of the Chedi dynasty). This proves that the number 103 does neither belong to the Nanda dynasty nor the Chedi dynasty but to Mahāvīr, the founder of Jainism, to which both Khārvel and Nanda kings belonged. Kings in those times never desired to begin eras in their own names; they began an era in the name of a great preceptor of their religion.

To summarise, (1) The coins found from the United Provinces belong to those kings of Magadh who were also masters of Kausāmbī; (2) These kings of Magadh belonged to the Nanda dynasty; (3) The numbers like 103 used in the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions denote the Mahāvīr era<sup>4</sup>; (4) Śrimukh, Khārvel, and Brhaspatimitra of Magadh were contemporaries; (5) Śrimukh came to the throne in

(4) Vide the account of Nandivardhan. Also cf. this, with the account of Khārvel, and of Hāthīgumfā inscriptions.

Most people are not aware of the existence of Mahāvīr Era, and its use in Hāthīgumfā inscriptions. It is a credit to Jains, but few Jains might be knowing it,



# Further details about their reigns

A. M. 100; Khārvel invaded Magadh in A. M. 111; (6) Śātvaḥan dynasty began in A. M. 100; (7) Brhaspatimitra was the eighth Nanda king.

These six Nanda kings ruled from A. M. 100 to A. M. 112; and their reigns were politically unimportant. We know their names; but we do not know their order of succession.

The twelve<sup>5</sup> years of the rule of these six kings were years of misrule and anarchy. Six descendants of Kalpak, who was the prime-minister of Nandivardhan, acted as prime-minister one by one. We do not know for how many years out of these total of 12; everyone of these kings ruled. We know that Brhaspatimitra, the eighth king, was on the throne from A. M. 110 to 112 or 417 to 415 B. C. because Hāthīgumfā inscription tells us that in the second year of his rule ( which comes to A. M. 111 counting from the succession of Khārvel in 98, ( 111-98=13 ), he was invaded by Khārvel, who took away from Magadh, the Jaina idol which was brought of Kaling many years ago<sup>6</sup>, and who established with pomp and procession the same idol in a majestic temple in his capital.

We do not know how these six kings died within such a short time.

Thus we have finished the account of the eight sons of Mahāpadma<sup>7</sup>.

Scholars are of the opinion that a foreign invader, who, having heard of the conquest of Khārvel over Magadh, returned to his country from Mathurā, without further invading the country was Demetrius. In the account of Khārvel I will prove that this is an erroneous belief.

In 1911 A. D. some bricks have been excavated near places named Maurā and Ganeśa in U. P. The words on these

(5) C. H. I. pp. 312, see the list based on Purāṇas, given there.

(6) See Hāthīgumfā inscriptions.

(7) We have stated that Śrimukh and Śri-Kṛṣṇa went away from Magadh and we have given their account; we have given above the account of other six sons.



bricks<sup>8</sup> give us to understand that Br̥haspatimitra had a daughter named Yaśomatī, who was married to the king of Mathurā.

**Something more about Br̥haspatimitra**

Br̥haspatimitra must have been at least 45 at the time of the marriage of his daughter. This conclusion is supported by the fact that he was the youngest of the six kshatriya sons of Mahāpadma, and that Mahānand, who was younger than Br̥haspatimitra, was 21–23 at the time of his accession to the throne. Again, it has been found<sup>9</sup> that Aśādhsen the king of Ahichhatra the capital of Pañchāl, was the maternal uncle of Br̥haspatimitra, thus proving that Aśādhsen's sister was married to Mahāpadma. It is possible that the six kshatriya sons might have been born of her. These facts also prove that the kings of Māgadh, Pañchāl and Mathurā gave their daughters in marriage to each other<sup>10</sup>.

**(9) NAND IX, MAHĀNAND, DHAN-NAND**

When king Mahāpadma died, the question was raised as to who should succeed him to the throne, and we know that the ministers had decided in favour of the eldest kshatriya son, thus ignoring the right of the eldest son, because he was born of a śūdra queen. We know how these six kshatriya sons, succeeded one another, and how all of them died within 12 years leaving no heir behind them. Hence, after the death of the last son, Br̥haspatimitra, the same question was again raised as to who should come to the throne next. There was yet living a son of Mahāpadma, but he was also born of a śūdra woman; and hence the ministers did not elect him to the throne, as they had for the same reason not elected the former and the eldest son, who had by this time established a powerful empire in the south, and from whom the ministers feared an invasion if they selected the

(8) See the special number on Archaeology, of "Gaṅgā", Jan. 1933. It is written there: Jīvaṇputāye rājbharyāye Br̥hāsvātī mitidhītu Yaśamataye Kāritam meaning—"made by Yashomati, the daughter of Br̥haspatimitra, and the wife of the king of Mathurā".

(9) See A. I. Vol. II pp. 242.

(10) Cf. the example of Śreṇik's mother who was a Bhattiya queen, who was a daughter of the king of this country.



other śudra son to the throne. After a long deliberation the council of ministers decided to accept that person as the king, who would be garlanded by the female elephant who was made to go round the whole city with Pāñchdivya<sup>11</sup>.

On the other hand, an astrologer, who knew before-hand by his astrological calculations that the son of the śudra queen was to become a king in future, gave his daughter in marriage to him, and the wedding procession with the boy on a decorated horse, with a following of men behind, crossed the progress of the female elephant on her way. The female elephant naturally garlanded the boy<sup>12</sup>, because she saw him king-like riding a horse in his best clothes, and with a large following, and with all the pomp and show befitting a king. Thus this śudra son<sup>13</sup> of Mahāpadma came to the throne of Magadh as Nand IX.

As he was ninth in order of succession, he was called Nand IX. He was also called Mahānand because his reign was the longest of all the Nanda kings, and because many important events took place during his reign.

The name Dhan-nand was given to him on account of his inordinate greed for wealth which he had hoarded throughout by fair means or foul. The Magadha empire was much expanded by him, and Bauddha books have called it "Mahāmaṇḍal"<sup>14</sup> (large empire), and they have called him "Ugrasen"<sup>15</sup> (possessing a terrible army). In Purāṇās he is called Prachayānand<sup>16</sup> (Nand the cruel, or Nand the atrocious), because he had

(11) A Pāñchadivya consisted of, "A silver jug filled with water, a garland of flowers, a royal umbrella (Chhatra), and two royal fans".

(12) Mahānand has got this scene embossed on his coins (Vide his pictures).

(13) *Parīṣiṣṭa Parva Sarga VII, Chapter 18*. "His ministers did not respect him because he was a barber by caste" See below f. n. no. 17.

(14) *J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89 ff.* "One king-empire under a single umbrella". It is distinguished in *Divyāvdān*, as Mahā-maṇḍal.

(15) *F. n. no. 40. Chapter VI*. "The military prowess of king Nandivardhan seems to have been fully inherited by him."

(16) *J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89 and further*, (stated on the authority of *Bhaviṣya-purāṇ*).



exercised much cruelty and had ruthlessly killed many officers of his kingdom<sup>17</sup> who showed slight respect for him<sup>18</sup> because he was a śudra. Both these last names must have been given to him in order to compare him with Chaṇḍapradhyot of Avanti<sup>19</sup>. As we have proved in the account of Mahāpadma, he can also be called Kālāśoka<sup>20</sup>. Thus he had, in all, six names:—(1) Nand IX, (2) Mahānand, (3) Dhan-nand, (4) Ugrasen, (5) Prachāṇḍa-nand, and (6) Kālāśoka.

From the very first he had begun to deal with a firm hand in all the affairs of his kingdom. After establishing internal peace with the help of his able minded prime-minister Sakaḍāl, he directed his attention towards expanding his territory and hoarding up wealth—his favourite pursuits. Hitherto, the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty always extended their territory by conquering the countries of southern India. Nandivardhan was the first to invade and conquer countries of northern India; yet he could not subdue countries like the Punjāb and Kāśmir<sup>21</sup>. Mahānand conquered the Punjāb, (then called Camboj Raṣṭra) which had been under the sway of the Persian emperors for a century and a half in 405 B. C. or A. M. 122, and put it under the governorship of a hindu chief<sup>22</sup>.

(17) Pārgiter's "Dynasties". pp. 69, "Born of a śudra woman will exterminate all kshatriyās: he will be sole monarch, bringing all under his sole sway, a Brahmin Kautilya will uproot them all".

(18) See f. n. no. 13 above.

(19) As to how this king got the two names. Chaṇḍa-pradyot, and Mahsen, vide the account of Avanti.

(20) See further.

(21) Vide Chapter VI, cf. f. n. no. 22 below.

(22) His coins are also found in Taxilā (Vide C. A. I. pp. 65) "Where", says Sir Cunningham, "all the coins are found together. (Kauśāmbī and Taxilā) They must have been current at the same time, but as the greater number are of the Indian standard, I infer that they must belong to the indigenous coinage prior to the Greek occupation".

The Greeks had invaded India for the first time in 327 B. C. That the coins of Kauśāmbī and Taxilā have been found from the same place shows



## The learned trio

He brought a great amount of wealth to his treasury from this country; but he is famous in history as the king, who brought to his university the learned trio of Pāṇini, Varrūchi, and Chāṇakya. He thought it unwise to attempt the conquest of any of the countries situated on the east coast of southern India, because they were under the power of emperor Khārvel. In the central and western portions of the peninsula his own brothers had established their kingdom<sup>23</sup> (Śrimukh, the founder of the Śātavāhan dynasty, and Śrīkr̥ṣṇa), and hence he gave up the idea of conquering them. The rest of his time he spent in consolidating his empire.

Of the learned trio, Pāṇini is famous as a great grammarian, Chāṇakya is considered to be a great authority in economics and politics, and Varrūchi who is better known by the name of Kātyāyan<sup>24</sup>, his family name, though less famous than the other two, has

that one king ruled both these provinces. Kauśāmbī was under the rule of Magadh from 467 B. C., which means that Taxilā region must have been conquered by the king of Magadh.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 80 :—"But Ktesias (B. C. 416 to 398), when writing, speaks not of the Indians only, but also of the king of India. By this time the Persian domination had ended and it must have thus ended between 450 B. C. and 400 B. C.". I have stated above that Mahānand conquered this country in 405 B. C.

Ibid. pp. 80 :—"When Herodotus was in India in 450 B. C., he heard the account of how gold was produced in large quantities in India; the impression received from this is, that India was still under and had to send gold to the Achaeminion Emperor".

The above-given statement gives us to understand that upto 450 B. C., this country was under the power of Persian emperors. Their power thus must have ended between 450 and 400 B. C. The period of the rule of Nandivardhan being 472 to 456, this could not have taken place during his reign; while Mahāpadma never invaded that country. Hence this country was conquered by Mahānand.

Cf. the details given in Chapter VI, and f. n. no. 38 below.

(23) Both Mahānand and Śrimukh were born of the śudra queens of Mahāpadma.

(24) There was a great grammarian named Śaktāyan, who is often quoted by Patañjali. Is this Śaktāyan the same as Kātyāyan? or is Śaktāyan a crude form of Kātyāyan?



earned lasting fame by writing an authoritative commentary on the grammar of Pāṇini<sup>25</sup>.

We shall first try to fix their native places. A writer says<sup>26</sup>, "Pāṇini's birth-place was in Gonārd where the river Kābul flows into the Indus". Another says<sup>27</sup>, "His predecessor Nand (II) is implied to have extended his kingdom upto the native-place of Pāṇini, and thus Taxilā was brought into close touch with Pātli-putra". The same writer says further<sup>28</sup> "Nand had defeated king Pilu (Piṣṭu) of Piśāchās (I think the writer means thereby the Afghān king of that time; the language of the Afghāns is at present even known as Puṣṭu, perhaps a corrupt form of Piṣṭu) in his power". We may take this to mean that Mahānand's political influence extended to the north-western frontiers of India. A third writer says<sup>29</sup>, "Pāṇini used ancient Persian words". Modern writers are of the opinion that numerous words of the Kharoṣṭi language are found in the grammar of Pāṇini. A fourth writer says<sup>30</sup>, "Many writers are of the opinion that Chāṇakya was not an Ārya<sup>31</sup>". This means that Chāṇakya's birth-place was outside India. The above-given opinions taken together lead us to the following conclusions (1) Pāṇini's birth-place was Gonārd which was on the west of the Indus, (2) that region was situated on the west-coast of India; it was inhabited by Piśāchās who spoke the Puṣṭu tongue, and whose king's name was Pilu or Piṣṭu.

There are other facts which support our conclusion. We

(25) See f. n. no. 31 below.

(26) Dey's, *Ancient Geography of India* pp. 16.

(27) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 82.

(28) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 82; f. n. no. 82.

(29) Prof. Hultzsch. (*Aśoka Inscr.* Vol. I. Intro. XLIII f. n. no. 8).

(30) "Maurya Sāmrajya Kā Itihās" by Vidyābhūṣaṇ of Kāṇḍī Gurukul.

(31) Pāṇini and Chāṇakya are spoken of as contemporaries on the one hand, and Pāṇini and Varrūchi are spoken as contemporaries on the other (f. n. no. 36 Paṇḍit Tārānāth's opinion). Thus proving that all the three were contemporaries. See f. n. no. 44.





know that Pāṇini has used many words of both the Kharoṣṭi as well as Persian languages. An inscription by Priyadarśin, situated in that region, contains many words of the Kharoṣṭi language, thus proving that the Kharoṣṭi was the language spoken by the people inhabiting that region. Again our knowledge about the Kharoṣṭi chiefs<sup>32</sup> who had invaded India, leads us to the same conclusion. This reign was also under the power of the Persian emperor for 150 years, during which time many Persian words must have found their way in the Kharoṣṭi language<sup>33</sup>. That Pāṇini's grammar contains words from both the languages proves that he was born in Gonārd<sup>34</sup>.

Chāṇakya and Varrūchi too must have been born in the same region, as all the three were pals from their very childhood.

Now we shall try to fix up their time. One writer says<sup>35</sup>. "His (Pāṇini's) time was 350 B. C. according to Bohtalingk, though Goldstucker and Bhāṇḍārker place him before Buddha". This means that Pāṇini lived at least before the 3rd century B. C. Another writer says<sup>36</sup> "It is thus evident that the Nand, the reputed contemporary and patron of Pāṇini of the popular story is really Mahānand, (Nand the great). Tārānāth places Varrūchi, the author of Vibhās under the next reign". (For confusion about Mahāpadma and Mahānand, vide the account of Mahāpadma). The above-given statement gives us to understand that both Pāṇini and Varrūchi lived during the reigns of Nanda kings. The confusion which has resulted from the belief that Mahāpadma and Mahānand were the names of one and the same individual, has already been explained in the account of Mahāpadma.

Keeping in mind the fact that Chāṇakya, Pāṇini, and Varrūchi were contemporaries let us turn to the time of Chāṇakya.

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(32) Vide the account of Bactrians in Vol. III for details.

(33) Cf. f. n. no. 22 above, and the account of Kamboj-Gāndhār in Chapter III.

(34) Some believe that birth-place of Patañjali too was Gonārd. The fact is that his birth place was Gaud.

(35) Chr. Ind. By M. Duff. pp. 7.

(36) J. O. B. R. S. pp. 82.



We know that Chāṇakya was a prime-minister of Chandragupta Maurya. It might have been possible that the difference between their ages might have been from 40 to 50 years. As Chandragupta had founded the Maurya dynasty after defeating the last Nanda king, Nand IX, who ruled for 43 years, Chāṇakya could not have lived earlier than the time of Nand IX,<sup>37-38</sup>. As Pāṇini and Varrūchi were contemporaries and pals of Chāṇakya, they must have all lived at the same time.

Mahānand's other name was Dhan-nand because he had the habit of hoarding money. Some say that he had piled up five, and some say that he had piled up nine, heaps of gold<sup>39</sup>. He must have kept them underground, because Agnimitra of the Śuṅga dynasty had got the whole town excavated in order to get this gold, when he conquered this city<sup>40</sup>.

Some historians say that he was a miser, and that he collected gold because he was greedy. I am of the opinion that he collected gold for using it in a very noble cause. Had he been a miser, he would not have been nicknamed Dhan-nand, but Lobhi-nand (Nand the avaricious). That king Agnimitra did not get much gold as a result of his excavations, and that Chandragupta Maurya was badly in need of finances<sup>41</sup>, at the beginning of his

(37) He might have been born before the time of Nand II, but the time of his career was not earlier than the reign of Nand IX.

(38) "Not earlier", i. e. during the reign of Nand IX. That this trio was brought from the Punjāb by Nand IX, means that he must have conquered the Punjāb, and not Nandivardhan. Cf. f. n. no. 36 in the account of Nandivardhan.

(39) We do not know how much gold was contained by one such heap. It is clear that he must have possessed an immense amount of wealth, which would have been impossible to weigh. Modern readers would think this to be an exaggeration; but they should remember that Śreṇīk had found several rooms full of gold dust at the merchant's house in Bennātaḥ, and that the Persian emperors took away every year boxes full of gold as tribute.

(40) Vide the account of the Śuṅga dynasty.

(41) Some one would say that Chandragupta's finances ran low because he allowed Dhan-nand to quit Pāṭliputra with as much gold as he could



The aim of bringing this trio into his kingdom and its realization

reign, prove that Dhan-nand must have used up most of his hoarded gold before his death.

We know that Takṣilā, the famous seat of the university of that name, was in the Punjāb. When Mahānand conquered the Punjāb, it must have come under his power. That this learned trio was brought from the Punjāb, means that they must have been connected with the Takṣilā university before Mahānand brought them to the Nālandā university; and they must have been famous as professors of the Takṣilā university to be chosen by Mahānand.

There were two famous seats of university in ancient India, the university of Takṣilā in the Punjāb and the university of Nālandā, near Pāṭliputra, the capital of Magadh. We do not know which came into existence first, though Bauddha books say that the university of Nālandā existed at the time of Lord Buddha. Jaina books are silent about it; hence it must have been in its childhood during the time of Lord Buddha, or it must have represented Bauddha literature only during that time, or it must have been founded even after the time of Lord Buddha<sup>42</sup>; and the authors of Bauddha books, which were written much later after the establishment of the Bauddha religion, must have introduced its name and connected it with the time of Lord Buddha, either through oversight, or just to show that Buddhism was connected with such a famous university. Truly speaking the university of Nālandā first became famous, and flourished fully during the time of Mahānand. As Mahānand was a Jain, he must

carry. Here it might be made clear that he was allowed to carry away with him as much as he could in a single chariot and he must have naturally selected precious jewels and gems rather than gold. He could not have carried with him his 5 or 9 hill-like heaps of gold. This means that Dhan-nand has spent his hoarded wealth during his reign.

(42) In very ancient times there was no written literature. (Vide Chapter VII). Pupils committed everything to memory. Written literature began from the time of Mahānand and his contemporary Khārvel.

Words on coins are found from these times onwards, not before these times. (See the coins of Nand in Vatsa; the coins bearing names of Nand III to Nand VIII).



have taken care to develop the study of Jaina literature in it. He must have given preference to Nālandā, over his own capital, for the seat of the university, (Nālandā was about twenty miles away from Pāṭliputra), in order that students might live in a pure environment, away from the vile influence of a crowded city, where there would not be enough space for boarding, lodging, games, and other activities of university life. Thus we can see that Dhan-nand very carefully selected the sight for the university-town, keeping in mind all ideas about proper environment for students; and that he freely spent<sup>43</sup> his hoarded money for such a noble purpose.

These three learned men must have begun their work in the university of Nālandā from 404 B. C. e. g. A. M. 123.

Śakḍāl<sup>44</sup>, a descendant of Kalpak the prime-minister of

(43) In Jaina books it is said that Mahānand gave one hundred thousand coins to any one who recited before him a newly-composed poem. This shows his love for learning, his own knowledge and his readiness to appreciate and encourage learning.

Varrūchi tried to get money by composing verses in this way, but he was prevented from getting anything for them by the prime-minister Śakḍāl in the following way :—Śakḍāl had seven daughters. His eldest daughter had such a powerful memory that she could 'faultlessly reproduce any verse that was spoken only once. His second daughter could reproduce any verse which was recited twice, his third daughter could reproduce any verse which was recited thrice, and so on upto his seventh daughter. When Varrūchi approached Mahānand with any new verse, Śakḍāl kept his seven daughters present in the assembly. When Varrūchi recited a verse, his eldest daughter immediately reproduced it, then his second daughter reproduced it because she had heard twice, and so on upto his seventh daughter. Śakḍāl thus convinced Mahānand that the verse was an old one, as his seven daughters could easily reproduce it, and thus prevented him from giving anything to Varrūchi. He did not do this, out of any personal spite towards Varrūchi but as a prime-minister he believed that it was his duty to prevent the king from thus emptying his treasure into the coffers of such learned men, leaving nothing for administrative expenses, maintenance of army, and many other things for the upkeep of the empire. Varrūchi bore a grudge against him, and at last got him murdered by the king. (See the next Paragraph).

(44) Asia Res. V. pp. 264 :—Śakāter. The Purāṇas state his name to be Śakāṭār; some Jaina books pronounce it as Śakadāla.



Śakṛdāl as prime-minister and Chāṇakya as his disciple

Nandivardhan, became the prime-minister<sup>45</sup> of Mahānand, a few years after the latter's accession to the throne.

Those three learned men, who were brought to Nālandā in 404 B. C., had fascinated the mind of the king; wherefore they were allowed to enter the palace of the king; and see him any time they liked. Out of these three, Pāṇini devoted himself solely to learning, and never bothered his head with politics; while Chāṇakya and Varrūchi took an active part in politics, and wrote books on it<sup>46</sup>.

Chāṇakya helped Śakṛdāl on and often in the administration of the empire. Once he went to the palace of the king to get some help for a social function which was to take place in his family<sup>47</sup>. The king was busy at this time, but his three sons were playing in the assembly hall. The youngest son—about seven years old, spoke insultingly to Chāṇakya who was in rags. Chāṇakya was by nature of an irritable temper. He took this insult seriously, took a vow<sup>48</sup> there and then to exterminate the whole Nanda race<sup>49</sup>, and went out of the palace instantaneously.

"Maurya Sāmrājya kā Itihās" pp. 95. "The name of Nand's prime-minister was Śakaṭār".

H. H. pp. 112. "Satakār was the name of Nand's prime-minister". On pp. 503 of the same book it is written, "Kātyāyan, the critic of Pāṇini, was his prime-minister". I think this contradiction is due to oversight. "It is true Kātyāyan had spared no efforts to obtain the prime-ministership, but his efforts were unsuccessful".

(45) See f. n. no. 44 above.

(46) Chāṇakya's "Arthśāstra" is read with interest to-day. He derived his knowledge from Śakṛdāl under whom he worked as a disciple. Varrūchi has written a book entitled "Vibhās", and other books also.

(47) For details vide Pariśiṣṭaparva.

(48) After his vow he always kept his hair loose and uncombed.

(49) He took a vow to exterminate the whole race of Nands because the king's son insulted him and this he had done with the help of Chandragupta : this proves that Chandragupta did not belong to Nanda family.



He left Magadh also. Thus Śakṣāḥ lost a valuable assistant in political and administrative affairs.

Now Varrūchi began to try to get the position of Chāṇakya<sup>50</sup>; but being narrow-minded by nature, he began to envy the power of Śakṣāḥ<sup>51</sup>. He began to find out tricks<sup>52</sup> to ruin Śakṣāḥ. Some of his tricks were known by the king who began to dislike him<sup>53</sup>. Varrūchi began to drink wine heavily and became a ruffian. By this time Śakṣāḥ's daughter's marriage ceremony was to take place, and he began to get nice weapons manufactured at his place in order to give them a present to the king on this occasion. Varrūchi saw his opportunity, and sent word to the king that Śakṣāḥ was planning to kill the king by calling him home on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his daughter, and if the king wanted to ascertain the truth of his message, he might send his spies secretly to the place of Śakṣāḥ, where weapons were being manufactured for the purpose. The king did so and the spies informed him that weapons were being manufactured at the place of Śakṣāḥ. Mahānand began to show his dislike towards Śakṣāḥ who understood everything. After the marriage ceremony was over, he told his eldest son Śriyak, who was then the head of the bodyguards of the king, to kill him by the blow of a sword on his neck when he would bend it to salute the king in the assembly; and if the king asked the cause of it, he should say that he had done it because his father was planning against the life of the king, and that as his bodyguard it was his duty to kill those who had any designs against the king's life, be they his nearest relatives<sup>54</sup>. Thus Śakṣāḥ sacrificed

(50) Cf. f. n. no. 44 above.

(51) Varrūchi was of an envious nature from the first. As long as Chāṇakya was in Pāṭliputra he checked his wicked actions. During his absence there was none to check him.

(52) For details vide *Parīśiṣṭaparva*, or *Bharateśvara B. V. Translation* pp. 47 onwards.

(53) For one of such actions vide f. n. no. 43 above.

(54) Śakṣāḥ had kept in his mouth a kind of poison which he swallowed immediately before the stroke of the sword, thus saving him from the sin of patricide. For details vide *Bharateśvara B. V. Translation* pp. 148-49.



his life in order to save the ruin of his family. The king appointed Śriyak as his prime-minister, as Śriyak's elder brother Sthulibhadraji<sup>55</sup> became a Jaina monk seeing that the cause of his father's death was prime-ministership, which was full of sins. This event took place in 381 B. C. or 146 A. M. Varrūchi was very much pleased at the death of Śakḍal, but once when Śriyak told the king the real cause of his father's death the king drove Varrūchi out of his kingdom. Śriyak, at the age of 35, became a Jaina monk<sup>55</sup>, in about 374 B. C. or A. M. 153. Thus Nand lost his valuable advisers one by one.

Chāṇakya, having taken his vow, left Magadh<sup>56</sup> in 397 B. C. or 130 A. M. On the way, he put up at the house of a mayū-  
rapoṣak (tamer of peacocks) whose daughter,  
**Birth of Chandra-** named Murā, was pregnant. Chāṇakya fulfilled  
**gupta and the end** her dohada<sup>57</sup> (or desires felt by women during  
**of Mahānand's reign** the period of pregnancy), on condition that, if  
a son were born to her, he should be allowed to take away the  
boy whenever he wanted to do so. After some time, she gave birth  
to a son, who is known in history as Chandragupta<sup>58</sup>. When he  
was about 14, Chāṇakya took him away, and proclaimed him  
king of a small hilly region on the outskirts of Magadh, with  
the help of the wild people inhabiting that region, in 382 B. C.  
or A. M. 145. Thus Chandragupta can be said to have founded  
the Maurya dynasty in 382 B. C. In other eight years Chāṇakya  
gathered strength and extended the territory of Chandragupta.

(55) Sthulibhadraji and Śriyakji became disciples of Śayyambhavasūri, who died in 156 A. M. This means that Śriyakji must have become a Jaina monk two or three years before 156 A. M. which fits in with the dates fixed by us.

(56) Of the trio, Chāṇakya left Magadh, and Varrūchi was driven out. We do not know what happened to Pāṇini. He must have died during the reign of Mahānand, otherwise his name would have somewhere been mentioned in the accounts of Chandragupta.

(57) This proves that Nand was not in any way connected with Murā. Chandragupta could not have been the son of Nand. Cf. f. n. no. 63 below.

(58) For details vide the account of Chandragupta.



By this time Nand had become about 60, and he had no good and efficient ministers by his side<sup>59</sup>. Vakradev (Vakragriv), son of Khārvel, was the master of Chedi and the hilly region about it<sup>60</sup>. Chāṇakya induced him to help him on his invasion on Magadh<sup>61</sup>, on condition that he would be given half of the spoils of war. (As to how this division of spoils was made, vide the account of Chandragupta). The combined armies of Vakragriv and Chāṇakya defeated Mahānand, who was forced to quit<sup>62</sup> Magadh with as much wealth as he could carry in his chariot (372 B. C. or 155 A. M.). He must have spent the remaining years of his life as a rich private individual. Chandragupta thus became the emperor of Magadh.

We do not know how many queens he had married. We only know that he had married the daughter of an astrologer at the time of his accession to the throne. He had **His family and his age** three sons, who were respectively 12, 10, and 8 years in the year when Chāṇakya was insulted in A. M. 130. Thus they must have been born in A. M. 118, 120, and 122 or B. C. 409, 407, and 405 respectively. At the time of Mahānand's defeat they must have been 37, 35 and 33 years old. Nand's daughter<sup>63</sup> married Chandragupta in A. M. 155, when she

(59) That Chāṇakya could easily plunder the people and gather strength without in any way being retaliated by Nand, means that he and his army were deteriorating in strength and efficiency.

(60) This region was on the south-east of Revā and on the north-west of Orissā.

(61) This means that the king of Kaling was a powerful independent king, and Magadha empire had no power over western or southern India.

(62) From this it will be clear that Nand was not killed as some believe. For details vide the account of Chandragupta.

(63) Thus Chandragupta was a son-in-law of Nand, and not his son. (Cf. f. n. no. 57 above). Thus the statements of Kalpasūtra Com. pp. 127, of Pariśiṣṭa-parva, and of Mudrāraksas, that he was Mahānand's son, are wrong. That he succeeded Mahānand on the throne does not necessarily mean that he was his son. Again, a different name would not have been given to his dynasty, had he been his son. See also f. n. no. 49.





must have been 14 to 15 years old. Thus she must have been born in about 141 A. M., or 386 B. C.

When Nand ascended the throne, in A. M. 112 he was about 21 to 23 years old. Thus he must have been born in 89 to 91 A. M. He had to quit Magadh in A. M. 155 hence he must have ruled for 43 years; he must have been 65 at the time of his quitting Magadh. Thus Mahānand's reign was the longest of all the reigns of Nands.





## Chapter VI

### Extents of the territories of the kings of the Nāga dynasty

*Synopsis:—Reason why a separate chapter is devoted to this—Another condition—Designs of Nature.*

*Meaning of the word "Anga—Magadh"—which was familiar in the time of Śrenik—situation of Champānagarī which was made capital by Ajātsatru—who first made his way into southern India—Udayan's care for the discipline and organization of his army—Its results—Career of Anurudhdha as heir apparent—Epidemic in Magadh—Establishment of the Nanda dynasty—Meaning of the word, "Nandivardhan"—Mahāpadma—an account of his reign—What Magadh lost during reign of six kings from Nand III to Nand VIII—Comparison between Mahānanda and Parśurām, the destroyer of Ksatriyas—his hoardings and his love for learning—Revival of the University of Nālandā and the good use of his hoardings made by Mahānanda—Nicknames given to various kings of the senior and the junior Śiśunāga dynasties.*



In writing this chapter, I have departed from the general custom observed by most writers of history of giving an account of the conquests, defeats, as well conquests of the territory of every king, in the account of the king, and not separately. I admit that this custom has its advantages. It makes the reading of history interesting, and it gives a complete account of every king. But it has its disadvantages too. It is not possible to link the conquests and the defeats, (and their influence on society) of every king with his predecessors and successors without making the account of every king unnecessarily lengthy and tedious. If we do not do so, the reader does not get a proper and correct idea of the conquests and the defeats and their influence on society of a whole dynasty; or to do so he has to strain his memory and do the work of linking himself. Hence the decision to write a separate chapter.

Some one might ask the reason why I did not write a separate chapter at the end of Part I. In answer to this I might say that there, my aim was to give a short account of the sixteen different kingdoms of India, on which different dynasties ruled at different times. Again, the account I have given there, is concerned with pre-historic times, of which we do not get a connected account supported with facts, as we get of the periods later on<sup>1</sup>. Before the beginning of the fifth Ārā in 523 B. C. (and I have given the accounts of those 16 kingdoms generally upto that time) kings had no desire to increase the extent of their territory<sup>2</sup> or hoard up wealth, just as the kings after that period did, due to the influence of god time<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, the conquests and defeats of these dynasties do not affect India as a whole, while those of the Śiśunāga and Nanda kings do. Upto the end

(1) Vide chapter I, Part I.

(2) Vide f. n. no. 11 in Chapter I Part I.

(3) For this reason only, it was believed that there were real kingdoms in north India; south India was considered Anārya (uncivilized). These sixteen kingdoms had a federal system of government among them. For details vide Purātattva Vol. II.



of the reign of Śreṇik, people were happy, and the sixteen kingdoms remained intact. During that transitional period from the fourth Ārā into the fifth, Śreṇik, with help of Abhaya-kumār, and inspired by Lord Mahāvīr, formed all the guilds, which exist in India even to-day, with changes necessitated by changes in times, and the general outlook of society<sup>4</sup>.

Five years after the death of Śreṇik, the fifth Ārā began, and Ajātsatru, his son, under its influence, spent his whole life in extending his territory, as a result of which he lost his life in the Vindhyā ranges trying to find a way to south India, which had been hitherto unexplored<sup>5</sup>.

### BIMBISĀR OR ŚREṆIK

Śreṇik had devoted the latter part of his life in forming guilds. Again he was lover of peace<sup>6</sup> and had felt no longing to increase his territory as he was not influenced by fifth Ārā. But he had waged wars against the kings of Kośal for a decade and a half, in order to gratify his family pride. He rested only when he lowered the family pride of the king of Kośal by marrying his daughter Kauśalyādevī himself, and by getting his son married with the daughter of Vidurath, son of the king of Kośal. He also had taken away by force Chillaṇā, the daughter of king Cheṭak of Mithilā. Thus we see that he waged wars for the sake of women<sup>7</sup> and not for the sake of land.

The other kingdoms that were in the neighbourhood of Magadh, were those of Kāśī<sup>8</sup>, Aṅga, and Kauśāmbī. Of these, he was by the right of descent the master of Kāśī, and on the

(4) Vide Chapter II Part I. Para entitled "General descriptions".

(5) Vide the account of his death in Chapter III, Part II. The incident of his death supports our belief in spiritualism as against materialism. On account of the influence of God time, people have little faith in things spiritual, because they refuse to believe in anything which does not convince their reason. (Vide the account of the Maurya dynasty).

(6) Vide f. n. no. 24 Chapter II on pp. 256.

(7) Cf. f. n. nos. 7 and 11 in Chapter I, Part I.

(8) We know that Śiśunāga kings came to Magadh from Kāśī.



other two his relatives<sup>9</sup> ruled, thus having no impetus to the desire of getting women, which was sole cause of wars in those times. But, we must here remember that Śreṇik always felt a desire to get mastery over Aṅga because its capital, Champāpurī, was the place where the twelfth Tīrthaṅkar of his religion had entered nirvāṇ<sup>10</sup>, and because it was the region in which Lord Mahāvīr had entered the Kaivalya stage<sup>11</sup>. Śreṇik being a lover of justice<sup>12</sup> did not attempt to get it by war. Hence when its king Dadhivāhan died leaving no heir<sup>13</sup> behind him, Śreṇik at once annexed it to Magadh, and thus began the word "Aṅga-Magadh" to be spoken<sup>14</sup>. When Śreṇik's son Ajātsatru came to the throne, he changed his capital from Rājgrhī to Champāpurī, which was in a ruinous state<sup>15</sup>, and which was rebuilt by him in 524 B. C. Ajātsatru, following the example of Prasenjit of Kośal, got a pillar erected in his name in the stupa there, as a mark of his devotion to Jainism.

(9) Chetāk's daughter Mīgāvatī was married to Śatānik of Vatsa and Kauśāmbī; his another daughter Padmāvatī was married with Dadhivāhan of Aṅga; while Chillaṇā was married with Śreṇik.

(10) The place where the inscription of Rupnāth is erected by Priyadarśin.

(11) Kaivalya Gnān is one of the five Kalyāpakās of Jains. The place where a monk enters the Kaivalya stage is always considered as a holy place of pilgrimage by Jains.

Bhārhut, a village in Nāgod State, is this place. It is on the banks of the river Son which also flows by Pāṭliputra. It is a few miles away from the railway junction Sutnā. Near it, is the famous Bhārhut-Stūpa which contains the pillars erected by Prasenjit of Kośal and by Ajātsatru of Magadh. Priyadarśin has also contributed something to it.

For details about the change of capital, consult my book "Life of Śree Mahāvīr" shortly to be published.

(12) Vide his account for details f. n. no. 59 pp. 263 and f. n. no. 62 pp. 264.

(13) Really speaking he had a son, who became the king of Kaling as Mahāmeghvāhan Karkaṇḍu; and he had no claim over Aṅga, because he was separated from his very birth from his father under peculiar circumstances.

(14) Vide the account of Aṅga. This incident took place in 537 B. C.

(15) In 557 B. C. Śatānik, king of Vatsa, had invaded Champāpurī and had destroyed it. Thus it was revived and rebuilt after about twenty-five years.



Like his father, he was also given some nick-names; one was Kuṇik the crooked, on account of his crooked finger; the second of Kuṇik the greedy, on account of his greed for conquering new countries.

By the time of Kuṇik, the fifth Ārā had already set in; thus creating in the minds of kings a desire to increase their territories. Hence, Kuṇik first of all fought against his own brothers Halla and Vihalla, and his maternal grand-father Cheṭak, whose kingdom he annexed when the latter died without an heir in 528 -7 B. C. Within a year, he lost many of his relatives, whereon he began to dislike Rājgrhī, and within four years, changed the seat of his capital.

After thus settling himself in his new capital, he turned his attention towards increasing his territory, as that was the one desire of his heart. There was no country to be won on the east of his kingdom. On the west, there were kingdoms of Kośal, of Vatsa, and of Avanti. On the south lay the ranges of the Vindhyā mountains. First he seems to have subdued the kingdom of Kośal, though some believe that Kośal was an independent kingdom upto the reign of Nandivardhan<sup>16</sup>. Again he had married Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the king of Kośal, and she must have tried her best to prevent him from invading the kingdom of her father. But as Ajātsatru had a great desire to extend his territory, he might have disregarded the relationship. He had given his daughter Padmāvatī in marriage to the king of Vatsa, thus preventing any possibility of attacking it. He could not invade Avanti because it was protected on one side by the intervening country of Vatsa, and on the other by the ranges of Vindhyā. Hence he led his army towards the south, and tried to find out a way to south India through the Vindhyā ranges. We know that he lost his life in his attempt.

We know how, Udāyan changed his capital from Champāpurī to Pāṭliputra. Though his father had attempted to go to south through the Vindhyā ranges, yet he found it better to pass through Kaling, as it was nearer than the Vindhyās from Pāṭliputra. Udāyan,

(16) Vide the account of Nandivardhan relating to f. n. no. 34.



under the influence of the fifth rā, had already annexed the kingdom of Kaling to Magadh, as a son-in-law of Karkandū ruled over it. Thus he first subdued Kaling in 490 B. C.; we do not know whether he kept the throne of Kaling vacant, or put Chaṇḍray on its throne as his vassal.

He appointed his cousin Nāgdaśak to the post of commander-in-chief immediately after his accession to the throne. After the army was properly trained and disciplined by him within the first two years, he first tested the strength of his army by invading Kaling. Encouraged by his success, he began to advance further in the south. He thought it unadvisable to go himself to the south, because the throne of Magadh would be in danger. So he sent Nāgdaśak and his son Anurudhdha to the south. They travelled to the end of southern India in eight years, conquering one country after another, and appointing their cousins of the families of Pāṇḍyā, Pallava, Kadamba<sup>17</sup> and others<sup>18</sup> to the governorships of these conquered provinces. A large number of kśatriyas who had come with them from Magadh were also appointed as officers under these governors. Other merchants and artisans migrated towards these southern countries in the hope of bettering their prospects, and thus the uncivilized people of the south came into direct contact with the civilized people of the north, for the first time in the history of India. Nāgdaśak gained much political knowledge besides his own knowledge about the army. At last he and Anurudhdha took their army to Ceylon, where they fought a great battle against its king named Vijaya who was (who ruled from 520 to 482 B. C. 38 years or A. M.

(17) The region first selected by the Kadambās was what is called Koṅkan to-day. And now as this region was conquered by Nandivardhan for the first time, (Cf. 37 below), the Kadambās must have migrated there during the time of Nandivardhan. It is also possible that they might have migrated during the time of Udāyan, and might have been appointed to junior posts under governors of other families; and subsequently might have been appointed as governors of the region described above by Nandivardhan.

(18) See f. n. no. 80 Chapter III pp. 295.

(19) Ind. Ant. 1914 pp. 171 :—"Vijaya, king of Ceylon, began his reign



7 to 45) defeated and killed, as Mahāvamśa says. Anurudhdha founded there a new city after his own name (Anurudhdhapur), first having obtained the consent of his father to do so. Having appointed a governor for it, and having erected many Chaityās to commemorate their religion<sup>20</sup> they returned to Magadh within a short time, because they had not to fight against any one on their return journey.

Udāyan must have received them with great pomp, though we do not know anything certain about it. Udāyan, having given his sister's (who was married to Udayan of Vatsa) daughter in marriage to Nāgdaśak, and having entrusted the cares of administration to Anurudhdha, started on a pilgrimage to various Jaina holy places, in order to expiate his sins committed in waging wars with different countries<sup>21</sup> (480 B. C.). We understand now why he was called Bhata (a warrior). Though Anurudhdha was the king de facto, yet Udāyan was the king de jure, and therefore the coronation ceremony of Anurudhdha had not taken place. Udāyan died in 475-4 B. C. i. e. 6½ years after he started on his pilgrimages.

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in the eighth year of Ajātsatru and died after having been king 38 years, in Udāyan's 14th year, on the very night of Buddha's death" (Mahāvamśa VII-I. Ind. Ant. 1914 f. n. no. 83). The last phrase "on the very night of Buddha's death" should really be placed before the first phrase "in the eighth year of Ajātsatru", because Buddha died "in the eighth year of Ajātsatru".

That the names of Ajātsatru and Udāyan are given in Mahāvamśa, means that these kings must have some political connections with Ceylon. Otherwise the period of Vijaya's reign must not have been compared with the periods of their reigns; it must have been compared with that of Buddha only.

I shall give the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon in the account of Priyadarśin.

(20) This proves that Jainism was introduced in Ceylon by Anurudhdha.

(21) As he was a devout Jain, he had a great Jaina temple built in Pāṭliputra, and had placed in it an idol of the 22nd. Tirthankar, Śree Nemināth. In Anurudhdhapur too, he had ordered several chaityās to be built. This, combined with his pilgrimages, must have given him the nick-name of "Dharmātmā (the religious). (f. n. no. 59 Chapt. III pp. 288).



Anurudhdha took up the reins of government in his hands. Nāgdaśak was enjoying his much-required and richly earned rest. We know that Vijaya was killed<sup>22</sup> and a governor was appointed by Anurudhdha to represent him. The uncivilized people of Ceylon rose in rebellion, as soon as Anurudhdha and Nāgdaśak turned their backs on them, and they killed the governor, appointing in his place a new man named Pāṇḍuvās<sup>23</sup> as the king. Anurudhdha did not try to suppress this rebellion and re-establish the power of Magadh, because his father had already started on a pilgrimage, and he could not consequently leave his capital. Nāgdaśak was resting a while, being too exhausted to go again towards south. Again Ceylon was a far-off country, and there were more important things to be done at home.

The sudden death of Anurudhdha in 474 B. C. was a great shock to king Udayāśva who was by now 67 years old, and he succumbed to it. As Anurudhdha had no son, the throne was given to his brother Mund<sup>24</sup>.

Mund ascended the throne with a sorrow-ridden heart, on account of the deaths of his father and of his elder brother. He took little interest in the affairs of his kingdom.

Mund

Taking advantage of this opportunity different countries began to assert their independence.

Kṣemrāj, a descendant of Karkaṇḍu, became the independent king of Kaliṅg. As Kaliṅg was between Magadh and the southern countries, the Pallava, the Kadamba, the Pāṇḍyā and the Cholā chiefs too, asserted their independence<sup>25</sup>. So the Magadh empire

(22) See the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon in the account of Priyadarśin.

(23) We do not know whether this Pāṇḍuvās was in any way related to Vijaya or not. This one year is considered to be an interregnum in the history of Ceylon.

(24) It is not yet finally settled who became the king of Magadh first, Anurudhdha or Mund; or whether Anurudhdha died on his way from Ceylon to Magadh and how he died. Let us hope further research will throw new light on the matter.

(25) These chiefs were appointed as governors over these provinces only six years ago. (Vide f. n. no. 55 Chapter III pp. 288).



was reduced to the eastern portion of northern India only. By this time, Mund's dearest queen Bhadrā died. Mund became almost mad, and did not allow the dead body to be taken away for two days. The ministers saw that a person with Mund's weak mind was not fit for kingship; therefore they decided to depose him and to put Nāgdaśak on the throne, in recognition of his manifold services to the kingdom, and also because he was a cousin of the king, thus keeping the continuity of the dynasty unbroken<sup>26</sup>. (B. C. 472 A. M. 55). Thus ended the senior Śiśunāga dynasty.

Nandivardhan, the founder of this dynasty was appointed to the post of commander-in-chief of Magadh in 495 B. C. After being for 23½ years in the same position, he became the king, of Magadh in 472 B. C.

After spending a year or two in consolidating his position, and in establishing order and discipline in his kingdom, he first invaded the kingdom of Kaling which was under the rule of Kśemrāj who opposed him bravely and preserved his independence. Nandivardhan, however, was more powerful than he, and would have defeated him, but a calamity<sup>27</sup> at home obliged him to hasten to his capital. He did not, however, leave Kaling<sup>28</sup> without taking away with him the famous Jaina idol which was in the capital of Kaling<sup>29</sup>, (468 B. C. or A. M. 59<sup>30</sup>).

(26) This gives us some idea about the power of the council of ministers in those times. It could dethrone a king when it thought that he was unworthy. The instances of Pālak and Dantivardhan also illustrate its power.

(27) Vide the account of Nandivardhan for this calamity of excess of rain.

(28) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II. Part I. pp. 4:—"Nandivardhan is said to have conquered Kaling". If he had conquered Kaling, Kśemrāj's dynasty would have been extinct. He had only partly defeated Kśemrāj, and as a token of his victory, had taken away a Jaina idol.

(29) This was the idol referred to, by Khārvel in his Hāthīgumfā inscription. (for details vide part I Chap. VI and the account of Khārvel).

(30) J. S. I. Vol. II pp. 4:—Prof. Jarl Carpentier of Upsalā says that Nand took away the idol of Jina, passibly about 60 years after the death of Mahāvīr.



In our account of Vatsa, we have stated that when Udayan died without an heir, an adopted son named Maṇiprabh sat on the throne. After a short time Maṇiprabh became the master of Avanti also, which included within its bounds most of central India. When this Maṇiprabh died without an heir in 467 B. C.<sup>31</sup>, Nandivardhan, who had married the daughter of Udayan became the master of Vatsa and Avanti<sup>32</sup>. Thus such a vast territory was annexed to the Magadh empire by a stroke of fortune<sup>33</sup>.

Some believe that Nandivardhan conquered Kośal in 466 B. C.<sup>34</sup>.

Fortunately for him, Xerses, the powerful Persian emperor died in 465-6 B. C. Nandivardhan saw that, that was his opportunity to subdue and conquer the Persian possessions in India. Thus he annexed the province of Sindh<sup>35</sup>, and the region of the south of the Punjāb to his empire.

(31) In the account of Vatsa, I have stated that Nandivardhan had defeated Maṇiprabh and thus annexed Vatsa and Avanti to his kingdom; while here I have stated that he became the master of these countries because of the natural death of Maṇiprabh without an heir. I leave to scholars and research workers to decide which of these is more possible.

(32) As Maṇiprabh was the king both of Vatsa and Avanti, Nandivardhan naturally became the master of both after the former's death. Nandivardhan had another claim over it. When Avanti's king died without a son, the claim of his daughter Vāsavadattā, who was married with Udayan of Vatsa, was established over it, and Nandivardhan was her step son-in-law.

(33) See f. n. no. 72 Chapter VII Part I.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 78-79 Nandi, the increaser added Avanti to his empire : last Pradyota-or to be accurate last of the Punikās.

(34) Vide the account of Kuṇḍik.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 89 :—"The third family (Ikṣavākus of Śrāvastī) must have been also obliterated by Nand I the Increaser.

(35) Though I have found no evidence to support the conclusion that he conquered Sindh, yet I have concluded this depending on the following points :—(1) Sindh was under the rule of the Persian emperors from Darius to Xersis (B. C. 465). (2) Though Alexānder the Great conquered Persiā in 328 B. C. he had to conquer Sindh in 326-5 B. C. These prove that Sindh was not under the power of Persiā during the 140 years from 465 B. C. to 325 B. C.: of the five famous emperors of Magadh during these years (Nand



After thus conquering all the countries in northern India, he directed his attention to southern kingdoms, which had asserted their independence during the weak regime of Mund. He first subdued the Kadambās who ruled over Kuntal which consisted of the modern districts of Solāpur and Kārvād<sup>37</sup>, and he appointed

I, II, and IX; and Chandragupta and Bindusār of the Maurya dynasty) we know that the last four never attempted to conquer Sindh. This proves that Nandivardhan had conquered it.

The provinces of Hinden and Gāndhār are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Nagsh-I-Rustam. Herodotus includes "Hinden etc., amongst the tribes composing the army of Xerxes". (Pro. Hultsch. Inscr. of Aśoka Vol. I. Intro XLIII f. n. no. 8). This gives us to understand that the Punjāb was under the rule of Persiā. Keeping in mind f. n. no. 22 in the account of Nand IX, we can be sure that the Punjāb was conquered by Nand IX, while Sindh and the southern portion of the Punjāb were conquered by Nandivardhan. (Cf. f. n. no. 38 in the account of Nand IX).

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 79 :—"Tārānāth says that Nandivardhan conquered the countries on the south, eastern, and western oceans, and in the north of the Himālayan regions. (P. 34). It is implied that his way included Kāśmir and the neighbourhood". I believe that Nandivardhan had not conquered Kāśmir. (See f. n. no. 22 in the account of Nand IX).

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 89 :—"Haihayās and Aśmakās were probably subjugated by Nand I, the Vardhan, during his campaign to Aprānt". Here Haihayās means those who ruled over the region of modern Mysore state, and Aśmakās ruled over the region on the north of the modern state of the Nizām. This means that he had conquered Āndhra and other surrounding countries, and also the western region ruled over by the Kadambās, which might not have been conquered by Udayāśva.

(36) The northern region of the Punjāb, which was called Gāndhār. This and Kāśmir were conquered by Nand IX. Vide f. n. nos. 27, 28, 38 of the previous chapter.

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

Epi. Karṇā II, pp. 41 (Epi Kar. V. Śikārpur 285). Kuntal the province, which included the Western Deccan and the north of Mysore was ruled by Nandis". Now Nand II and IX had not taken over these regions, and Nands III to VIII were mere nonentities. Thus Nandivardhan must have conquered Aparānt and Kuntal extending his dominions, far south to the exsirts of 'Mysore'. Vide the chapter on coins, for the coins of Mulānand and Chuṭukānand.



his relatives Chuṭukānand and Mulānand as governors<sup>38</sup> of these districts. Then he subdued the Kanarā, the Pāṇḍyā, the Cholā, and the Pallava chiefs one by one, and then returned to his capital passing through Berār and central Provinces, leaving the straighter way which passed through Kaling which was independent under Kṣemrāj. Nandivardhan did not attempt to fight with him as he and his army were very much fatigued and required rest. Again he received news of famine in Magadh. Hence his ambition to have unqualified mastery over the whole of southern India, remained unfulfilled.

Over Āndhra and Central Provinces, he appointed certain officers called "Mahārathi"<sup>39</sup> from the time of Śreṇik, as governors. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of coins. The fact that Chandragupta, after abdicating his throne, went to the Śravaṇa Belgol, a place of pilgrimage, and there died of fasting, proves that, that region was under the rule of Nanda kings from whom Chandragupta got his throne.

Thus Nandivardhan had conquered the whole of India except some part of the Punjāb, Kāśmir and Kaling. Among all the kings of both the senior and junior Śiśunāga dynasties, he was the master of the largest territory. Hence he was given the name "Nandivardhan" (the Increaser); and hence also he is said to have

(38) These chiefs were those who asserted their independence after the death of Nandivardhan. Here I have given their names so that the reader can grasp the facts easily : but really speaking, their ancestors were appointed by Nandivardhan as governors of those provinces.

I have stated in the previous pages that Nandivardhan conquered the Kadambās and the Pallavās, and Buddharāj conquered the other two. We have to find out the truth yet.

The coins of those chiefs support the above-stated conclusion.

(39) We are talking about 460 B. C. here. One Mahārathi-chief was famous as the governor of the region consisting of modern Berār, in 400 B. C. He was the father-in-law of king Yagñāśree Gautamiputra, the second king of the Śātvāhan dynasty, and the father of the famous queen Nāgnikā. Thus these Mahārathis were officers from very old times. They are ancestors of the Mahāraththik or Rāṣṭrik dynasties that were founded in the eighth century A. D.



founded a new dynasty<sup>40</sup>. The fact that Nandivardhan is given the title of "Vardhan" and Udayāśva was not given, though he made more conquests in southern India than the former, indicates that northern India being inhabited by the civilized Aryans, conquests of countries in it, were given more importance than conquests of countries in south India, it being inhabited by uncivilized people.

One more thing deserves notice here. Most writers believe that Śrimukh, the founder of Śātvāhan dynasty, ascended the throne of Āndhra and the region surrounding the river Kṛṣṇā, (Bennā) after killing Suśarman, the last king of the Kaṇva dynasty, which lasted for 45 years. We know that Śrimukh came to the throne in 427 B. C. or A. M. 100. (Vide his account and the account of Avanti.) Calculating 45 years backward from 427 B. C., we must say that the Kaṇva kings ruled over Āndhra and the region surrounding the Kṛṣṇā from 462 B. C. to 427 B. C. (A. M. 55 to A. M. 100). But we have proved just above, that during this time Nandivardhan was the master of these regions; and we shall later on prove that all his descendants were masters of these regions. This proves that the kings of Kaṇva dynasty had no connection with this region. We have referred to this matter in the account of Dhankaṭak or Bennātaṭ. We shall touch it again sometimes.

Though Mahāpadma ruled for more years than his father, yet he had to fight no battles for conquering new countries, as he had inherited practically the whole of India Mahāpadma: Nand II from his father. He thought it unwise to wage war with Kṣemrāj of Kaliṅg who was a powerful king, and who was left undisturbed by his father. But Kṣemrāj died in 439 B. C. or A. M. 88 and Buddharāj succeeded him on the throne. He was an ambitious monarch, and he sent his eldest son with an army to conquer the regions on the east coast of

(40) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 80 :—"Ktesias speaks of this—probably Nandivardhan as one king of the whole of India possessing a monster force of war-elephants, moving both in the van and the rear of his army". (Cf. f. n. no. 22 of the previous chapter, I am inclined towards Mahānand).



India, which were under the power of Magadh. Having conquered these regions, he brought the Cholās and the Pāṇḍyās under his power, and thus he was called “Trikaṇṭgādhipati” (Lord of three countries including Kāṇṭg). He died in 429 B. C. or 98 A. M., and his son Bhikhkhurāj, assuming the name of Khārvel, succeeded him on the throne. A year and a half later Mahāpadma died (100 A. M. or 427 B. C.).

We know that after the death of Mahāpadma, his six kṣtriya sons came to the throne one by one. Two of his sūdra sons left Magadh, and went to the regions now called Nand III to Nand VIII Central Provinces, after travelling through the western border of Magadh, as they could not pass through the straighter road from Kāṇṭg. One of them became the master of Āndhra, and the other became the master of the region now called Central Provinces. So these provinces were lost from Magadh. Again Śrīmukh’s son was married to Nāganikā, the daughter of the Mahārathi chief<sup>41</sup> already referred to before. Thus huge slices were cut off from the Magadhan empire which now consisted of Magadh proper, Videha, Kāśī, Kośal, Avanti, and the regions surrounding the Ganges.

All the six brothers were nonentities. When the last of them Brhaspatimitra came to the throne in 417 B. C., Khārvel was ruling over Kāṇṭg. Khārvel had subdued the whole of southern India, including Āndhra regions also, the kings of which must have been his vassals. Then he invaded Magadh, travelling on the banks of the Ganges<sup>42</sup>, defeated Brhaspatimitra, and took away from Pāṭliputra the same Jaina idol which was taken away from the capital of Kāṇṭg by Nandivardhan during the reign of his ancestor Kṣemrāj in 468 B. C. Brhaspatimitra was forced to bow at the feet of this idol.

Mahānand ascended the throne at the age of 23. He first decided to establish order in the internal administration of his

(41) He must have been 30 in 427 B. C. or 100 A. M. because his son was married at this time, who must have been 15.

(42) Vide Hāthīgumfā Inscriptions; the description of the events that took place in the 13th year of Khārvel’s reign.



kingdom. He issued orders to various officers and chiefs, and asked them to abide by them. Those officers who obeyed his orders were confirmed in their offices; but those Nand IX: Mahānand who showed the slightest hesitation in executing his orders, were summarily hanged by him. Most of the officers and chiefs thus killed by him were kshatriyās<sup>43</sup> who hated him because he was a sūdra. He took ten years to consolidate his power. Then he decided to conquer the countries in northern India. Within five years he conquered the whole of north India (including the northern part of the Punjāb, Kāśmir, and Sindh, which were not conquered even by Nandivardhan). We know how he brought the learned trio from the Takṣaśilā university<sup>44</sup>, and thus founded or revived the university of Nālandā. He also brought an immense amount of gold from these northern countries (as much as nine hills of gold<sup>45</sup>).

His prime-minister was Śakṣāl, a Nāgar<sup>46</sup>. Mahānand, then must have felt a desire to reconquer the countries of southern India. He must have checked his desires, because; (1) his prime minister might have advised against war, (2) he must have realized the difficulties and hardships of warfare, (3) he must have hesitated to have enmity with a powerful emperor like Khārvel, (4) Śrimukh of Āndhra was his brother, and there was always a possibility of Śrimukh and Khārvel uniting against him. (as Śrimukh was almost under the power of Khārvel<sup>47</sup>. Hence he decided to rest content with his possession.

(43) The reader can now see that the name, "Kālāsoka" can be properly applied to Mahānand, and not to Mahāpadma.

(44) Vide the account of Mahānand in the previous chapter.

(45) It is possible that the amount was enough to raise five hills. Vide the account of king Kalki, in the account of Śunga dynasty.

(46) The word has two meanings: (1) It represents one of the castes of the Hindu community; and (2) A citizen. The latter meaning seems more suitable above. Vide f. n. no. 64 on pp. 242.

(47) The dynasty of Śrimukh was called "Āndhra-bhṛtyās", because it was under the power of Khārvel.

(The two dynasties "Āndhra-bhṛtyās" and "Śunga-bhṛtyās" were so called, as long as they were under the power (bhṛtyas=servants) of some other king, but ceased to be called so, when they were independent).



Names assigned to some of these kings, on account of their chief trait

We know how his youngest son<sup>48</sup> was the cause of the vow of Chanakya to exterminate the Nands. we know how he lost Śakdāl as a result of the plots of Varrūchi.

In 404 B. C. or A. M. 123, Śrimukh died, and his son Gautarniputra Yagñāsree, the husband of Nāgnikā, succeeded him on the throne. Mahānand defeated him, and made him acknowledge his superiority. (Vide the chapter on coins).

We know how Chāṇakya understood and improved upon his mistake<sup>49</sup> of plundering the neighbouring country, without previous self-organization. Hence with the help of the king Vakragriv<sup>50</sup> of the hilly country<sup>51</sup> of Trikalīṅg (Aṅga was the hilly region), he invaded Magadh, defeated Mahānand, and placed Chandragupta on the throne of Magadh<sup>52</sup>.

Some of these kings have been given names, which represent their main achievement of trait of character.

Names assigned to some of these kings, on account of their chief trait

1. Bimbisār—the Organizer
2. Kuṇik—the Greedy or the Warrior
3. Udāyan—the Good or the Warrior
4. Nandivardhan—the Increaser
5. Mahāpadma—the Peaceful
6. Mahānand—the Great or the Cruel
7. Other Nands—the Puppets

He must have avoided Śrimukh because he was his brother, though kings hardly take this into consideration.

(48) That the youngest son insulted Chāṇakya, means that he must have been at least 7 to 8 years old; thus his two elder brothers must at least have been 10 and 12 years old respectively.

(49) Vide the account of Chandragupta for details.

(50) See the Hāthīgumfā Inscriptions. The "Malayaketu" in Mudrārākṣas was possibly the son of this "Vakragriv".

(51) Pārvasiṭya=hilly. Vide pp. 53 of "Chandragupta" published by the Baroda State. While this is sent to press, I happened to see a thesis, prepared & printed by Prof. Dr. H. C. Seth M. A. Ph. D. of Nagpur University in which he assigns this Parvasiṭya Country to be located somewhere in the Punjab as he is inclined to trace Maurya Chandragupta's origin in Gāndhār Country. I beg to differ from him in both respects.

(52) Vide the Chapter on coins.



## Dynastic Lists

N. B.— If figures mentioned here differ from those mentioned in the text, they require correction and further investigation.

(I) Kings of Kośal	B. C.	B. C.	Years	B. M.*	B. M.
Vṛtta : Vaṅk	790	730	60	263	203
Ratañjay	730	690	40	203	163
Dub-basen	690	640	50	163	113
Sañjay	640	585	55	113	58
Prasenjit	585	526	59	58	A. <sup>1</sup> M. 1
Vidurath	526	490	36	A. M. 1	37
Kuśulik	490	470	20	37	57
Sūrath	470	460	10	57	67
Sumitra	460	450	10	67	77

340 years

### (II) Kings of Vatsa-Kośambi

	B. C.	B. C.	Year	B. M.	B. M.
Sutīrtha	796	736	60	269	209
Rūch	736	696	40	209	169
Chitrakṣha	696	651	45	169	124
Sukhīlal	651	611	40	124	84
Sahasraṇik : Paraṇtap	611	566	45	84	39
Śatānik	566	550	16	39	23
Queen Mṛgāvātī	550	543	7	23	16
Udayan	543	490	54	16	A. M. 37
Medhavin	490	467	23	A. M. 37	60

330 years

\* B. M. Before Mahāvīr, meaning before the commencement of the Mahāvīr era which has taken in 527 B. C.

(1) Anno-Mahāvīr ; in the year of Mahāvīr era.



(III) Kings of Chedi-Kaling

	B. C.	B. C.	Years	B. M.	B. M.
Sulochan : Karkaṇḍu					
Mahā-Meghavāhan	558	537	21	32	10
Surath	537	509	28	10	A. M. 18
Sobhanroy	509	492	17	A. M. 18	35
Chandroy	492	475	17	35	52
(Semi-independent)					
Kṣemrāj	475	439	36	52	88
Buddharāj etc.	439 & forward			88 & forward	
	upto 372 *	67		upto	155
<hr/>					
186 years					

(IV) Kings of Avanti  
(Pradyota dynasty)

Punik	596	575	21	69	48
Chand : Mahasen	575	527	48	48	0
Pālak	527	520	7	A. M. 0	A. M. 7
Dantivardhan	520	501	19	7	26
Avantisen	501	487	14	26	40
Maṇiprabh : Medhavin	487	467	20	40	60
<hr/>					
129 years					

(V) Kings of Magadh  
Śiśunāga dynasty or  
Larger Nāga dynasty

Śiśunāg	805	745	60	278	218
Kākavarṇa	745	709	36	218	182
Kṣem-vardhan	709	659	50	182	132
Kṣemjit	659	623	36	132	96
Prasenjit	623	580	43	96	54
Śrenik : Bimbisār	580	528	52	54	2
Kuṇik : Ajātsatru	528	496	32	2	A. M. 31
Udyāśva	496	480	16	A. M. 31	47
Anurudhdha & Mund	480	472	8	47	55
<hr/>					
333 years					

\* For this list of succession vide Chedi dynasty in Vol. IV.



Dynastic Lists

Kings of Magadh (contd)

Nanda dynasty : Smaller Nāga dynasty

		B. C.	B. C.	Year	A. M.	A. M.
Nand I	Nandivardhan	472	456	16	55	71
Nand II	Mahāpadma	456	428	28	71	99
Nand III	Aśwaghosa	428	425	3	99	102
Nand IV	Jyestamitra	425	423	2	102	104
Nand V	Sudev	423	421	2	104	106
Nand VI	Dhandev	421	419	2	106	108
Nand VII	Brhadrath	419	417	2	108	110
Nand VIII	Brhaspatimitra	417	415	2	110	112
Nand IX	Mahānand :					
	Dhan-nand	415	372	43	112	155

100 years



# Chronology

N. B. Simple figures mentioned against the events show, the pages and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as circa; while those which are doubtful are marked as ?.

B. C.                      B. M. \*

84500	84000	Nemināth, the 22nd Jaina Tīrthanker and his cousin Kṛṣṇa flourished according to Jaina tradition which appears to be correct (92)
7000- 8000 ?	6500-? 7500	} Antiquity of Mohan-jā-dero, is taken to be so much old according to Archæological experts (17) [ for my views see infra 535 B. C. and B. C. 2000 ]
3201	2728	
		The great war of Mahābhārat is said to have (?) taken place; 93
2000	1525	Civilization and culture of Mohan-jā-dero, cannot be older than this; (17)
900	400	Vedic and Jaina religions already in existence; 3, 5, 25, 26, 38
8th cent.	3rd cent.	Erection of Māṇikyāl inscriptions; (37)
9th cent.		Pre-historic period. 3
8th cent.		First crisis occurred. 6
877-777	350-250	Time of Pārśwanāth, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthanker
877	350	Birth of Pārśwanāth. 94
847	320	Aśwasen, father of Pārśwanāth, was ruling over Kāśī. 97
		Pārśwanāth became a Jaina ascetic. 94-227
805	278	Śiśunāga dynasty founded by Śiśunāga at Kāśī. 203 : Śiśunāga dynasty began to rule. 226-229
805-745=60		Śiśunāga's own rule. 229

\* Vide f. n. \* on pp. 358



B. C.	B. M.	
804-596=208		Vitihotra dynasty ruled over Avantī. 203
777	250	Nirvaṇ of Pārśwanāth. 94, 227
800 cir.		Time of Prasenjit, father-in-law of Pārśwanāth and king of Mahā-kośal. (73), (74)
754	227	A Jaina idol is said to have been consecrated at Bhadreśwar in Cutch; if it be true, it may be noted as the first instance in history of a Jaina idol to have been set up. (167)
745-709=36		Kākvarṇa's rule. 229
709-659=50		Kṣemvardhan's time. 229
659-623=36		Kṣemjit's time. 229
623-580=43		Prasenjit's rule. 229
6th cent.		Buddhism came into existence. 5
		Second crisis occurred. 6
Cir. 600		Nick-name of Śreṇik was created. 27
616	89	Probable birth of king Cheṭak. 134
601-3		Probable birth of king Dadhivāhan of Aṅgadeś. 140
601	74	Probable birth of Nandivardhan of Vaiśālī and brother of Mahāvīr. 129
600	73	Seven co-natals were born. 214; of these one is Gautam Buddha. 237; another is Udayin of Sindhu-Sauvīr, 127, 221, (127) 214
		Iyeṣṭā, queen of Nandivardhan of Vaiśālī was probably born. (599; 129)
598	71	Birth of Mahāvīr. 129; probable birth of Queen Prabhāvatī of Sind. 129, 131 (597; 127)
596-575=21		Duration of Punik the Pradyot of Avanti 210
593-574		Between these years, Śreṇik killed that pregnant female deer (243), (vide below 580 item regarding Śreṇik; hence it follows that he killed the pregnant deer between 580 and 574)
595	63	Birth of king Śreṇik. 237
594	67	Probable birth of Queen Prabhāvatī of Sindh 221. (593; 131, 132 and 140)





B. C.	B. M.	
595	68	Punik ascended the throne of Avanti; foundation of the Pradyota dynasty. 103
Cir. 590		King Prasenjit of Kośal was born. 88
589-90	62-3	King Prasenjit of Magadh annexed Aṅga with Magadh (one view). (260)
586	59	Nandivardhan married Princess Jyeṣṭhā of Videha. 13
585	58	Probable birth of king Śatānik of Vatsa. 109, 129
583	56	A great caravan visited Bennātaṅga nagar. (234)
582	55	Marriage of Bimbisār with his first queen Sunandā. (235)
580	53	Coronation of Udāyin of Sindh 221. (584 : 214), probable date of marriage of king Udāyin with princess Prabhāvatī of Vaiśālī. 221 (584 : 126, 127, 214) (583 : 215) (585 : 131)
580		Bimbisār came to the throne 230. (His reign from 580-528=51½ years) (127) 229, 236, 237, 240, (247) 265, Birth of Prince Abhayakumār 237 Probable birth of Queen Mrgāvatī of Vatsa 129-132 Śreṇik was a Jain upto 580; 240. He was a Vedic follower between the years of 580 and 564 (vide above 593-574) 243 (244); [ His religions :—ancestral Jaina before 580; Vedic from 580-564; Buddha 564-558; unsettled mind 558-557 (till 556 vide p. 250); Jaina 557; staunch Jain (not a devout Jain upto 556 f. n. page 268); 556 to the end (page 79) of his life in 523 ] Nāg (Rathik) joined Śreṇik's army (247)
579	52	Dadhivāhan of Vatsa married Padmāvatī of Vaiśālī 132



Chronology

B. C.	B. M.	
577	50	Separation of Dadhivāhan from pregnant queen Padmāvatī 131; Birth of king Karkaṇḍu of Kaling 131, 165. Queen Padmāvatī became a Jaina nun (576 : 132)
576	49	Sulaśā, wife of Rathik Nāg, gave birth to 32 sons at a time (247)
575	48	Probable birth of prince Keśav of Sindh 221
574	47	Chañḍ came to the throne of Avanti 128 : his rule from 574 to 527 = 47 years 194, 210; Puṇik was succeeded, by Chaṇḍ 203; Probable birth of Queen Śivādevī of Avanti 128, 131
573	47	Queen Prabhāvatī of Sindh became a Jaina nun 126; (574 : 127, 214) Princess Sujyeṣṭa was born 132 (574 : 129)
572	45	Nun Prabhāvatī died 126 (573 : 131). Birth of Queen Chillaṇā of Magadh 129, 132. Birth of Princess Manoramā by Queen Dhāriṇī of Magadh 267
571	44	Gautama Buddha renounced the world at his age of 29; 241 (241)
After 574	47	Assertion of independence of kingdoms of Cholā, Kaling, Pāṇḍyā, Kadamb and Pallav 297
569	42	Mahāvīr renounced the world at his age of 30 and became a Jaina astatic (127)
568-70	41-3	Prince Abhaya-Kumār was appointed prime-minister of Magadh 239
567	40	Ascetic Mahāvīr came to Kośambī (109)
566	39	Śatānik's reign as king of Vatsa (from 566-550 = 16 yrs.) 109 : (570 : 130 and (109)). Marriage of Śatānik with Mrgāvatī 132, 129
564	37	Buddha began to preach at his age of 36; 79, (79), 240, (243) : Buddha saw Śreṇik for the first time 241. Bimbisār was a follower of Buddhism from 564 to 558; 242, 243



B. C.	B. M.	
562	35	Start of invasion on Avanti, made by Udāyin of Sindh 126 : Chaṇḍ of Avanti was made a war-captive 128
561	34	Apology by Udāyin of Sindh for his uncivil conduct towards Chaṇḍ of Avanti 126; war between Udāyin and Chaṇḍ 126, 221. Return of Udāyin to Vīṭṭabhayapattaṇa after the invasion on Avanti (125); Chaṇḍ followed Tāpasā-dharma upto this time 205
560	33	Prince Nandiśeṇ of Magadh must have been born 270; Śivādevī married with Chaṇḍ of Avanti 128, 131, 205
559	32	9th year of the ascetic life of Mahāvīr (163) Buddha made Queen Kṣemā of Magadh a Buddha nun 267 (558, 241 : 557 (241))
558	31	Karkaṇḍu became the king of Kāliṅg 165 (528 on pp. (163)) and founded his first Kāliṅg dynasty 165 Buddha saw Bimbisār but to no purpose 242 : Princess Manoramā married to Kṛtapuṇya 267—270; Bimbisār married Chillaṇā 128, 129, 132, 240, 241, (247), 262 (556:79); Nāg-Rathik's and Sulasā's 32 sons died while fighting (247)
558-530=28		Cyrus, king of Persia (69)
558-537=21		King Mahāmeghvāhan of Kāliṅg 168-170
565 to 556		Between these years, Prasenjit of Kośal was converted to Jainism (80) Invasion of Śatānik on Aṅgadeś of Dadhivāhan 110, 345; plunder & ruin of Champāpurī 111, (111), 131, 136, (136) 279
557	30	Birth of Udayan of Vatsa 108, 112, 116, 129, (114) Birth of King Ajātsatru of Magadh (114), 282 (556 : 267)



Chronology

B. C.	B. M.	
557	30	First time in history when an idol is said to has been really set up (167)
556	29	Birth of the first Queen of Udayan of Vatsa (114)
After 558 to	528	Śreṇik was a devout Jain 240, 243, (after 558: 250. this year has played an important part in his life 244).
556	30	May : Mahāvīr attained Kaivalya-gñān. (111), (125), (244) 267 Princess Vasumatī of Aṅga-deś became Chandanbālā the first chief Jaina nun under Mahāvīr 111 Wars between Śreṇik and Prasenjit ended once (86) Mahāvīr began to preach his gospel at his age of 42 p. 79, (243), 252 Dadhivāhan's death 140, 165; Karkaṇḍu became the ruler of Tri-Kaliṅg 166 Śreṇik founded Rājgrhī 250 : Śreṇik began to strike coins 259 : Śreṇik formed guilds (255). (From this time Bimbisār came to be known as Śreṇik). Pilgrimage of king Prasenjit of Kośal to Bhārhut in Mahā-Kośal (75) and erection of the pillar in his name (75)
553	26	Birth of Queen Kauśalyādevī of king Śreṇik 269 (as she died in 527 at the age of 26).
552	25	Princess Sujyestā, a virgin, became a Jaina nun 132 Queen Prabhāvatī of Ajātsatru was born 282
550	23	Śatānik of Vatsa died (108, 110, 111, (111); 112, 307, (555 : 131)
Cir. 550	25	Queen Prabhāvatī of Ajātsatru was probably born 88 (one view : for another view see under 552).



B. C.	B. M.	
549	22	Vāsavdattā, 2nd queen of Udayan of Vatsa was born (115)
550-543=7 years		Queen Mrgāvatī's reign lasted for; 108, 109, 112
546	19	Udāyin of Sindh became a Jaina monk under Mahāvīr 216, 221
545	18	Prince Megh-kumār, of Śreṇik, became a Jaina monk 270
543	16	Buddha's Nirvāṇ (Kaivalya stage) when he was 59 : 241, (296), (315) : King Udayan of Vatsa married his first queen (114), 115 : Queen Mrgāvatī of Vatsa, and her sister Śivādevī, queen of Avanti, became Jaina nuns under Mahāvīr (114) 112, 128, 129, 131, 132
543 to 490=53 years		King Udayan of Vatsa crowned 108, 109, 112, 113, 117, 128 (He ascended the throne before 527; p. 107)
538	11	Kuṇik married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Vidurath of Kosal 282 (537 : 88). Śreṇik completely defeated Prasenjit of Kosal 269
537-509=28 years		Surath of Kaling ruled for 170
537-492=45 years		Kaling dependent on Magadh 168, 171 : Reign of Karkaṇḍu came to the end, hence annexation of Kaling to Magadh 260 (345) (one view).
537	10	Rājarsi Udāyin of Sindh was poisoned 217
535	8	Ruins of Mohan-jā-ḍero (17) and Desert of Jasalmir came into existence (19) [520 : (217)] another view (534 : (217) 218 : destruction of Vīttabhayapaṭṭan 221 (534 : 220) : cir. 535, King Udayan of Vatsa married his second queen Vāsavdattā of Avanti 113 (114), 115
534	7	Udāyan of Magadh was born (114), 282 : (Queen Padmāvatī of Vatsa, and daughter of



B. C.      B. M.

Kuṇik of Magadh is described as born (115) but it is wrong; it ought to be 532 because her brother Udāyan of Magadh is born in this year of 534 : so her own birth would be in 532)

533              6 Prince Abhayakumār became a Jaina monk 266, 270, 274 : hence Prince Kuṇik's right to the throne of Magadh was established 272

531              4 Annexation of Sindh to the Persian empire 220 (one view) (another view 520 : 220)

6th Cent. (middle) First foreign invasion on India by a Persian emperor (40)

530-522=8 years      Cambacys king of Persia (70)

529              2 King Śreṇik was imprisoned by his son Kuṇik (one view) 274 : another view says in 240 on pp. 274

528              2 Śreṇik died 107, (114), 236, 237, 260, 276 Ajātsatru ascended the throne of Magadh 196-282; he succeeded his father Śreṇik 87, 216 Nandivardhan or Nand I was born 306 (525; 307. 524 : 309)

528 to 496      King Ajātsatru's rule 230

527              (May or April) Queen Chillanā became a Jaina nun under Mahāvīr 278, 269 (528:132) (Oct) Mahāvīr's Nirvāṇ : 7, (59), 113, 127 (127) 129, 206, (244), 236 278, : Chaṇḍ of Avanti died 107, 127-179 (1½ years after Śreṇik's death) 113; 194, 196

526              1 King Chetak died 278 (It is printed 527 but ought to be 526) (525 : 133, 134) : Kuṇik annexed Vaiśālī with Magadh 346; king Presenjit of Kośal died 88 : (530 : 87)

527-520=7 years      King Pālak of Avantī 206-210



B. C.	A. M.	
524	4	Rebuilding of old Champāpurī (111) by Kunik 136, 345 (525 : Ruinous state lasted from 557 to 525=32 years)
523		The year of Crisis (220) : Fourth Ārā was over (8) 15, 251 : beginning of 5th Ārā 343. Till this time famine was unknown 15. Between 523 and 496, King Ajātsatru erected the pillar in his name at Bhārhut (75)
522-521=1 year		Smardis, King of Persia (70)
521 to 480=41 years		Darius, King of Persia (70)
520	7	Vidurath of Kōśal was living 84 : he decided to avenge the deceit played against his father 88
		Destruction of Kapilvastu (89) : a little time after this Buddha's Nirvāṇ took place 89
		Parinirvāṇ of Buddha 236, when he was 80 years old 241; May or June (89) (296)
520 to 482=38 yrs.		Vijaya, King of Ceylon 239, 347
520 to 501=19 yrs.		Dantivardhan, King of Avanti 210
Cir 520	8	Udayan King of Vatsa married his third queen Padmāvatī, princess of Magadh (114) 115
509-492=17 years		Śobhan-roy, King of Kāliṅg 170
508	19	Nandivardhan, married his first wife who was the mother of Nand II 309
6th cent.		People of ancient India were superior to those of modern India; (both in physical constitution and in height) (115)
505-1;	22-6	Dantivardhan killed his brother Rāṣṭravardhan 207
503	24	Queen Vāsavdattā of Vatsa adopted a son (115) First queen of Udayan of Vatsa was already dead by this time (115)
501-487=14 yrs.		Avantisen of Avanti 208; 210 : Dantivardhan (Avantivardhan) of Avanti became a Jaina monk (504 : 208)



Chronology

B. C.	A. M.	
498	29	Probable birth of Mahāpadma, Nand II 309, 314
496-480=16 years		Udāyaśva : Udāyan of Magadh 230, 293, 295; Ascended the throne 108, 116, 284 : death of Kuṇik 154, 282, 292.
496-475=21 (?) or 17 years		Kṣemrāj's dynasty ceased for a time, ruling over Kaling 170 ( Interregnum ) : (Kaling was not quite independent 168 (492-472)
495	32	Nāg-dasak : Nandivardhan became Commander-in-chief of Magadh 306, 351, (490-1 : 287)
494	33	King Udayan of Vatsa's daughter and second queen of Nandivardhan was born (115) 308)
492	35	Udāyan of Magadh conquered Kaling (168) (490 : 347) Udāyan came to stay at his new capital of Pāṭliputra 285
490	37	Udayan of Vatsa died 108, 116, (116), 208, 306, 308
490-467=23 yrs.		Medhavin, Daṇḍapāṇi and Kṣemak, Kings of Vatsa 109 : Total duration of Medhavin's rule 117
487-467=20		Maṇiprabh or Medhavin of Vatsa also King of Avanti 210-209 Maṇiprabh became the King of Avanti 117-209
410	47	Udāyan's rule ends (276) 284 : he started on pilgrimage entrusting the administration of the state to the care of his son Anurudhdha 348 : Udāyan renounced the throne in favour of his son 296 : by this time Nandivardhan had lost his first wife, the mother of Nand II 308 : Nandivardhan married Udayan of Vatsa's daughter seven-years (it ought to be eleven) after Udayan's death : [ 484 : 209 (308) ]



B. C.	A. M.	
480-472=8		Anurudhdha and Mund as kings of Magadh 230, 290, 296 Anurudhdha succeeded his father 290
475-439=36 yrs		Kṣemrāj, independent King of Kaling 168, 170, 294 (474 : 293) (cir 472 : (163), 165)
475-4	52	Udāyan of Magadh died (in pilgrimage) 348 : 349 Kaling came under the sway of Chedi rulers 154 :
474	53	Death of Anurudhdha, the emperor of Magadh 171, 290, 296, 349
472	55	Udāyan's rule has ended (another view) (276): his son's rule has ended (276) : Śiśunāga dynasty ended (276) 350 : Nandivardhan came to the throne of Magadh 117, 168, 307, 350, 209 (Nāgdasak as emperor of Magadh. He founded the Nanda dynasty (229)
472-372=100 yrs.		The duration of Nanda dynasty 304, 325
468	59	Excessive rainfall in Magadh 311 : Nandivardhan removed the Jaina idol from Kaling into Magadh 355
467	60	Maṇiprabh died without an heir 351; last King of Avanti was killed by Nand I : 189. End of Pradyota dynasty 194, 209. Annexation of Avanti & Vatsa to the Magadha empire by Nandivardhan 108, 117, 325 : Avanti a part of the Magadha empire 269, 179, 189
467-372		Avanti ceased to be the capital of the empire (177)
465	62	Death of Xerxes, the Persian emperor, 98, 351 (351)
463-455 : 64-82		Famine in Magadh prevailed for some time 311 (between these eight years)
456	71	Nandivardhan died 307 (455; 306, 312) : Nand II or Mahāpadma came to the throne 314 (455 : 315, 322). Mahāpadma, Nand II's rule lasted for 28½ years (455 to 427) 305



B. C.      A. M.

Bet. 455-452 :		Nand II married his first Śudra queen, by whom Śimukh, the founder of Āndhra dynasty was born 322
72-75		
452	75	Probable birth of Śimukh, the founder of Āndhra dynasty 322
450	77	The Jaina ascetic Manak died (31) : Herodotus, the great historian was in India at this time (331)
450-400		Persian domination over Punjāb (331)
444-3	84	Buddha's second religious Conference (314), 315 (315 (322))
After 444	87	Nand II married his second Śudra queen, by whom Nand IX was born, (322) (It may be 440 to 438)
438-6	89	Birth of Nand IX 341 (It ought to be 436)
439	88	Kṣemrāj of Kaling died & Buddharāj came to the throue; 354
430	97	Upto this time Buddharāj ruled over Kaling 156
429	98	Budhdhrāj died and his son Khārvel succeeded him 355
431	96	Khārvel, as an heir-apparent of Buddharāj, conquered all the countries as far as Cape Comorin in the South 292
427	100	Death of Nand II 314 : Rule of Nand II, Mahāpadma ended (305), 322 : Nand III (from 427 to 425) 305 : Time of Śimukh the founder of the Āndhra dynasty (A. M. 100=B. C. 427) (156), 322 Āndhra dynasty founded 292 : Śimukh came to the throne 354
425	102	Nand IV from (425-423) 305
424	103	Hāthigumfā Inscription contains events dated 103 A. M. = 424 B. C. 326
423	104	Nand V (from 423-421=2 yrs.) 305
421	106	Nand VI (from 421-419=2 yrs.) 305
419	108	Nand VII (from 419-417=2 yrs.) 305
417	110	Nand VIII (from 417-415=2 yrs.) 305, 355



B. C.	A. M.	
416	111	Khārvel of Kaling invaded Magadh for the first time 325
416-398		Time of Ktesias, a great Persian author (331)
415	112	Nand IX alias Mahānand (from 415 to 372= 43 yrs.) 305
411	116	Khārvel of Kaling's second invasion on Magadh 327
5th cent. beginning		The time of Chāṇakya, Pāṇini, and Varrūchi 334
409	118	Nand IX's eldest son was born } Nand IX's second son was born } 340 Nand IX's youngest son was born }
407	120	
405	122	
		who had insulted Chāṇakya
		Nand IX conquered Punjāb from the Persian emperor 330, (331)
404	123	Career of the learned trio (Chāṇakya, Pāṇini and Varrūchi) commenced in the university of Nālandā) 337, 336
		Srimukh Śātvāhan died 356
400	127	Time of Mahārathi Chief of Berār, the father-in-law of Gautamiputra Yagñaśree and father of Queen Nāgnikā (354)
397	130	Chāṇakya took vow (to exterminate the Nanda family) and left Magadh
386	141	Nand IX's daughter, and Queen of Chandragupta was born 341
382	145	Chandragupta as king of the hilly region and foundation of the Mauryan dynasty 339; [ 372 (229) This is in relation to the suzerainty of the Empire ]
381	140	Death of Śakṣāl, the Prime Minister of Magadh : his eldest son Sthūlibhadraji became a Jaina monk 339 : his second son Śriyak was given prime-ministership
376	151	Great grammarian Pāṇini's time (252)



Chronology

B. C.	A. M.	
374	153	Śriyak, once the head of the body-guard to Nand IX : and then his prime minister (since 381 B. C.) became a Jaina monk 339
372	155	Nand IX left Magadh, having taken as much wealth as he could carry within his chariot 340 : end of the Nanda dynasty 200, 304 : Chandragupta as Magadha emperor 226 (from 372 to 358=14 years (222))
371	156	Śayyambhav=sūri, the preceptor of Śriyak, died (339)
358	169	Emperor Chandragupta Maurya died (99) Bindusār as emperor of Magadh (from 358-330=28 years) (99)
331	196	Alexander the Great exterminated the Achai-manidai dynasty of Persia 98 (Alexander conquered Persia in 328)
330	197	Emperor Bindusār of Magadh died 98, (99) his son Asoka came to the throne (99)
327	200	Greeks first invaded India (330) : Invasion of Alexander the Great (8)
326	201	Alexander conquered Sindh (357)
4th cent.		Inscriptions are found with Mahāvīr eras (39)
320	207	Punjab was under the power of Porus (99) from 320 to 317
317	210	Murder of Porus 99
312	215	Seleucus Nicator founded his dynasty 99 ; Eleven years after the death of Alexander (323-11=312 B. C.) Seleucus founded his dynasty (100) : Seleucus invaded India in vain for 17 times within eight years (312-304=8 yrs) 100
304	223	Megasthenes, as Greek ambassador to the court of Pātliputra 286
271	256	Sahasrām inscription contains figure 256 (A. M.)=B. C. 271 (32)



Chronology

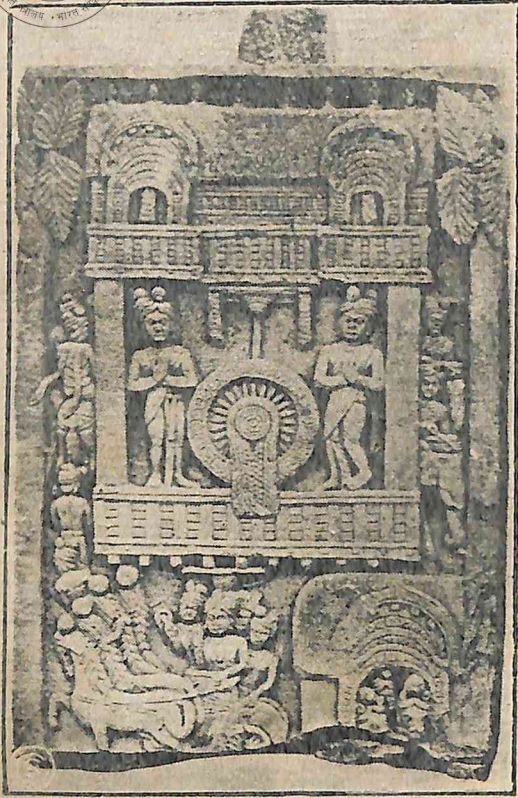
B. C.	B. M.	
236	291	Death of Emp. Priyadarśin (28), 100
204	323	End of the Mauryan dynasty 190
2nd cent. end		Foreign invaders first settled in India and began to rule (39)
114	413	End of Śuṅga dynasty (28)
57	470	Beginning of Vikram era 3, 202, (M. E. 470=B. C. 57)
A. D. first cent. beginning		} A third crisis has occurred 6
A. D. 78		Beginning of Śaka era 3
243		Another Chedi dynasty began its career in C. P. 62
517)		Parmar dynasty of Malwa was founded 175
533]		(174) It lasted from 534 to 1055 (187)
533		Rajputs were divided into four families (174)
620		King Bhoj of Malwa (from 620-681=60 yrs) (176)
630		Huen-Chang's stay in India from 630-640= (193) (634 : 176) Parihār dynasty of Kanoj from 630 to 1020 (187)
634		Upto this year, Ujjain and Malwa were separate countries (174)
6th to 8th cent.		Dadda Kshatriyas ruled over territories, at present included in Rājpiplā state (a part of Gujerat) (48)
8th cent.		Mahārāṭhīhik and Rāṣṭrik dynasties of Southern India (354)
10th cent.		Third Chedi dynasty began in C. P.
942		Solanki dynasty of Rajputs began to rule in Gujerat (187)
1933		Sthānakvāsi Jaina Muni Conference held at Ajmer (245)
1934		Mūrtipūjak Jaina Muni Conference held at Ahmedabad (245)



## ERRATA

<i>Pp.</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
12	Subject heading	Comparision	Comparison
28	83	Śiśunaga dynasty	Śuṅga dynasty
109	7	543 to 497	543 to 490
109	9	490 to 497	490 to 467
128	9	568 B. C.	558 B. C.
146	11	Āudhra	Āndhra
163	(f. n.)	528	558
165	30	Delete the whole f. n. no. 48	
179		Nov	Oct.
255	35	(pp. 42):—	(pp. 52.)
255	35	After B. R. A. S. add the words,	1993, as quoted in C. H. I. pp. 169.
267	4	556 B. C.	558 B. C.
307	14	475 B. C. -	495 B. C.
308	30	He was born	She was born
323	2	Śiśunāga dynasty	Nanda dynasty
368	31	526 1	526 A. M. 1





King Prasenjit of Kosal  
expressing his devotion

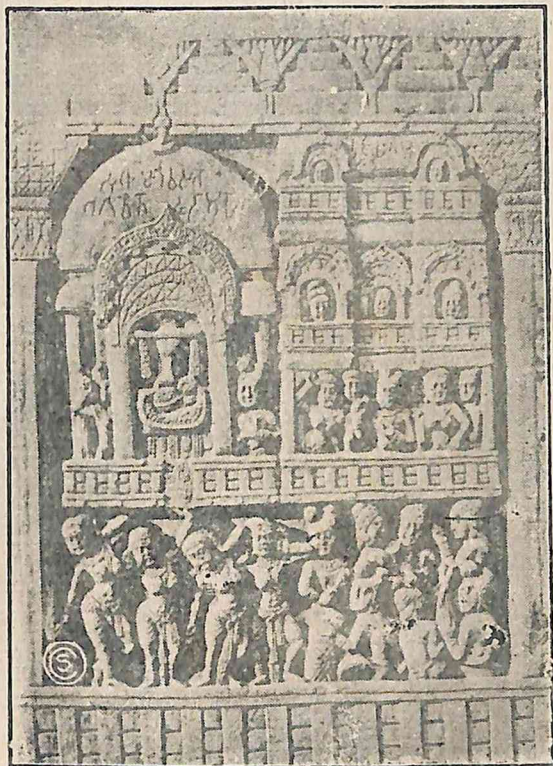
Fig. 7, pp. 73



Prasenjit-pillar erected at Bhārhut

Fig. 8, pp 75





Ajātsatru-pillar at Bhārhut

Fig. 9 pp. 75



King Prasenjit of  
Kośal

Fig. 10 pp. 79



King Āmbhi of  
Gāndhār

Fig. 11 pp. 98





Emp.-Alexander the Great  
 Fig. 12, pp. 98



Emp.-Seleucus Nicator  
 Fig. 13, pp. 99



Emp.-Aśoka  
 Fig. 14, pp. 100



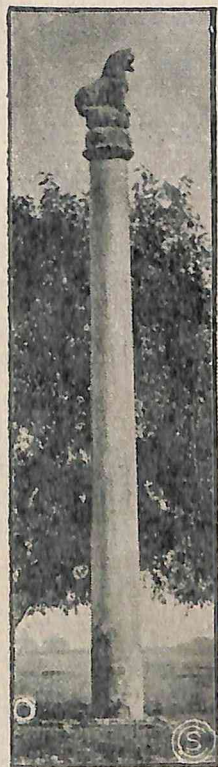
Emp.-Demetrius  
 Fig. 15, pp. 100





Sārnāth-pillar

Fig. 17, pp. 103



Nandangadh Stūpa  
 erected by  
 Emp - Priyadarshin  
 Fig. 18, pp. 119



Sāñchī Stūpa

Fig. 26, pp. 182

(Reproduced here  
 for comparison)



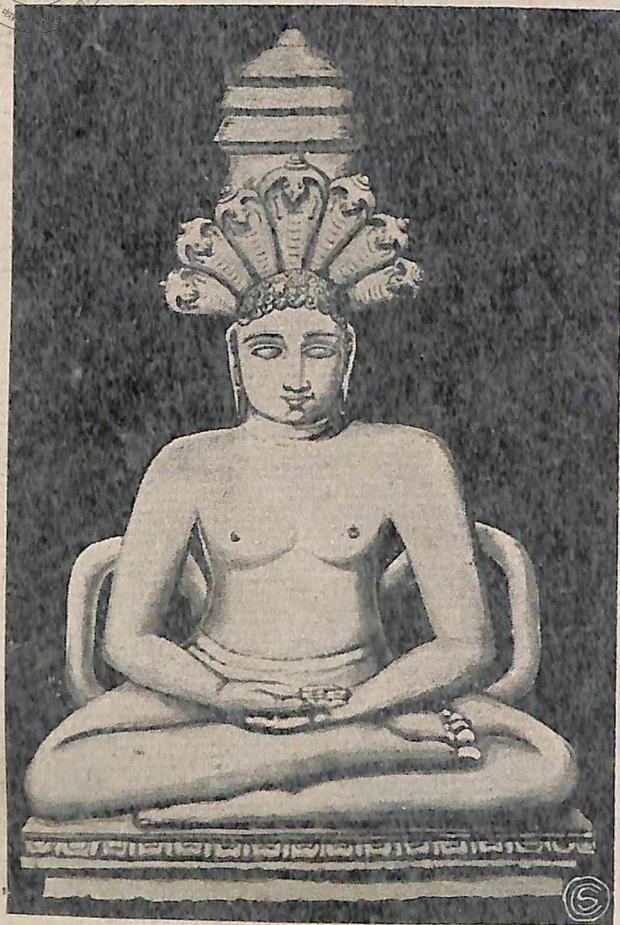


Image of Pārśwanāth,  
excavated from Bennātaṭ-nagar

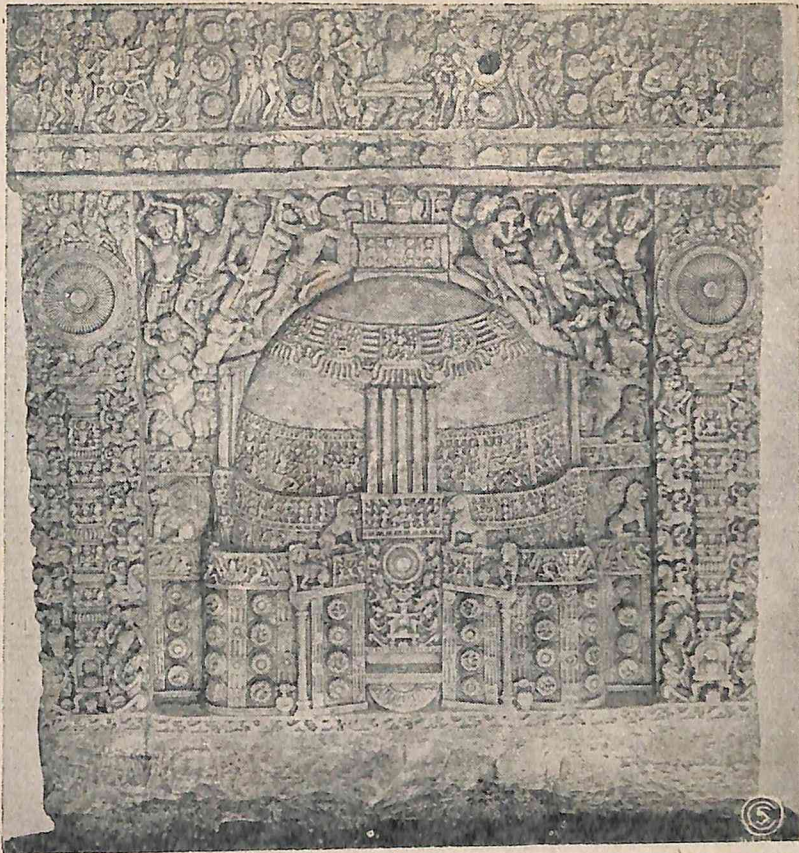
Fig. 20, pp. 149



Image of Pārśwanāth  
excavated from  
Bennātaṭ-nagar

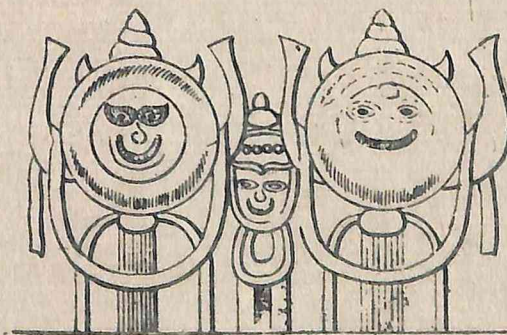
Fig. 21, pp. 149





Dome of the Amrāvati Stūpa  
excavated from Bennātāṭ-nagar

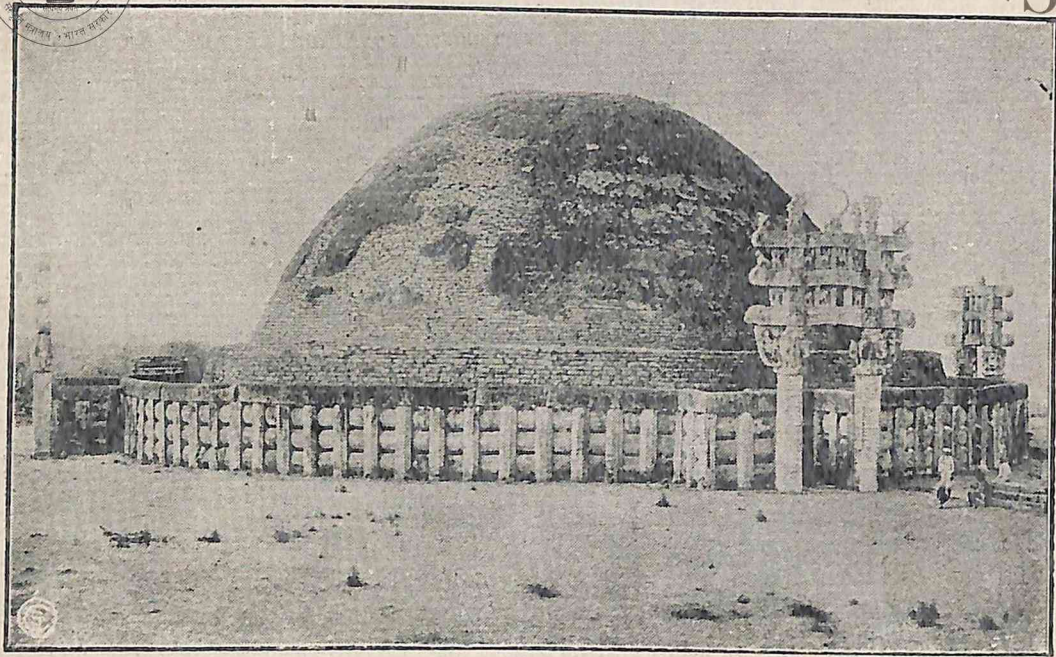
Fig. 22, pp. 159



Images in the temple of  
Jagannāth-purī in Orissā

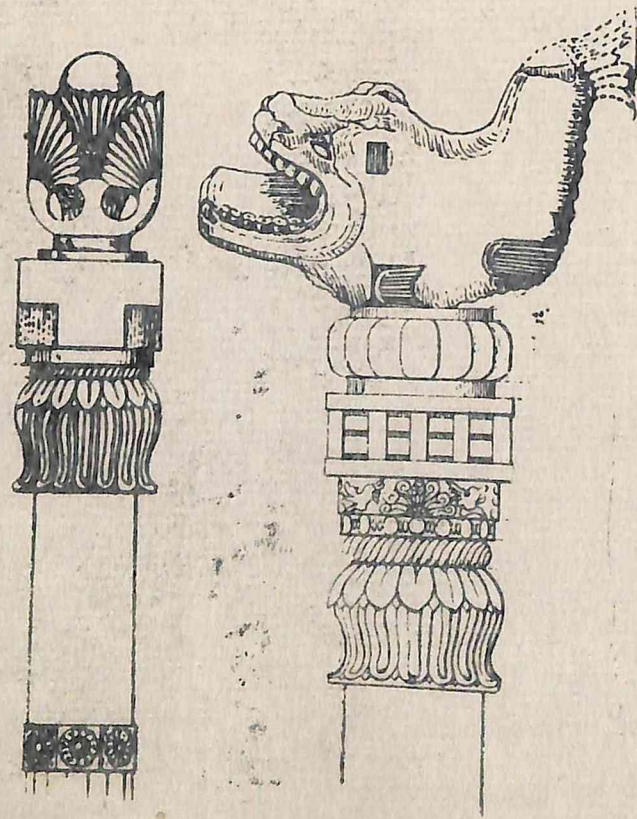
Fig. 23, pp. 171





Dome of the Sāñchī Stūpa

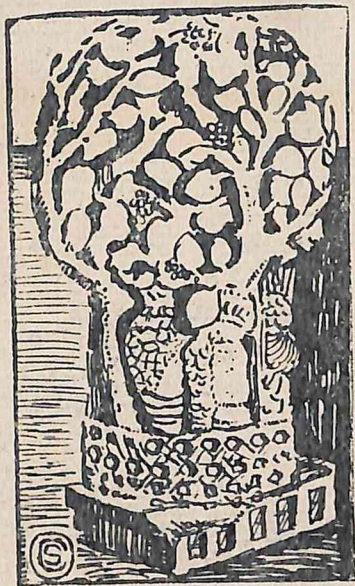
Fig. 24, pp. 178



Crouch-pillar      Alligator-pillar  
both found from neighbourhood  
of Sāñchī (vide map no. 27)

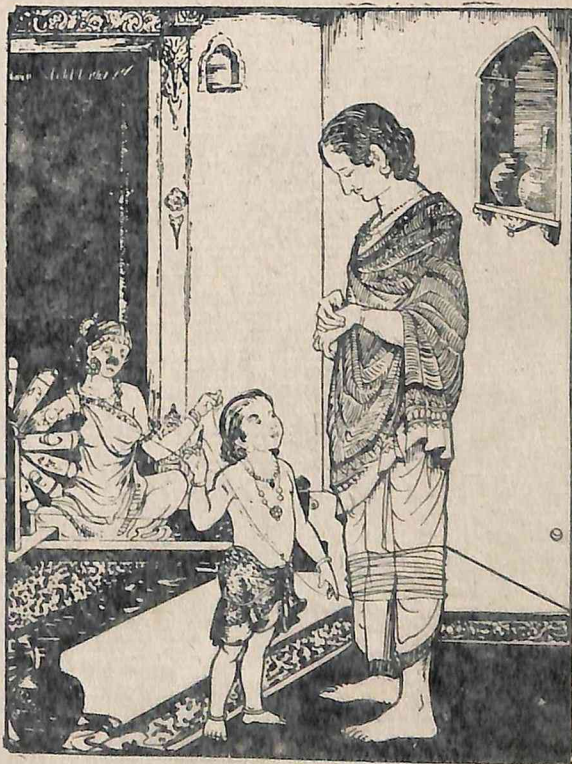
Fig. 29 & 30, pp. 185





Kalpa-drūm; Kalpa-Vrkṣha  
Kalpa-taru

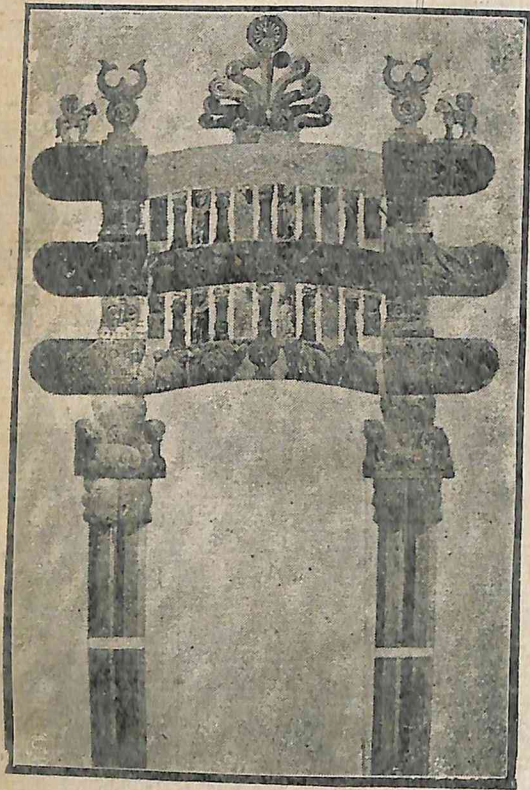
Fig. 31. On cover and in  
preface pp. 25.



Prince Ardra of Ardra-desh  
(now Arabia) and his family

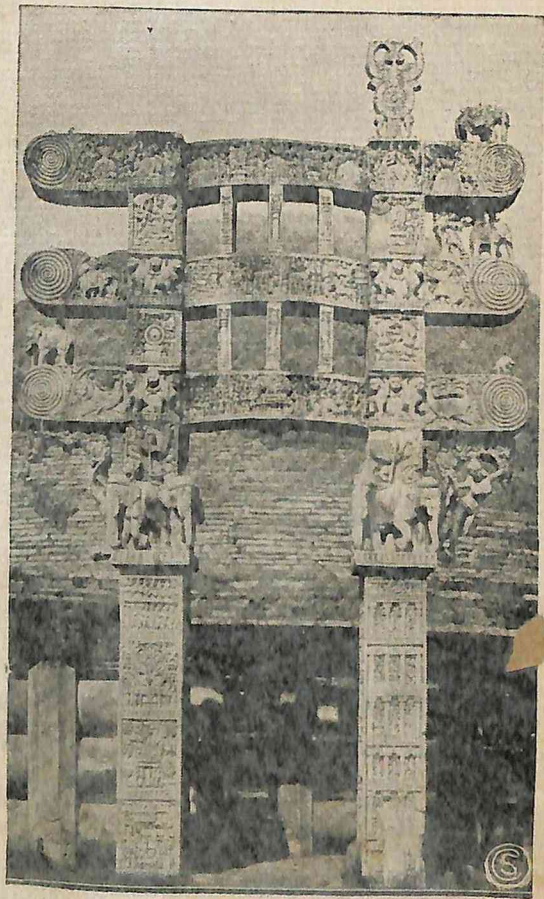
Fig. 40, pp. 253





A Toran of Sañchi Stūpa

Fig. 32, pp. 189



A Toran of Bhārhut Stūpa

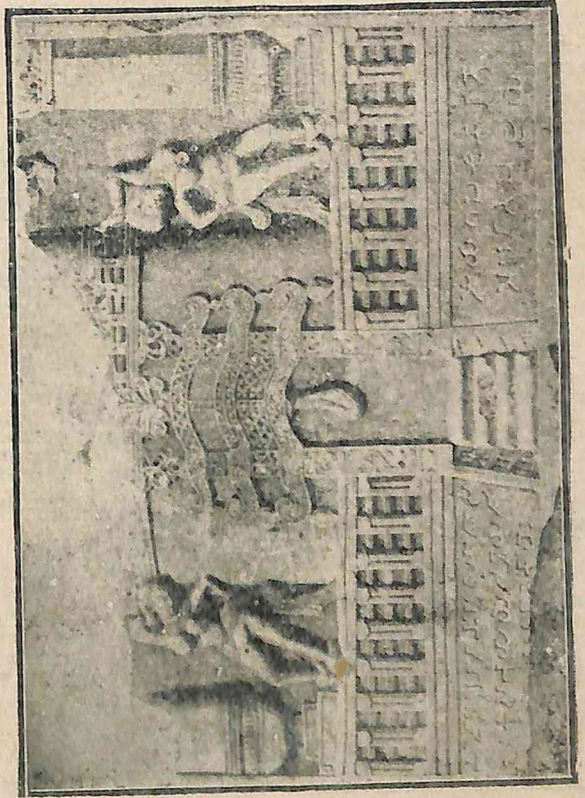
Fig. 33, pp. 189





A part of Toran at  
 Mathura

Fig. 34, pp. 189

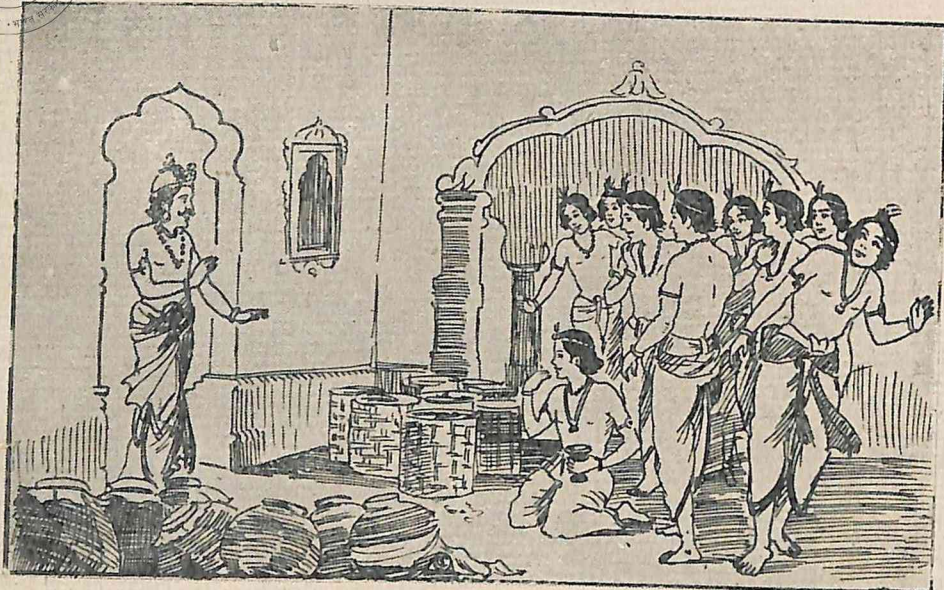


A stone tablet excavated from  
 Kankālītīlā mount of Mathura

All these four are reproduced here  
 for comparison.

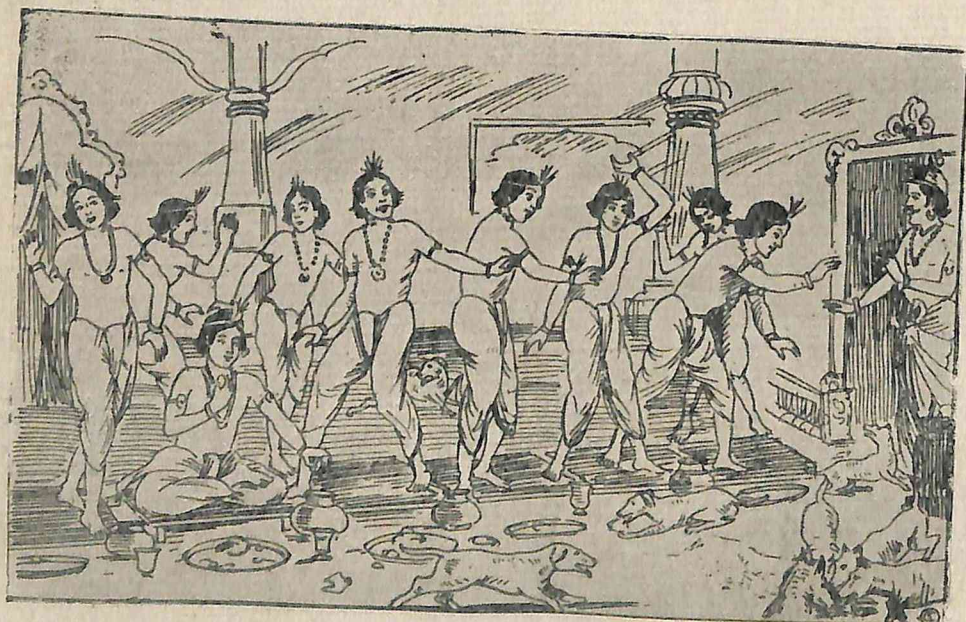
Fig. 35





First test of Prince Śreṇik by his father  
Prasenjit of Magadh

Fig. 37, pp. 232



Second test of Prince Śreṇik by his father  
Prasenjit of Magadh

Fig. 38, pp. 232





King Ajātsatru of  
Magadh

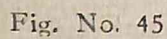
Fig. 42, pp. 276



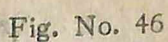
Ajātsatru-pillar at Bhārhut  
King Ajātsatru  
devotedly saluting foot-prints

Fig. 43, pp. 279





Map No. 6



Map No. 7



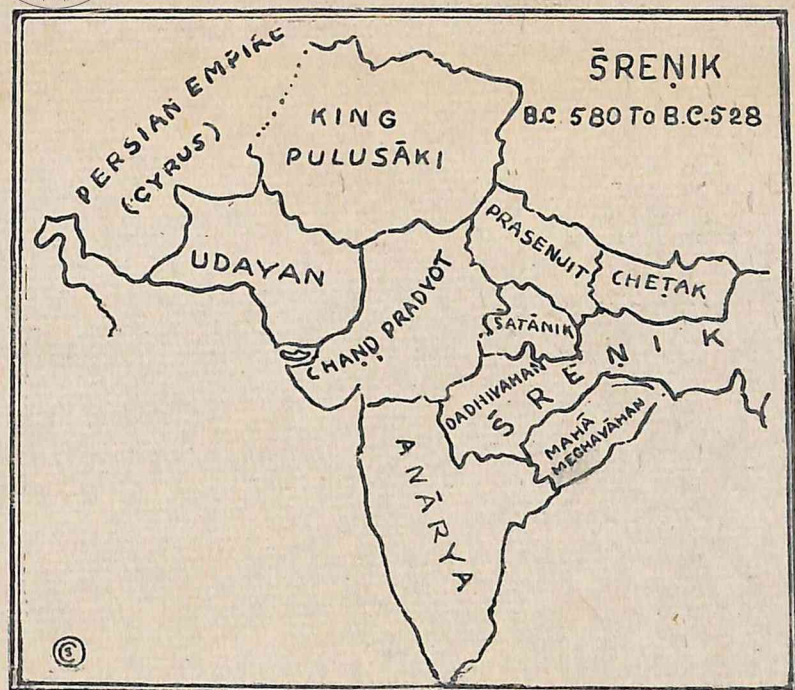


Fig. No. 47

Map No. 8

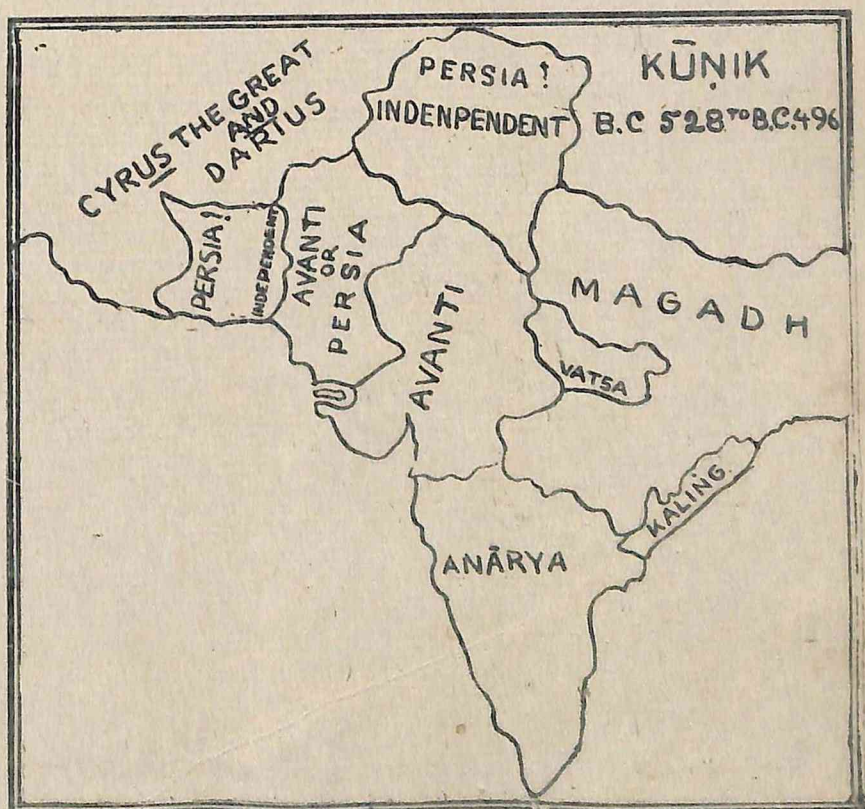


Fig. No. 48

Map. No. 9



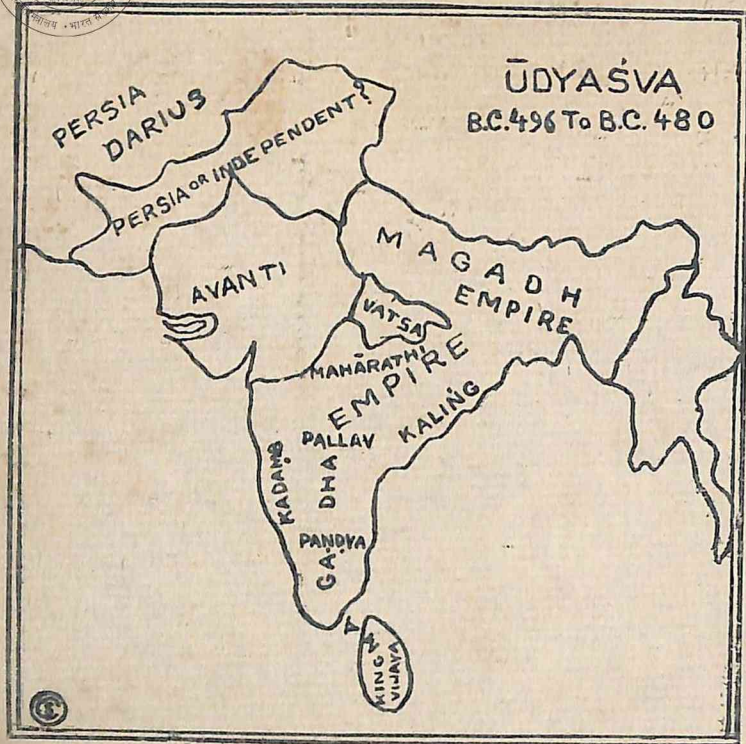


Fig. No. 49

Map. No. 10

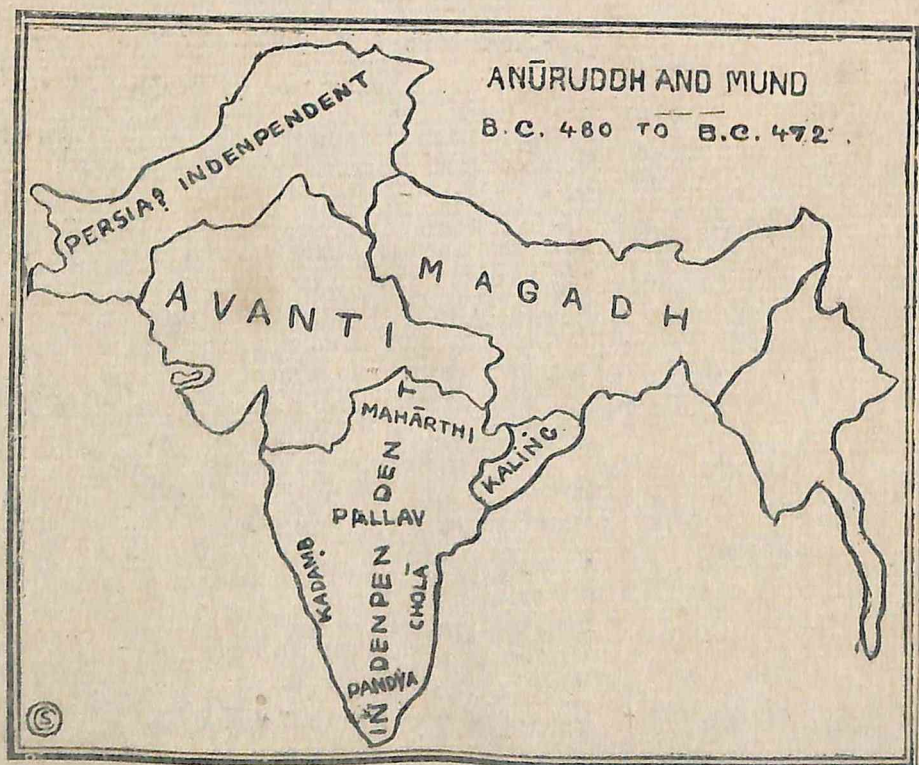


Fig. No. 50

Map No. 11



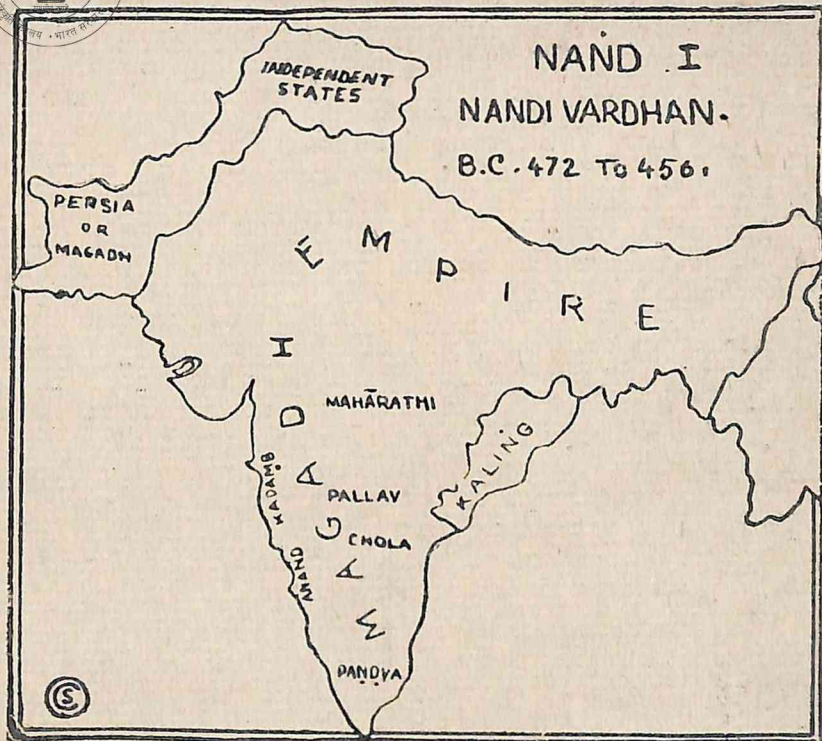


Fig. No. 51

Map. No. 12

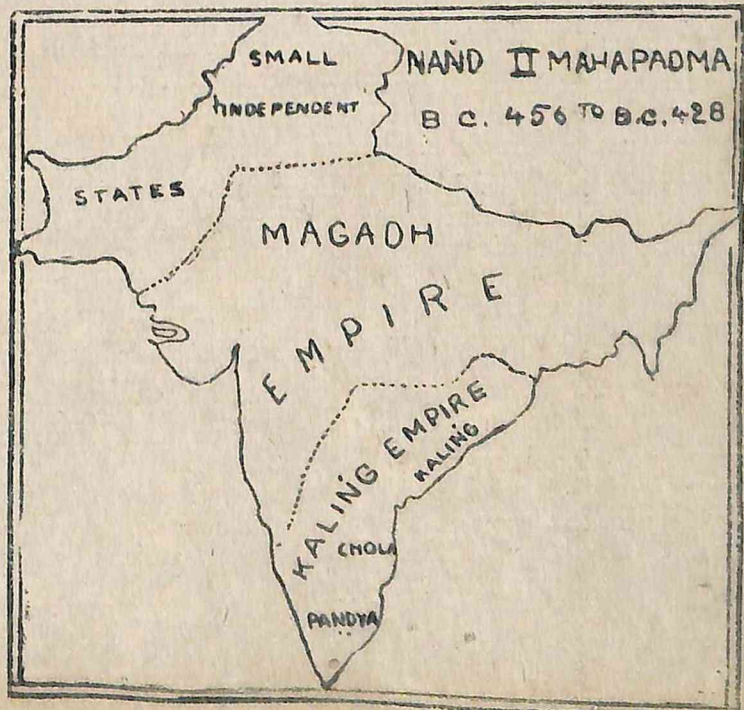


Fig. No. 52

Map. No. 13



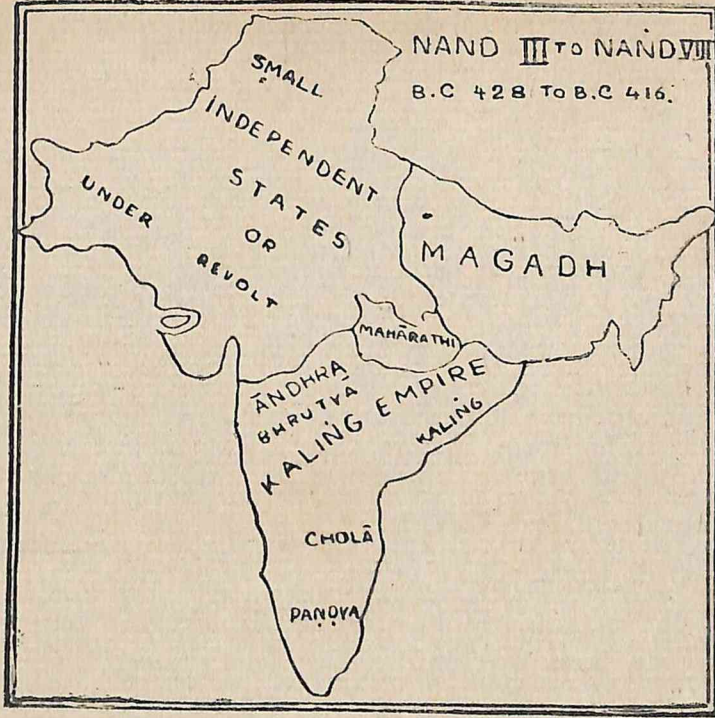


Fig. No. 53

Map No. 14

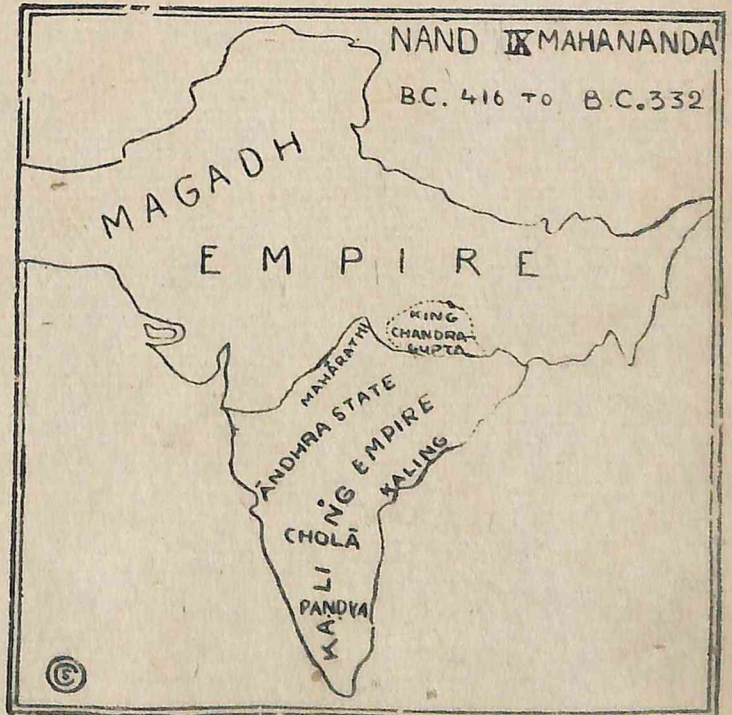


Fig. No. 54

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## OPINIONS

With the help of the archeological department, ancient books and manuscripts, coins and inscriptions, scholars have begun to make an endeavour to give a connected and coherent form to ancient history. Systematic excavations of places of antique interest and collections of ancient manuscripts being put under the keen scrutiny of experts have encouraged these scholars in their attempts.

Dr. T. L. Shah's effort to write a connected history of ancient India with the help of these things deserves praise. He had collected a mine of information with an aim to compile an Encyclopædia of Jainism, and with due discretion he has gleaned material out of it, which comes to light as "Ancient India". Some of his theories and conclusions might strike many a reader as bomb-shells, but there is not a shadow of doubt, that a close study of these theories will disillusion even experts, on many a most and debatable point of ancient history and will clearly show us, how we misconstrued our own past. The book deserves encouragement from the heads of educational departments.

Prince of Wales Museum,  
Bombay

(Sd.) Acharya Girjashanker Vallabhji M. A.  
Curator, Archeological Section

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I have read from cover to cover "Prachin Bharatvarsha" by Dr. T. L. Shah. It is based on a close study of the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Vedic literatures, and of ancient coins and inscriptions. Jaina literature, which had hitherto not received full justice at the hands of historians, has been fully utilised by Dr. Shah. His judgments are always synthetic and the book contains things hitherto unknown. Jains should encourage his effort fully, because no other writer has paid so much attention to the study of Jaina literature.

29th Aug. 1933  
Baroda

(Sd.) Prof. Keshavlal Himmatram Kamdar  
Prof. of History, Baroda College

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I have read Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He intends to write a connected history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. in a homely style. He has boldly advanced several new theories and he has supplied full evidence in support of them. He has given a detailed account of the social, political, religious, geographic and economic condition of ancient India. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his studies, and has based his conclusions on the evidence of coins, inscriptions and ancient manuscripts. His effort deserves encouragement from all quarters.

9-9-1933  
Baroda

(Sd.) Govindbhai H. Desai B. A. LL. B.  
(Ex. Naib-Dewan)

\* \* \*

Dr. Shah's effort to give a connected history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. deserves encouragement from all quarters. His pamphlet is eloquent of the unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm for his work. Most of us are quite ignorant of the real cultural glory of ancient India. Dr. Shah's book is an admirable effort to supply this deficiency.

He has put forth some new theories and has thus invited much criticism, argumentation and discussion. He has not failed to give as much evidence as possible for every theory.

Such efforts are rare and deserve all possible encouragement.

Bombay

(Sd.) H. G. Anjarla M. A.  
(Principal, S. N. D. T. Women's University)

\* \* \*

Your book presents quite a novel aspect of ancient history. I conclude that you have not spared yourself in writing these volumes.

Bombay  
19-12-33

Yours truly  
(Sd.) Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri M. A. LL. B.

\* \* \*

It was a great pleasure to go through the synopsis of Dr. Shah's "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He has advanced new theories and he has given full evidence to prove them. Some of his conclusions are revolutionary. For instance, he has stated that Sandrekotus was not another name for Chandragupta but for Ashok. I wish Dr. Shah all success in his enterprise.

Luhar St. Manbar Bldg.  
Bombay, 8th. Oct, 1933

(Sd.) Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia  
B. A. LL. B., Solicitor



I was delighted when I went through the synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha." I had been waiting long since, for an effort of this kind, and you can imagine my delight at the concretisation of my desire. Your book is sure to prove a stepping stone to the full and detailed study of Jaina literature and its contribution to the culture and civilization of India. I sincerely hope that Jains as well as non-Jains will lend support to such a book, because its aim is to reveal the glory, not merely of Jainism but that of ancient India as a whole.

I admire you for your unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm.

Palanpur, V. E. 1989

(Sd.) VallabhvijaySuri

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I have received your synopsis of your "Prachin Bharatvarsha".

Going through it, I feel that you have not spared either effort or money in the preparation for this stupendous task. Few will be able to render as much service to India as you. Such books are few and far between, and the more such publications are made, the better.

Please enter my name on the list of the customers of this book.

Delhi

4-10-1933

(Sd.) Muni Darshanvijay

Kinari Bazar, Jain Dharmashala.

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It gives me great pleasure to know, that you have collected material for compiling Encyclopædia Jainica. I thank you for sending me the beginning sections of "Prachin Bharatvarsha", material for which you have glanced from the former, and which you intend to publish shortly. Your endeavour to write a connected history of ancient India based mainly on Jaina literature, is praise worthy. It is possible that your conclusions may differ from the conclusions of those writers who have relied on Buddhist and Vedic literature. On the whole, your effort is sure to bring a good result, and is therefore really praiseworthy.

Fort Chambers, 6-10, Dean Lane

Bombay, 22-12-1933

Yours truly,

(Sd.) Vishvanath P. Vaidya  
 Bar-at-Law

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I have received with pleasure Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha". A persual of it has convinced me, that the book will prove very useful and stimulating to all.

16-11-1934

(Sd.) VijaynitiSuri

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A close and constant study of problems connected with ancient India, by Dr. T. L. Shah, has resulted into such a unique achievement as "Prachin Bharatvarsha" facts and theories in which are based on the evidence of ancient books, coins and inscriptions.

The book is likely to give rise to argumentations, discussions and criticisms because it contains theories, quite opposite to those, which are generally accepted among scholars.

The author has not spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and has gathered materials from various sources. This is admirable.

Bombay, 18th. July, 1935

Sanj Vartaman

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It was generally believed that the history of India began with the invasion of Alexander the Great, and that nothing could be known beyond that. Even Vincent Smith could not begin it earlier than that. Researches have, however, begun, and as a result the veil on the history of India as it was many centuries before Christ, is being slowly lifted. Dr. Jayaswal said some time ago in his presidential speech at the Oriental Conference. "To begin the history of India with the invasion of Alexander the Great is like presenting a headless body."

Dr. Shah is one of those scholars who have not spared any effort in unearthing the golden past of India. Few books in any language can stand comparison with his work which is the outcome of many years of constant application. He has given us a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. The book is sure to prove a great incentive to scholars and will go a great way in furthering research work in this direction.

His theories are entirely new and therefore debatable no doubt. The very novelty is bound to give rise to a hot discussion culminating in a new interest and more research work. The author, however, has never advanced any theories for which he could not put forth the solid evidence of coins, books and inscriptions. Such astounding theory, as that of establishing Ashok and Priyadarshin as different individuals, may not be accepted at once, but the author has not failed to pile evidence upon evidence for proving his theory.



The chronological list of events given at the end of the book is sure to prove very useful. One such list was prepared by Grant Duff; but that was years ago. This is more detailed. The book contains, moreover, a number of pictures, maps and illustrations—an added attraction.

The book makes evident the author's deep study of Jaina literature. At the same time he has not failed to supply evidence from other literatures which he has not studied any less than the former. His style is homely.

Ahmedabad, 28-7-35

Prajabandhu

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The very hazard of publishing such a book, deserves encouragement and support from even those, who are not students of history. Interest of the general public in history is yet to be cultivated, and hence the author should be all the more congratulated upon his spirit of enterprise.

The book presents a connected and synthetic view of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. It is a product of twenty-five years of persevering application to ancient books, coins and materials. How far the author is correct, in the picture he has painted, is a subject for experts, but the book as if challenges them to submit material contained by it to an acid test.

The main aim of the author, is to put before us the fact, that Buddhism and Brahminism have been hitherto given undue importance at the cost of Jainism, the twenty-fourth Tirthankar of which constructed and formulated a new social and political order.

At all places, the author has supplied as many pieces of evidence as he could. Copious footnotes, chronological lists and index have made the book worthy of the attention of scholars, while the homely style of the author has laid the material within the reach of all.

The difficulties and setbacks which the author has experienced in the publication of this book, are enough to make his effort worthy of admiration. His new theories, his challenging attitude and his enthusiasm are really inspiring.

Bombay, 14-8-35

Jannabhum

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Dr. Shah's effort to shed new light in the abysmal darkness of Indian antiquity, deserves full credit and praise. It is an outcome of a constant labour for twenty-five years.

Historians have hitherto said that Indian culture and civilization have their foundation mainly in Buddhism and Brahmanism. Dr. Shah has tried to prove that the major part of the credit goes to Jainism which preceded Buddhism and which is responsible for the formation of social and political order. According to him, Ashok and Priyadarshin were different individuals, and the inscriptions, which are ascribed to Ashok, a Buddhist, were really carved by Priyadarshin a Jaina emperor.

Such theories are debatable no doubt, but they deserve full attention from all concerned.

The book will be enjoyed both by scholars and by general readers. It is written in a homely style. Every page gives vent to author's spirit of self-reliance, patriotism, and deep-seated respect for ancient India.

Bombay, 25-8-1935

Hindustan Prajamitra

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Dr. Shah has written this book after a deep and intelligent study of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. He has rendered great service to all students of history, and especially to the Jaina community. Jainism, as he has proved, enjoyed paramount power in India at the time when Buddhism, Islam and Christianity did not even exist.

One praiseworthy feature of the book is the maps of various countries and kingdoms. Another equally praiseworthy feature is the illustrations of ancient coins and other pictures, which are aptly designed to give us a panoramic view of ancient India as it really was. The picture of Saraswati, giving us an idea of the art of painting 2000 years ago, deserves special attention.

We congratulate Dr. Shah for bringing to light things which had hitherto been concealed in the womb of antiquity.

Bhavnagar, 25th, August, 1935.

Jain

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We welcome Dr. Shah's effort to write the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. Looking to the application and the persevering exertion of the writer, the price fixed for the book is quite adequate, though the public might be inclined to consider it a bit high.



Dr. Shah has tried to present novel facts and theories based on the evidence of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. His theories are apt to strike one as revolutionary, but one's doubts are sure to be silenced by arrays of evidence, piled in the book. The reader is also apt to think that Jainism is unduly highly represented in the book. He has then to remember that this book owes its existence to the material gleaned and systematically arranged from "Encyclopædia Jainica."

The book presents a new angle of vision into the cobwebs of Indian antiquity, and therefore deserves full study by all students of ancient history. Written with a view to incite more research work, the book is invaluable and admirable.

To avoid all misconstruing, the readers may go through the preface first, as the author has clearly stated his viewpoint there.

Baroda, 9-9-1935

Nav-Gujarat

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Most of the modern books on Indian history are based on research work and conclusions arrived at, by foreign writers. It is high time that Indians themselves, should plunge themselves heart and soul in this affair, if they want to profit by the rich heritage left to them, by their wise and fore-seeing ancestors. It is more important for Jains to have a detailed knowledge about their ancestors and their customs, manners and civilization than to study minutely histories of countries like England, Ireland and others. Though it is very difficult to give a connected account of ancient India, yet all concerned will be glad to know that Dr. T. L. Shah has spiritedly entered upon the adventure of publishing a 2000 page book on the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.

None should work under the erroneous conception that the author has been partial towards Jainism. He has put forth evidence from all available ancient and modern books, the huge list of which, is given at the beginning of the book. He has begun his account from the time of the twenty-third Jaina Tirthankar, Parshvanath. By piling evidence upon evidence, the author has proved that in ancient India there were only two religions, namely Jainism and Brahminism, of which the former had paramount power. He has given a detailed account of the 16 kingdoms of those times.



He has supplied maps about each, and all minute details connected with them. In fact he has given a panoramic picture of ancient India and his theories and conclusions shed quite a new light on those times. The author has also proved that the Mahavir Era was adopted by most of the dynasties and was much in vogue.

Bombay, 28-9-1935

Bombay Samachar

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Scholars have, no doubt, made a deep study of material available in Buddhist and Vedic books and things. But none has, as yet, given Jaina literature its due.--a literature which can be of inestimable value in looking at ancient India with a true perspective.

Dr. Shah is the first in the field to initiate and to make this effort. Readers may feel that the whole book is tinged with Jainism; but none need be unduly uneasy on this account. He has opened a new angle of vision. The veracity of his conclusions may be established later on, but none can discount his originality and boldness on that account.

His theories have given rise to hot discussions, debates and criticisms, and thus he has aroused and activated the interest of all. In order to avoid misunderstanding, the author has written a lucid preface, in which he has explained his view-point.

The book is full of maps, pictures and other illustrations concerning those times. Specially noteworthy are the pictures of Kalpa-druma on the front page, and of Saraswati on the title page. All the pictures and maps have been fully explained in the book. The pictures at the top of every chapter are very suggestive of the contents of that chapter.

We generally believe that Jainism and kingship are things incompatible. Dr. Shah has tried his level best to prove that most of the kings in ancient India were Jains.

He has advanced entirely different theories. In fact he has presented the other side of the shield. How far that side is correct is another question. But we should not forget that he is the first to present it.

The book deserves full encouragement from kings, libraries and from all. It will prove useful to Jains as well as non-Jains.

Bombay, 22nd, Sept. 1935

"Gujarati",





The book sheds a new light on the geographical, social, political and economic conditions of those times. His theories and conclusions are entirely different from those of all that have preceded him; but every page bristles with foot-notes in which he has supported them with ship-loads of evidence. His is the method which should be adopted while writing history. Various maps, nearly 400 pictures, and chronological lists of dynasties and events are special features. The reader is not unlikely to feel that the author has a partiality for Jainism; but then, he should remember that the book owes its existence to "Encyclopædia Jainica", gleanings from which form the present book. It is not improbable that a deep study of Jaina literature which has hitherto been generally ignored, may throw new light on the mazes of Indian antiquity. All readers are advised to go through the preface first, in order to understand the view-point of the author.

We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his spirit of enterprise and his unremitting and selfless toil, and hope that they will not go unappreciated by the public.

Baroda

Pustakalay

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The author has made a deep study of all available material. Naturally he has given preference to Jaina literature which had been practically ignored by his predecessors. He has advanced marvellously novel theories. The whole book sheds a new search light on ancient Indian history. He has not failed to advance solid evidence, wherever he has differed from his predecessors. It deserves deep study by all students of history. Its homely style makes it interestingly readable to the general reader as well. It is full of maps and illustrations which are fully explained.

We offer our congratulations to the author for his deep knowledge of the subject and hope that no library will be without it.

Baroda

Sahityakar

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The book presents a connected history of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; the most noteworthy feature of which is a chronological statement of events, that took place during the



period stated above. It is full of pictures and illustrations of coins and inscriptions and maps. The book is specially important from the viewpoint of research work, and presents good material to all interested in the subject.

Bombay, 1-6-1936

Jain Prakash

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This volume consists of the accounts of the first four kings of the Maurya Dynasty, namely Chandragupta, Bindusar, Ashok and Priyadarshin. The author has presented ancient India in a new light. He has proved by advancing solid pieces of evidence that Jainism was the all-pervading and the most powerful religion in ancient India. So different is the outlook of the author, that the readers are likely to be struck much with surprise at it. The information supplied in the book is interesting and though there may be a difference of opinion as to the truth of his theories, yet the utility of the book is beyond question. Full information together with illustrations is given about ancient coins.

Baroda, 30-9-1936

Nav-Gujarat

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Looking to the books on the history of ancient India, one cannot help feeling, that Jaina literature has been almost neglected. Even Mr. Wells has not written anything about Mahavir, not to talk of anything else.

All students of history will be glad to know, that one stupendous effort of this kind has been made by Dr. T. L. Shah, a scholar who has devoted twenty-five consecutive years to the study of all available material.

It supplies an exhaustive study of coins and religious signs of those times. It contains very suggestive pictures.

The author has put forth, what one might be constrained to say, rather startling theories. For instance, he has stated that Gautam Buddha was at first a Jain, and hence Buddhism owes its origin to Jainism. He has explained coins and signs upon them in altogether a different light, and has proved that most of them belong to Jainism. Such signs of the Mauryas as horse and the other like Swastika, Dharmachakra, Indradhvaja, Sun and





Moon, Chaitya and others he has ascribed to Jainism. He has very strongly and boldly stated that Ashok and Priyadarshin were different individuals.

But it is no small tribute to him to note that he has piled evidence upon evidence to support his theories. There is no categorical statement in the book which he has not loaded with heaps of evidence based on coins, inscriptions and ancient books.

In fact the book is a great attempt to give a correct picture of India as it was twenty-five hundred years ago. We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his marvellous effort and courage and hope that his services will be appreciated by all.

Bombay, 30th. May, 1936

Bombay Samachar

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Prachin Bharatvarsha Part II by Dr. T. L. Shah, Baroda  
Published by Shashikant & Co. Raopura, Baroda. Pages 412+11  
+15+16+8; cloth bound. Price Rs. 7/8 (1936).

The first part of this remarkable work—because of a man of medicine delving deep into the Ancient History of India—has already been noticed. This substantial volume of five hundred pages deals with numismatics—old coins, i. e. coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners—Yavanas—have been handled with the precision of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume.

Modern Review, 9, '36.

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The book is a unique adventure. The scholarship, the information, the material and the zeal of the author are praiseworthy. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his work. He has defended his theories with enthusiasm of a pleader.

The author has tried to prove that, many things that are attributed to Buddhism, really belong to Jainism. Hence he has invited much debate and criticism. For instance, he has tried his utmost to establish that all the Maurya kings except Ashok were Jains; that Sandrekotes is not the Greek name of Chandragupta but of Ashok (Chandashok); that Priyadarshin is altogether a





different individual from Ashok; that the inscriptions ascribed to Ashok really belong to Priyadarshin who was a Jain etc. etc.

Be it as it may, one thing is clear, that things, which are at present, considered to be remains of Buddhism purely, may really be a heterogenous mixture of Buddhist and Jaina remains, and that the things ascribed to Jainism, at presents, form only a part of what originally belonged to it. Jainism must also have had its period of boom, like Buddhism and Brahminism. We hope that the aspirations of Dr. Shah may be fulfilled. If scholars begin to reinvestigate all the available material in the light of this book, another link in the broken chain of ancient history is sure to be supplied.

Karachi, March, 1937

“Urmi”

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“Prachin Bharatvarsha”—Part I, by Dr. T. L. Shah, L. M. & S., Baroda. :—Years ago, public attention was attracted by Dr. Shah, who undertook to compile “Encyclopædia Jainica” on a gigantic scale. The plan had to be postponed on account of want of proper encouragement and help. This, however, could not prevent him from continuing his application to ancient books and other materials, as a result of which we have this volume. The present book will convince the reader that Dr. Shah, though a doctor by degree, is a painstaking student of ancient Indian History and culture, and that he has dived deep into that ocean. He has made a formidable attempt in this book to prove, that many theories hitherto universally accepted by all historians, are entirely wrong.

Little definite is known about Chandragupta, and whatever little information we have, is based on Greek history. Dr. Shah has put forth the theory, that Chandragupta and Sandrekotes are different individuals, and this theory deserves full consideration from experts.

There was a time, when we hesitated to stretch our ancient history to a period, much more older than the time, of the invasion of Alexander the Great over India. The Mohan-ja-dero excavations, however, have widened our outlook and put before us long vistas of antiquity, the end of which we fix up, with the time of





(Sd.) Hiralal T. Parikh B. A.  
(Buddhiprakash, Jan.-March, 1937)

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Though a medical man by profession, Dr. Shah is a deep and persevering student of ancient Indian history. These volumes which deal with ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. are the ripe and rich fruits of his constant application for last twenty five years.

The book is full of theories and conclusions which will shock and disillusion even experts on many a point of antique interest. The author, however, has put forth all available evidence, based on such reliable sources like ancient manuscripts, coins and inscriptions.

Jay-bharat

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Ahmedabad  
30-8-37

(Sd.) Bhogilal Chhotalal Sutaria  
President, Maskati Cloth Market





Dr. T. L. Shah read out to me a few chapters of his Ancient Indian History. The great merit of the book seems to me to consist in his careful handling of materials coming from authoritative Jaina sources. He has laboured much in elucidating our past history and his conclusions mostly run counter to the accepted theories. Nevertheless, his new theories will stimulate further discussions and reserch, from which we may gain much good.

Oriental Institute,  
Baroda

(Sd.) B. Bhattacharya Ph. D.  
Director

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I read with interest the synopsis prepared by Dr. Shah of his gigantic work on Ancient Indian History. From this, I believe that his work will prove very useful and interesting. Many new points are introduced by him and though agreement on these is not always possible, yet they show the great energy and vast reading of the author. I am sure, it will be most welcome to all indologist.

Wilson College, Bombay

(Sd.) Prof. H. D. Velankar M. A.

